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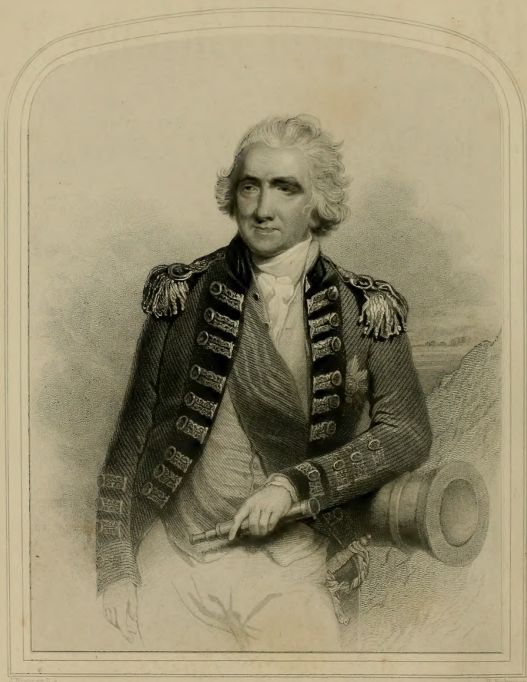
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GENERAL SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY K.B.



Biographical Dictionary OF EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

WITH
NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS.

VOLUME I.



S. BOUGH.

W. FORREST.

THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

Blackie & Son,
GLASGOW, EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

A
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

ORIGINALLY EDITED BY ROBERT CHAMBERS.

NEW EDITION,

REVISED THROUGHOUT AND CONTINUED

BY THE

REV. THOMAS THOMSON,

EDITOR OF THE "COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

VOLUME I.

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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

THE first edition of the BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF EMINENT SCOTSMEN was edited by Mr. (now Dr.) Robert Chambers. It was issued in 4 vols. demy 8vo, and completed in 1834. In his preface the Editor says:—

"A biographical dictionary of eminent natives of Scotland has been regarded as a desideratum in our national literature for the greater part of a century. Such a work was successively contemplated by Sir David Dalrymple and Mr. William Smellie, each of whom proceeded so far with the design as to write a few of the articles. When the Editor of the present Work began a few years ago to inquire into the literary and historical antiquities of his country, he found the desire of possessing a dictionary of this kind not in the least abated, but very little hope entertained that, under the existing prospects of literature, it would be possible to present such a book to the public. He proceeded, nevertheless, perhaps rather under the influence of a peculiar enthusiasm than any wiser or more considerate motive, to take upon himself a task which at least two of his predecessors had failed to accomplish, and for which he could not but feel himself to be in many respects imperfectly qualified. Sometime after beginning his labours, a fortunate alliance with his present Publishers, who had projected a similar work, removed many of the original difficulties, and he was enabled to commence the publication in 1832.

"In now taking a retrospective view of his labours, he sees, with some regret, passages which he could amend, and even one or two articles which, upon a more rigid estimate of merit, he would be disposed to omit. He has much satisfaction, however, in reflecting that very few instances of error in point of fact have been indicated to him; so that he is enabled to hope that his Work, upon the whole, makes that near approach to correctness, which is the most valuable feature in a book of reference."

The second edition, completed in 1855, consisted of a reprint of the four volumes of the first edition, the stereotype plates of which were revised under the inspection of the Publishers, and of a fifth volume written mostly by the

Rev. Thomas Thomson. In his preface to the fifth volume Mr. Thomson says:—

“A full national Biography for Scotland, from the earliest period till 1834, was accomplished by the Work, the publication of which was completed during that year, under the title of ‘LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED SCOTSMEN,’ of which the first four volumes of the present is a re-issue. But since the period of its first publication, circumstances have occurred through which a large addition to the original collection was urgently demanded. The close of the last, and the earlier part of the present century, have constituted an epoch in the history of the Scottish mind, such as our country, prolific though it has been of eminent men, has never previously enjoyed. But of these illustrious Scotsmen of our own day, the greater part have died since the year 1834, while they were so numerous as well as distinguished, that nothing less than an entire volume seemed necessary for their memorial. If in this estimate it should be alleged that a mistake has been made—that the worth which our own eyes have beheld, and over which the grave has so recently closed, has in some instances been rated higher than a future time and the increasing experience of society will ratify—still we trust it is a mistake which the succeeding generation will be easily disposed to pardon.

“The author of this additional volume of the ‘LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED SCOTSMEN’ has only to add, that the following memoirs owe nothing more to him than the care of editorial revision: viz. those of Joanna Baillie, Rev. Dr. Robert Balfour, James Bell, John Burns, M.D., David Dale, Colonel John Fordyce, George Gardner, Charles Mackintosh, James Montgomery, and Thomas Thomson, M.D., F.R.S. These were derived from sources of information to which he either had no ready access, or were connected with subjects to which he thought he could not render such ample justice as they merited. For the authorship of the rest of the volume, whatever may be its merits or defects, he claims the entire responsibility.”

When the lapse of time seemed to render a new and enlarged edition of this Dictionary necessary, it was resolved to reset the whole Work, so that the biographies in the original work and in the supplemental fifth volume, and the large number of new memoirs requiring now to be introduced, might all be fused into one general alphabet. The opportunity thus presented for revising the entire Work was taken advantage of. Some memoirs which seemed to have extended to an undue length were retrenched, and others that either seemed too curt, or respecting the subjects of which additional information had become available, were partially amplified, while, following out the more rigid estimate of merit hinted at in the preface of the original edition, a few others were altogether omitted. The editor, Mr. Thomson, entered upon the task for which he was so eminently qualified quite *con amore*. He revised the whole

of the lives in the five volumes of the second edition in the manner indicated, and wrote all the hundred and forty-seven additional memoirs by which the present edition is so greatly enlarged, with exception of those of John Crawford, William Richard Hamilton, William Jerdan, Horatio M'Culloch, R.S.A., J. Beaumont Neilson, John Phillip, R.A., Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, James Smith of Jordanhill, Andrew Wilson, Thomas Graham, D.C.L., F.R.S., and probably a few others, which were contributed by relatives or intimate friends of the deceased persons commemorated, or written by gentlemen specially conversant with the departments of knowledge in which the subjects of the memoirs were eminent. Mr. Thomson had just finished his editorial labours by completing the memoirs for the Supplement at the end of the third volume, with exception of a couple of lives added since, when the hand of death arrested his career before the final proofs had passed through the press. An interesting memoir of this indefatigable literary labourer, contributed by his widow, has been appropriately placed in the Supplement.

There being no more interesting and instructive history than the lives of the men by whom history is made, there has been added to the work a full Chronological Index of the memoirs of which it is composed, by means of which the reader is enabled to peruse them in the sequence of their dates, and thus convert this Dictionary into an admirable biographical history of Scotland, of its kind the most complete that has hitherto been published. In addition there is appended an Alphabetical Index, in which is registered the principal authorities and sources whence the materials of the biographies were derived.

In bringing the publication of this important Work to a conclusion, the Publishers feel gratified in being able to point to the entire fulfilment of the promises made in the prospectus. For unquestionably "Among the biographies will be found a large number of an exceedingly instructive character, calculated to form incentive examples to young and ardent minds, and numerous instances of men who have risen from humble circumstances and attained to high positions, and of those who have succeeded in the pursuit of knowledge in spite of the greatest hardships and difficulties." And all must confess that it forms "a comprehensive record of the achievements of those, in every walk of life, whose memories are cherished by their countrymen, and whose deeds form the history of their country; of those who, by their energy, wisdom, or bravery, their patience, industry, learning, or writings, have been influential in preserving its freedom or maintaining the rights of its people; who have been the leaders in the progress of national civilization; and whose exertions have raised their country to that proud eminence which it now occupies among the nations of Europe."



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BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

A.

ABERCROMBY, THE HONOURABLE ALEXANDER (Lord Abercromby), a distinguished lawyer of the latter part of the 18th century, and an elegant occasional writer, was the youngest son of George Abercromby of Tullibody, in Clackmannanshire, and brother of the celebrated Sir Ralph Abercromby. He was born on the 15th of October, 1745. While his elder brothers were destined for the army, Alexander chose the profession of the law, which was more consistent with his gentle and studious character. After going through the ordinary course of classes at the university of Edinburgh, he became, in 1766, a member of the Faculty of Advocates. He was at this early period of his life the favourite of all who knew him, not only for the uncommon handsomeness of his person, but for the extreme sweetness of his disposition. Being given to the gaieties of fashionable life, he had little relish for laborious employment; so that, for some years after his admission into the Faculty of Advocates, his splendid abilities were well-nigh obscured by indolence or frivolity. Roused at length to exertion, he engaged with ardour in all the duties of his profession, and soon became eminent for professional skill, and distinguished as a most eloquent pleader. His reputation and business rapidly increased, and soon raised him to the first rank at the Scottish bar. In May, 1792, he was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Session, when, in compliance with the custom of the Scottish judges, he adopted the title of Lord Abercromby; and, in December following he was called to a seat in the Court of Justiciary. "In his judicial capacity he was distinguished by a profound knowledge of law, a patient attention, a clearness of discernment, and an unbiassed impartiality, which excited general admiration." His literary performances and character are thus summed up by his friend Henry Mackenzie, who, after his death, undertook the task of recording his virtues and merits for the Royal Society:—"The laborious employments of his profession did not so entirely engross him, as to preclude his indulging in the elegant amusements of polite literature. He was one of that society of gentlemen who, in 1779, set on foot the periodical paper, published at Edinburgh during that and the subsequent year, under the title of the *Mirror*; and who afterwards gave to the world another work of a similar kind, the *Lounger*, published in 1785 and 1786. To these papers he was a very valuable contributor, being the author of ten papers in the *Mirror* and nine in the *Lounger*. His papers

are distinguished by an ease and gentlemanlike turn of expression, by a delicate and polished irony, by a strain of manly, honourable, and virtuous sentiment." Mackenzie states that they are also characterized by an unaffected tenderness, which he had displayed even in his speeches as a barrister. After exemplifying almost every virtue, and acting for some years in a public situation with the undivided applause of the world, Lord Abercromby was cut off by a pulmonary complaint at Falmouth, whither he had gone for his health, on the 17th of November, 1795.

ABERCROMBY, JOHN, the author of several esteemed works on gardening, was the son of a respectable gardener near Edinburgh, where he was born about the year 1726. Having been bred by his father to his own profession, he removed to London at the early age of eighteen, and became a workman in the gardens attached to the royal palaces. Here he distinguished himself so much by his taste in laying out grounds, that he was encouraged to write upon the subject. His first work, however, in order to give it greater weight, was published under the name of a then more eminent horticulturist, Mr. Mawe, gardener to the Duke of Leeds, under the title of *Mawe's Gardeners' Calendar*. It soon rose into notice, and still maintains its place. The editor of a subsequent edition of this work says, "The general principles of gardening seem to be as correctly ascertained and clearly described by this author, as by any that have succeeded him." And further, "The style of Abercromby, though somewhat inelegant, and in some instances prolix, yet appears, upon the whole, to be fully as concise, and at least as correct and intelligible, as that of some of the more modern and less original of his successors." Abercromby afterwards published, under his own name, the *Universal Dictionary of Gardening and Botany*, in 4to; which was followed, in succession, by the *Gardeners' Dictionary*, the *Gardeners' Daily Assistant*, the *Gardeners' Vade Mecum*, the *Kitchen Gardener and Hot-bed Forcer*, the *Hot-house Gardener*, and numerous other works, most of which attained to popularity. Abercromby, after a useful and virtuous life, died at London in 1806, aged about eighty years.

ABERCROMBIE, JOHN, M.D., was one of the latest of that medical school of which Scotland is so justly proud. He was born in Aberdeen, on the 11th of October, 1781, and was son of the Rev.

Mr. Abercrombie, who for many years was one of the ministers of that town, and distinguished by his piety and worth. The excellent training which John enjoyed under such a parent, imparted that high moral and religious tone by which his whole life was subsequently characterized. After a boyhood spent under the paternal roof, and the usual routine of a classical education, he was sent, in consequence of his choice of the medical profession, to the university of Edinburgh, at that time distinguished as the best medical school in the empire. Here he applied to his studies with indefatigable diligence, and while his fellow-students marked his progress with admiration, they were not less struck with the moral excellence of his character, and the deep, practical, unobtrusive piety by which, even thus early, his whole life was regulated. It was this confirmed excellence of character, expressed alike in action and conversation, combined with his high professional talents and reputation, that afterwards won for him the confidence of his patients, and imparted to his attentions at the sick-bed a charm that, of itself, was half the cure. When the usual prescribed course of study at the medical classes was finished, Mr. Abercrombie graduated at the university of Edinburgh on the 4th of June, 1803, while only in his twenty-second year, the subject of his thesis being *De Fatuitate Alpina*. He then went to London, and after a short period of study at the schools and hospitals of the metropolis, returned to Edinburgh, and was admitted a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons on the 12th of November, 1804. On this occasion his probationary essay, submitted to the president and council, entitled *On Paralysis of the Lower Extremities from Diseased Spine*, was characterized by such clearness of thought and perspicuity of style, as fully indicated the eminence that awaited him not only in his professional capacity, but also in the ranks of authorship.

Thus prepared, Dr. Abercrombie, though still young, and almost a stranger in Edinburgh, resolved to establish himself at once as a physician in the northern capital, instead of commencing his career in some more humble district. He accordingly took a house in Nicolson Street, and as a general or family practitioner his reputation continued to grow from year to year without interruption. Even this, however, was not enough for his active and benevolent mind; and therefore, notwithstanding the increase of business, and its tempting emoluments, he gave much of his time to attendance on the poor, as one of the medical officers of the Royal Public Dispensary. Still deeming his own personal exertions insufficient, he would not rest until he had imparted his enthusiasm to others; and therefore, when his reputation in clinical knowledge had gathered round him a host of pupils emulous to follow his example, he divided the city into districts, to each of which a few of these students were attached for medical superintendence. In this way, while the health of the humblest of the population of Edinburgh was cared for, an efficient class of experienced physicians was trained for the kingdom at large. Besides this important service, on being appointed vaccinator along with Drs. Gillespie and Bryce, he was enabled to take with them an active part in introducing the practice of the Jennerian discovery into Scotland.

At length, when, after a course of years, the professional experience and reputation of Dr. Abercrombie had reached their height, an event occurred by which it was hoped their excellence would be duly honoured. This was a vacancy in the chair of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, through the death of Dr. Gregory in 1821. On this occasion

Dr. Abercrombie added his name to the list of candidates, while his friends were sanguine in the hope of his success. But town-councils are not always infallible judges of scientific attainments, and his application was unsuccessful. The following list of his writings, which he presented to the provost and town-council of Edinburgh, on announcing himself as candidate for the chair, will sufficiently show how his hours of literary leisure, amidst a throng of professional occupations extending over the preceding course of years, had been occupied and improved:—*On Diseases of the Spinal Marrow. On Dropsy; particularly on some Modifications of it which are successfully treated by Blood-letting. On Chronic Inflammation of the Brain and its Membranes, including Researches on Hydrocephalus. On Apoplexy. On Palsy. On Organic Diseases of the Brain. On a Remarkable and Dangerous Affection, producing Difficulty of Breathing in Infants. On the Pathology of the Intestinal Canal. Part I.—On Ileus. Ditto. Part II.—On Inflammation of the Bowels. Ditto. Part III.—On Diseases of the Mucous Membranes of the Bowels. On the Pathology of Consumptive Diseases. On Ischuria Renalis.*

After the decease of Dr. Gregory, Dr. Abercrombie, although unsuccessful in his application for the chair of medicine, succeeded him as consulting physician, in which situation his services were often in demand, not only in Edinburgh, but over the whole of Scotland. He was also appointed physician to the king for Scotland—a mere title, it is true, but at the same time one of those honorary titles which often stamp the value of the man, and prove a passport to the substantialities of eminence and wealth. In 1834, his reputation was so completely fixed, that the university of Oxford, departing from its usual routine in behalf of the alumni of Scottish colleges, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine, and in the following year he was elected lord-rector of the Marischal College of Aberdeen. Besides these, he held other offices of distinction, most of which were connected with benevolent societies. In this way his life went onward, and while he increased in wealth and professional reputation, his piety made him the friend of the good, and his benevolence the honoured of the poor. But all was brought to an abrupt termination by his sudden death, at his house in York Place, on the 14th of November, 1844. On the morning of that day, having breakfasted at nine o'clock, he retired to his private room, while several patients were waiting for him, and his carriage standing at the door. As nearly an hour elapsed, his servant, alarmed at such unusual delay, entered the room, and found his master lying extended and lifeless on the floor, his death having been apparently all but instantaneous. It was found, on a *post mortem* examination, that the cause of his death was the bursting of a coronary artery. Thus unexpectedly was closed the life of one whom all classes esteemed, and whose loss is still felt and remembered.

Dr. Abercrombie was distinguished not only as a most eminent and successful medical practitioner, but also as an able and eloquent writer. At first his exertions in authorship were confined to the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, and other similar professional periodicals; but when his literary strength was matured, he produced a separate treatise entitled *Pathological and Practical Researches on Diseases of the Brain and the Spinal Cord*, Edinburgh, 1828, 8vo. This work, which abounds in pure scientific knowledge, and evinces his profound research into mental character, as con-

nected with physical condition and action, was followed in the same year by another of still higher merit, having for its title *Pathological and Practical Researches on the Diseases of the Intestinal Canal, Liver, and other Viscera of the Abdomen*, Edinburgh, 1828, 8vo. These, however, though so highly meritorious, were but prelusive efforts to something still more important; and after a careful study and arrangement of the materials which he had been accumulating for years, he produced two works; the one entitled *Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers, and the Investigation of Truth*, Edinburgh, 1830, 8vo; and the other, *The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings*, London, 1833, 8vo. Upon these works, of which the latter is a sequel to the former, his literary reputation will chiefly rest; and they will always continue to be prized by the reflective mind, from the views which they unfold of the intellectual and moral nature of man, and the harmonious combination which exists between the truths of science and the revelations of Christianity. Independently, however, of these writings, so distinguished by their profound medical, ethical, and metaphysical knowledge, and so practical in their bearings, Dr. Abercrombie's pen was employed on the subjects of humble every-day usefulness, and pure unmingled religion and vital godliness; so that shortly after the publication of his *Philosophy of the Moral Feelings*, he produced his *Treatise on the Moral Condition of the Lower Classes in Edinburgh*; and subsequently, *The Elements of Sacred Truth*, which were first published singly and at intervals, and afterwards collected into a small volume. "These tracts," an able reviewer has observed, "reflect the highest honour on Dr. Abercrombie. It is beautiful to see an individual of his professional celebrity thus dedicating his talents and a portion of his time to religious instruction. Such an example is above all praise."

ABERCROMBY, PATRICK, historian, was the third son of Alexander Abercromby of Fetterneir, in Aberdeenshire, a branch of the house of Birkenbog in Banffshire, which again derived its descent from Abercromby of Abercromby in Fife. Francis, the eldest son of Abercromby of Fetterneir, was created Lord Glassford in 1685; but as the patent, by an extraordinary restriction, was limited to his own life only, the title did not descend to his children. Patrick Abercromby was born at Forfar in 1656, and was educated at the university of St. Andrews, where he took the degree of Doctor in Medicine in 1685. His family being eminently loyal, the young physician is said to have changed his religion to please James VII., who consequently made him one of the physicians of the court. A proceeding so dishonest and time-serving was speedily and severely punished; for, at the Revolution, Abercromby was deprived of his appointment. For some years after he appears to have lived abroad; but he returned to Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne, and devoted himself to the study of national antiquities. In 1707, he published a translation of M. Beauge's very rare book, *L'Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse, 1556*, under the title of *The History of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549*; "being an exact account of the Martial Expeditions performed in those days by the Scots and French on the one hand, and the English and their foreign auxiliaries on the other: done in French by Mons. Beauge, a French gentleman; with an introductory preface by the Translator." In the preface, the ancient alliance between Scotland and France is strenuously asserted. This curious French work, which gives a complete account of the

war carried on by the Popish government of Cardinal Beaton, aided by the French, against the English under Protector Somerset, was reprinted in the original by Mr. Smythe of Methven for the Bannatyne Club, 1829, along with a preface, giving an account of Abercromby's translation. The great work of Dr. Abercromby is in two volumes, folio, entitled, *The Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*. He tells us in the preface, that, not venturing to write regular history or biography, he had resolved to relate the deeds of all the great men of his country, in a less ambitious strain, and with a more minute attention to small facts, than is compatible with those styles of composition. He also, with great modesty, apologizes for his manner of writing by saying, "When my reader is told that 'twas my fate to spend most part of my youth in foreign countries, to have but viewed, *en passant*, the south part of Britain, and to have been conversant with Roman and French rather than with English authors, he will not expect from me those modish turns of phrase, nor that exact propriety of words, Scotsmen, by reason of their distance from the fountain of custom, so seldom attain to." The first volume of the *Martial Achievements* was published, in 1711, by Mr. Robert Freebairn, and shows a respectable list of subscribers. About one-half of it is occupied by the early fabulous history of Scotland, in which the author, like almost all men of his time, and especially the Jacobites, was a devout believer. It closes with the end of the reign of Robert Bruce. The second volume appeared, with a still more numerous and respectable list of subscribers, in 1715; it was partly printed by Freebairn, and partly by Thomas Ruddiman, who not only corrected the manuscript, but superintended its progress through the press. This is said by Chalmers to have been the first typographical effort of Ruddiman. Abercromby's *Martial Achievements* is upon the whole a very creditable work for a Scottish antiquary of that period; the author is not superior to the credulity of his age and party, but he is eminently industrious, and his narrative is written in an entertaining style. The work shows a wide range of authorities, and is liberally interspersed with controversial discussions of the points most contested by antiquaries. Dr. Patrick Abercromby died poor in 1716, or, as other writers say, in 1726, leaving a widow in distressed circumstances.

ABERCROMBY, SIR RALPH, a distinguished general, under whom the British arms met their first success in the French revolutionary war, was the eldest son of George Abercromby of Tullibody, in Clackmannanshire, a gentleman of ancient and respectable family, and of Mary, daughter of Ralph Dundas of Manor. He was born at Menstrie, in the parish of Logie, on the 7th October, 1734. His education seems to have been regarded with more care than was usually manifested by the Scottish country gentlemen of the early and middle parts of the last century. After passing through the customary course at Rugby, he became a student, first in the university of Edinburgh, and subsequently in that of Göttingen. He entered the army, as cornet in the 3d dragoon guards, May 23, 1756, and became a lieutenant, in the same regiment, in the year 1760; which rank he held till April, 1762, when he obtained a company in the 3d horse. In this regiment he rose, in 1770, to the rank of major, and in 1773 to that of lieutenant-colonel. He was included in the list of brevet-colonels in 1780, and in 1781 was made colonel of the 103d, or king's Irish infantry, a new regiment, which was broken at the peace in 1783, when Colonel Abercromby was placed on half-pay.

It may be noticed in passing that he represented the shire of Kinross in the British parliament from 1774 till 1780; but made no attempt to render himself conspicuous, either as a party-man or as a politician. In September, 1787, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and next year obtained the command of the 60th foot. From this corps he was, in 1792, removed to the 6th foot: from that again to the 5th; and in November, 1796, to the 2d dragoons, or Scots Greys.

On the breaking out of the French revolutionary war, Abercromby held the local rank of lieutenant-general, and served with distinguished honour in the campaigns of 1794 and 1795, under the Duke of York. He commanded the advanced-guard in the affair of Cateau (April 16, 1794), in which Chapuy, the French general, was taken prisoner, and thirty-five pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the British. In the reverses that followed, the British army escaped entire destruction solely by the masterly manœuvres of Abercromby, who was second in command. He was wounded at Nimeguen, in the month of October following; notwithstanding which, the arduous service of conducting the retreat through Holland in the dreadfully severe winter of 1794, was devolved wholly upon him and General Dundas. Than this retreat nothing could be conceived more calamitous. The troops did all that could be expected from them in their trying situation. Oppressed by numbers, and having lost all their stores, they made good their retreat in the face of the foe, amidst the rigours of a singularly severe winter; while for the removal of the sick, nothing could be procured but open waggons, in which they were exposed to the intense severity of the weather, to drifting snows and heavy falls of sleet and rain. The mortality, of course, was very great. The regiments were so scattered, marching through the snow, that no returns could be made out, and both men and horses were found in great numbers frozen to death. "The march," says an eye-witness, "was marked by scenes of the most calamitous nature. We could not proceed a hundred yards without seeing the dead bodies of men, women, children, and horses, in every direction. One scene," adds the writer, "made an impression on my mind which time will never be able to efface. Near a cart, a little further in the common, we perceived a stout-looking man and a beautiful young woman, with an infant about seven months old at the breast, all three frozen dead. The mother had most certainly died in the act of suckling her child, as, with one breast exposed, she lay upon the drifted snow, the milk, to all appearance, in a stream drawn from the nipple by the babe, and instantly congealed. The infant seemed as if its lips had just then been disengaged, and it reposed its little head upon the mother's bosom, with an overflow of milk frozen as it trickled down from its mouth. Their countenances were perfectly composed and fresh, as if they had only been in a sound and tranquil slumber." The British army reached Deventer after incredible exertion, on the 27th of January, 1795; but they were not able to maintain the position, being closely pursued by a well-appointed army, upwards of 50,000 strong. They continued their progress, alternately fighting and retreating, till the end of March, when the main body, now reduced one-half, reached Bremen, where they were embarked for England.

While the French were making those gigantic efforts at home which confounded all previous calculations in European warfare, their struggles abroad were equally startling. They repossessed themselves in the West Indies of Guadeloupe and St. Lucia,

established a landing upon several points in the island of Martinique, and made partial descents on the islands of St. Vincent, Grenada, and Marie Galante. In these various incursions they plundered, in the several islands, property to the amount of one thousand eight hundred millions of livres (about £72,000,000). To put an end to these ruinous depredations, a fleet was fitted out in the autumn of the year 1795, for the purpose of conveying a military force to the West Indies; and the charge of the land troops was given to Sir Ralph Abercromby, with the appointment of commander-in-chief. He took the command, and hastened the embarkation; and although the equinox overtook them, so that several of the transports were lost in the Channel, the fleet made the best of its way to the West Indies, and by the month of March, 1796, the troops were landed and in active operation. St. Lucia was speedily captured by a detachment of the army under Sir John Moore, as were St. Vincent and Grenada by another under General Knox. The Dutch colonies, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, on the coast of Guiana, likewise fell into the hands of the British about the same time, almost without stroke of sword. The remainder of 1796 having been thus employed, Sir Ralph made preparations for attacking, early in 1797, the Spanish island of Trinidad. For this purpose, the fleet sailed with all the transports, from the island of Curacao on the morning of the 15th February, 1797, and next day passed through the Barns into the Gulf of Bria, where they found the Spanish admiral, with four sail of the line and one frigate, at anchor, under cover of the island of Gaspagrande, which was strongly fortified. The British squadron immediately anchored opposite, and almost within gunshot of the Spanish ships. The frigates, with the transports, were sent to anchor higher up the bay, at the distance of about five miles from the town of Port d'Espagne. Dispositions were immediately made for attacking the town and the ships of war next morning by break of day. By two o'clock of the morning, however, the Spanish squadron was observed to be on fire. The ships burned very fast, one only escaping the conflagration, which was taken possession of by the British. The Spaniards, when they set their ships of war on fire, had also evacuated the island. The troops under Sir Ralph Abercromby were of course landed without opposition, and the whole colony fell into the hands of the British. Sir Ralph next made an attack upon Porto Rico, in which he was unsuccessful; and shortly after he returned to Britain, and was received with every mark of respect. He had, in his absence, been complimented with the colonelcy of the second dragoons or Scots Greys, and nominated governor of the Isle of Wight. He was now (1797) advanced to the dignity of the Bath, raised to the rank of a lieutenant-general, and invested with the lucrative governments of Fort George and Fort Augustus.

The disturbed state of Ireland at this time calling for the utmost vigilance, Sir Ralph Abercromby was appointed to the command of the forces in that unhappy country, where he exerted himself most strenuously, though with partial success, to suppress rebellion and preserve order. He was particularly anxious, by the strictest discipline, to restore the reputation of the army; for, according to his own emphatic declaration, it had become more formidable to its friends than to its enemies. During this command he did not require to direct any military operations in person; and the Marquis Cornwallis having received the double appointment of lord-lieutenant and commander-in-chief of the forces, Sir

Ralph transferred his head-quarters to Edinburgh, and, on 31st of May, assumed the command of the forces in Scotland, to which he had been appointed.

In the year 1799, an expedition having been planned for Holland to restore the Prince of Orange to the stadtholdership, Sir Ralph was again selected to take the chief command. The troops destined for this service sailed on the 13th of August, under convoy of the fleet commanded by Vice-admiral Mitchell, and, after encountering heavy gales, came to anchor off the Texel, on the 22d of the month. On the 27th the troops were disembarked to the south-west of the Helder point, without opposition. Scarcely had they begun to move, however, when they were attacked by General Daendels, and a warm but irregular action was kept up from five o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon, after which the enemy retired, leaving the British in possession of a ridge of sand-hills stretching along the coast from south to north. In this day's evolutions the enemy lost upwards of 1000 men, and the British about half that number. Encouraged by this success, Sir Ralph Abercromby determined to seize upon the Helder next morning, when he would be in possession of a seaport, an arsenal, and a fleet. The brigades of Generals Moore and Burrard were ordered to be in readiness to make the attack early in the morning; but the garrison was withdrawn through the night, leaving a considerable train of artillery, a naval magazine, thirteen ships of war, and three Indiamen, which fell into the hands of the British without opposition. Admiral Mitchell immediately stood down into the Texel, and offered battle to the Dutch fleet lying there; the whole of which, consisting of twelve sail of the line, surrendered to the British admiral, the sailors refusing to fight, and compelling their officers to give up the ships for the service of the Prince of Orange. Taking the surrender of the fleet as the criterion of Dutch feeling, the most extravagant hopes of the success of the expedition were entertained by the people of England; but the sentiments of the Hollanders, generally, were not as yet in unison with those of the sailors, and every precaution was taken for defence. The British army, in the meantime, left the sand-hills and took up a new position, their right extending to Petten, on the German Ocean, and their left to Oude Sluys on the Zuyder Zee. A fertile country was thus laid open to the invaders; while the canal of Zuyper, immediately in front, contributed to strengthen their position, enabling them to remain on the defensive until the arrival of additional forces. At daybreak of 11th September, the combined Dutch and French army attacked the centre and right of the British lines, from St. Martins to Petten, with a force of 10,000 men, which advanced in three columns; the right, composed of Dutch troops commanded by General Daendels, against St. Martins; the centre, under De Monceau, upon Zuyper Sluys; and the left, composed entirely of French troops under General Brune, upon Petten. The attack, particularly on the left and centre, was made with the most daring intrepidity, but was repulsed by the British, and the enemy lost upwards of 1000 men. On this occasion, General Sir John Moore was opposed to General Brune, and distinguished himself by the most masterly manoeuvres; and, had the British been sufficiently numerous to follow up their advantage, the United Provinces might have shaken off the French yoke even at this early period. The want of numbers was felt too late; but, to remedy the evil, the Russian troops engaged for the expedition were hastily embarked at the ports of Cronstadt and

Revel, to the number of 17,000, under the command of General D'Hermann, and were speedily upon the scene of action. The Duke of York now arrived as commander-in-chief; and his army, with the Russians and some battalions of Dutch troops, formed of deserters from the Batavian army and volunteers from the Dutch ships, amounted to upwards of 36,000 men, a force considerably superior to that under Generals Daendels and Brune. In consequence of this, the Duke of York, in concert with D'Hermann, made an immediate attack upon the enemy's position, which was on the heights of Camperdown, and along the high sand-hills extending from the sea, in front of Petten, to the town of Bergen-op-zoom. The enemy's deficiency of numbers was far more than counter-balanced by the advantages of their position; improved, as it was, by strong entrenchments at the intermediate villages, and by the nature of the ground, intersected by wet ditches and canals, whose bridges had been removed, and the roads rendered impassable, either by being broken up, or by means of felled trees stuck in the earth, and placed horizontally, so as to present an almost impenetrable barrier. The attack, however, notwithstanding all disadvantages, was made with the most determined resolution, early on the morning of the 19th of September, and was successful at all points. By eight o'clock in the morning, the Russians, under D'Hermann, had made themselves masters of Bergen-op-zoom; but they no sooner found the place evacuated, than they flew upon the spoil, and began to plunder the citizens whom they had professedly come to relieve. The vigilant enemy seized the opportunity to rally his broken battalions, and, being reinforced from the garrison at Alkmaar, attacked the dispersed Russians with so much impetuosity, that the latter were driven from Bergen-op-zoom to Schorel, with the loss of Generals D'Hermann and Tcherchekoff, wounded and taken prisoners. This failure of the Russians compelled the other three columns of the British army to abandon the positions they had already stormed, and return to the station they had left in the morning. For this disappointment 3000 prisoners taken in the engagement was but a poor recompense; while the impression made upon the minds of the Dutch by the conduct of the Russians was incalculably injurious to the objects of the expedition. The conflict was renewed on the 2d of October, by another attack on the whole line of the enemy, the troops advancing, as before, in four columns, under Generals Abercromby, D'Esson, Dundas, and Pulteney. The centre ascended the sand-hills at Campe, and carried the heights of Schorel; and, after a vigorous contest, the Russians and British obtained possession of the whole range of sand-hills in the neighbourhood of Bergen-op-zoom; but the severest conflict, and that which decided the fate of the day, was sustained by the first column under Sir Ralph Abercromby. He had marched without opposition to within a mile of Egmont-op-zee, where a large body of cavalry and infantry waited to receive him. Here Sir John Moore led his brigade to the charge in person; he was met by a counter-charge of the enemy, and the conflict was maintained till evening with unexampled fury. The Marquis of Huntly, who, with his regiment (the ninety-second), was eminently distinguished, received a wound by a musket-ball in the shoulder; and General Sir John Moore, after receiving two severe wounds, was reluctantly carried off the field. Sir Ralph Abercromby had two horses shot under him, but he continued to animate the troops by his example, and the most desperate efforts of the enemy were unavailing. Their loss in this day's

engagement was upwards of 4000 men. During the night they abandoned their posts on the Lange Dyke and at Bergen-op-zoom, and next day the British took up the positions that had been occupied by the French at Alkmaar and Egmont-op-zee. Brune having taken up a strong position between Beverwyck and the Zuyder Zee, it was determined to dislodge him before the arrival of his daily-expected reinforcements. In the first movements made for this purpose the British met with little opposition; but the Russians under General D'Esson, attempting to gain a height near Buccum, were suddenly charged by an overwhelming body of the enemy. Sir Ralph Abercromby, observing the critical situation of the Russians, hastened with his column to support them. The enemy also sent up fresh forces, and the action, undesignedly by either party, became general along the whole line, from Lemmen to the sea, and was contested on both sides with the most determined obstinacy. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the right and centre of the Anglo-Russian army began to lose ground, and retire upon Egmont; where, with the co-operation of the brigade under Major-general Coote, they succeeded in keeping the enemy in check during the remainder of the day. Evening closed over the combatants, darkened by deluges of rain; yet the work of mutual destruction knew no intermission. The fire of musketry, which ran in undulating lines along the hills, with the thunder-flash of the artillery, and the fiery train of the death-charged shell, lighted up with momentary and fitful blaze the whole horizon. About ten o'clock at night, worn out by such a lengthened period of exertion, though their mutual hostility was not in the least abated, the contending parties ceased fighting, and the British were left in possession of the ground upon which they had fought, with upwards of 2000 of their companions lying dead around them. General Brune was, in the course of the night or next morning, reinforced by an addition of 6000 men, and the ground he occupied was by nature and art rendered nearly impregnable. The British lay through the night exposed to the weather, which was terrible, on the naked sand-hills; their clothing drenched, and their arms and ammunition rendered useless by the rain. Nor was the inhospitality of the people less than that of the elements; the greater part being violently hostile, and the remainder sunk in supine indifference. Retreat was therefore a measure of necessity, and next night, the 7th of October, about ten o'clock, amidst a deluge of rain, the troops marched back to their former station at Petten and Alkmaar, which they reached without immediate pursuit or any serious loss. To embark, however, upon such a shore, and in the face of such an enemy, without great loss was impossible; and, to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood, an armistice was proposed by the Duke of York, till the troops should be quietly embarked. The French general was willing to accede to the proposal, provided the Dutch fleet were restored, and all forts, dykes, &c. &c., left as they had been taken; or, if any improvements had been made upon them, in their improved state. To the first part of the proposal the duke utterly refused for a moment to listen; and, being in possession of the principal dykes, he threatened to break them down and inundate the country. The fleet was not given up; but in lieu thereof, 8000 French and Dutch prisoners, that had been taken previous to this campaign, were to be restored, with all that had been taken in it, the Dutch seamen excepted. The troops were instantly embarked, and safely landed in England, with the

exception of the Russians, who were landed in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey. Though this expedition totally failed in its main object—the liberation of Holland—it was not without advantage. The capture of the Dutch fleet, in the then state of affairs, was of very considerable importance. Nor was the impression it left upon the enemy of the superior skill of British officers, particularly of the subject of this memoir, and the daring valour of British troops, without its use in the succeeding periods of the war.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, now a universal favourite, and esteemed the most skilful officer in the British service, was appointed in the month of June, 1800, to command the troops sent out upon a secret expedition to the Mediterranean, and which were for the time quartered on the island of Minorca, where he arrived on the 22d of June. The very next day the troops were embarked for Leghorn, where they arrived on the 9th of July; but in consequence of an armistice between the French and the Austrians, they were not allowed to land. Part of them now proceeded to Malta, and the remainder sailed back to Minorca. Sir Ralph himself returned to that island on the 26th of July, and on the 3d of September the troops were again embarked, and on the 14th the fleet came to anchor off Europa Point in the Bay of Gibraltar. On the 20th the armament sailed for the Bay of Tetuan to procure water, and on the 23d returned to Gibraltar. In a few days the fleet was again ordered to rendezvous in the Bay of Tetuan; and, on the 30th of October, the whole, consisting of upwards of two hundred sail, came to anchor off Cadiz, and preparations were made for landing the troops without delay. On the 6th the troops got into the boats, and everything was ready for the disembarkation. In consequence of a flag of truce from the shore, the landing was delayed, and in the afternoon the troops returned to their respective ships. The negotiations between the commanders having failed, the order was renewed for disembarking the troops next day. This order was again countermanded about midnight; the morning became stormy, and at break of day the signal was made for the fleet to weigh, and by the afternoon the whole fleet was again under sail. Part of the forces were now ordered for Portugal under the command of General Sir James Pulteney, and the remainder for Malta, where they arrived about the middle of November. Than this sailing backwards and forwards, nothing was ever exhibited more strongly indicative of extreme folly and absolute imbecility in the national councils.

It was now resolved by the British government to drive the French out of Egypt, and the armament which had uselessly rolled about the Mediterranean for so many months, was appointed for that purpose. Sir Ralph Abercromby, accordingly, embarked at Malta on the 20th of December for the Bay of Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania; where cavalry horses were to be procured, and stores collected for the expedition, which, it was calculated, would sail for Alexandria by the 1st of January, 1801. Many things, however, occurred to retard their preparations. Among others of a like nature, three hundred horses, purchased by order of Lord Elgin, the British ambassador at Constantinople, were found, when they arrived at Marmorice, so small and so galled in their backs, as to be of no use, so that it was found necessary to shoot some, and to sell others at the low price of a dollar a-piece. It was believed that Lord Elgin had paid for a very different description of horses, but the persons to whose care they had been confided had found their account in chang-

ing them by the way. Good horses were procured by parties sent into the country for that purpose; but the sailing of the expedition was in consequence delayed till the end of February, instead of the first of January, as had been originally intended; and from the state of the weather, and other casualties, the landing could not be attempted before the 8th of March, on which day it was accomplished in Aboukir Bay, in a manner that reflected the highest honour on the British troops. During this delay Bonaparte had found means to reinforce his army in Egypt, and furnish it with all necessary stores; and the weather preventing the immediate disembarkation of the troops, enabled the French to make every preparation to receive them. The sand-hills which form the coast they had lined with numerous bodies of infantry, and every height was bristling with artillery. A most tremendous discharge of grapeshot and shells from the batteries, and of musketry from the infantry that lined the shore, seemed for a moment to stay the progress of the boats as they approached. But it was only for a moment. The rowers swept through the iron tempest to the beach; the troops leaped on shore, formed as they advanced, and rushing up the slippery declivity without firing a shot, drove the enemy from their position at the point of the bayonet. Successive bodies, as they were disembarked, proceeded to the help of their precursors; in spite of every obstruction, the whole army was landed before night; and Sir Ralph Abercromby, advancing three miles into the country, took up a position with his right resting upon Lake Madyeh or Aboukir, and his left stretching to the Mediterranean. On the 12th he moved forward to attack the French, who were most advantageously posted on a ridge of sand-hills, their right towards the sea, and their left resting upon the canal of Alexandria. On the morning of the 13th, the army marched in two lines by the left, to turn the right flank of the enemy. Aware of this, the French, with their whole cavalry, and a considerable body of infantry, poured down from the heights and attacked the heads of both lines, but were repulsed by the advanced-guard, consisting of the 90th and 92d regiments, with incomparable gallantry. The first line then formed into two, and advanced, while the second line turned the right of the French army, and drove it from its position. The enemy, however, made a regular retreat, and contested every inch of ground till they had reached the heights of Nicopolis, which form the principal defence of Alexandria. Anxious to carry these heights, Sir Ralph Abercromby unfortunately ordered forward the reserve under Sir John Moore, and the second line under General Huthcheson, to attack (the latter the right, and the former the left) both flanks at once. Advancing into the open plain, they were exposed to the whole range of the enemy's shot, which they had it not in their power to return; and, after all, the position was found to be commanded by the guns of the forts of Alexandria, so that it could not have been kept though they had stormed it. They were accordingly withdrawn, but with a most serious loss of men; and the British army took up the ground from which the enemy had been driven, occupying a position with its right to the sea and its left to the canal of Alexandria; a situation of great advantage, as it cut off all communication with Alexandria, except by the way of the desert. In this action, Sir Ralph was nearly enveloped in the charge of the French cavalry, and was only saved by the intrepidity of the 90th regiment. The garrison of Aboukir surrendered on the 18th; but to counterbalance this advantage,

the French commander-in-chief, Menou, arrived at Alexandria from Cairo on the 20th, with a reinforcement of 9000 men. Expecting to take the British by surprise, Menou, next morning, March the 21st, between three and four o'clock, attacked their position with his whole force, amounting to from 11,000 to 12,000 men. The action was commenced by a false attack on the left, their main strength being directed against the right, upon which they advanced in great force and with a prodigious noise, shouting, "Vive la France! Vive la République!" They were received, however, with perfect coolness by the British troops, who not only checked the impetuosity of the infantry, but repulsed several charges of cavalry. Greater courage was perhaps never exhibited than on this occasion: the different corps of both nations rivalled each other in the most determined bravery, and presented the extraordinary spectacle of an engagement in front, flanks, and rear, at the same time; so much were the contending parties intermingled. Nine hundred of Bonaparte's best soldiers, and from their tried valour denominated Invincibles, succeeded in turning the right of the British, between the walls of a large ruin and a battery. Three times did they storm the battery, and three times were the successive parties exterminated. Getting at last into the rear of the reserve, the 42d and the 28th regiments charged them with the bayonet, and drove them step by step into the inclosure of the ruin; where, between 600 and 700 of them being already stretched lifeless on the ground, the remainder called out for quarter, and were made prisoners. Not one of them returned. Equally determined was their attack on the centre, and it was there repelled with equal success. A heavy column having broken through the line, the cavalry accompanying it wheeled to their left and charged the rear of the reserve; but this charge was broken by the accidental state of the ground, which had been excavated into pit-holes about three feet deep, for the men to sleep in before the arrival of their camp equipage. Over these holes they had to make their charge, and in consequence were completely routed, more than 300 of them being left dead on the spot. Finding all his movements frustrated, Menou at length ordered a retreat, which he was able to effect in good order; the British having too few cavalry to pursue. His loss was supposed to be between 3000 and 4000 men, including many officers, among whom were General Raize, commander of the cavalry, who fell in the field, and two generals who died of their wounds. The loss of the British was also heavy, upwards of seventy officers being killed, wounded, and missing. Among these was the lamented commander-in-chief. Having hastened, on the first alarm, towards the cannonading, Sir Ralph must have ridden straight among the enemy, who had already broken the front line and got into its rear. It was not yet day, and being unable to distinguish friend from foe, he must have been embarrassed among the assailants, but he was extricated by the valour of his troops. To the first soldier that came up to him, he said, "Soldier, if you know me, don't name me." A French dragoon, at the moment, conjecturing the prize he had lost, rode up to Sir Ralph, and made a cut at him, but not being near enough, only cut through the clothes, and grazed the skin with the point of his sabre. The dragoon's horse wheeling about, brought him again to the charge, and he made a second attempt by a lunge, but the sabre passed between Sir Ralph's side and his right arm. The dragoon being at the instant shot dead, the sabre remained with the general. About the

same time it was discovered that he had been wounded in the thigh, and was entreated to have the wound examined; but he treated it as a trifle, and would not for a moment leave the field. No sooner, however, had the enemy begun to retreat, and the excitement of feeling under which he had been acting to subside, than he fainted from pain and the loss of blood. His wound was now examined, and a large incision made in order to extract the ball, but it could not be found. He was then put upon a litter, and carried aboard the *Foudroyant*, where he languished till the 28th, when he died. His body was interred in the burial-ground of the commandery of the grand-master, under the walls of the castle of St. Elan, near the town of Valetta in Malta.

Of the character of Sir Ralph Abercromby there can be but one opinion. Bred to arms almost from his infancy, he appeared to be formed for command. His dispositions were always masterly, and his success certain. He had served in America, in the West Indies, in Ireland, in the Netherlands, in Holland, and in Egypt; and had in all of these countries gained great distinction. In the two latter countries, especially, he performed services that were of incalculable advantage to his country. The battle of the 21st of March, or of Alexandria, while it decided the fate of Egypt, left an impression of British skill and of British valour upon the minds of both her friends and her enemies, that materially contributed to the splendid results of a contest longer in continuance, and involving interests of greater magnitude, than Britain had ever before been engaged in. The manner in which he repressed the licentiousness of the troops in Ireland was at once magnanimous and effective; and he ended a life of dignified exertion by a death worthy of a hero. "We have sustained an irreparable loss," says his successor, "in the person of our never enough to be lamented commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that, as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."¹

Sir Ralph Abercromby was married to Mary Anne, daughter of John Menzies of Fern-ton, Perthshire; by whom he had issue four sons and three daughters, who survived him. On the official account reaching England of the fate of her lamented husband, his widow was elevated to the peerage, May 28th, 1801, as Baroness Abercromby of Aboukir and Tullibody, with remainder to the heirs-male of the deceased general; and, on the recommendation of his majesty, the House of Commons, without one dissentient voice, granted an annuity of two thousand pounds to Lady Abercromby, and the next two succeeding male heirs of the body of Sir Ralph Abercromby, to whom the title of Baron Abercromby should descend. The House of Commons, farther, sensible of the great merits of this distinguished British commander, voted a monument to his

memory, at the public expense, which was subsequently erected in St. Paul's Cathedral.

ABERDEEN, GEORGE HAMILTON GORDON, FOURTH EARL OF. This distinguished Conservative statesman was the eldest son of George, Lord Haddo, eldest son of the third Earl of Aberdeen, and was born in Edinburgh on the 28th of January, 1784. He was not only born but educated in Toryism; and on being sent at the early age of ten to England, his chief guardians and directors were William Pitt and Lord Melville. While he was thus trained to political life, its particular bias in politics was also determined; and the Tory boy was father of the future legislator and statesman. His classical education was conducted first at the school of Harrow, and afterwards at St. John's College, Cambridge. His father, Lord Haddo, having previously deceased, the subject of our memoir, on the death of his grandfather at the commencement of the present century, became Earl of Aberdeen. As the short-lived peace of Amiens opened Europe to British tourists, the young earl availed himself of the opportunity by visiting France, and other parts of the continent, and collecting that practical knowledge of men and things which was afterwards available in his future career; he also visited Greece, the adopted country of the scholar and man of taste, and returned to England through Turkey and Russia. This visit to Greece, the oppressed and fallen, where everything was in such contrast to its old heroic monuments and remembrances, and the classical taste and knowledge which he brought to such a study, awoke, as was natural, the young earl's highest enthusiasm; and on returning home, one of his first acts was to establish the "Athenian Society," an essential rule of which was that every member should have visited Greece. He also contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* an elaborate article on the Topography of Troy; and wrote an introduction to Wilkins' translation of Vitruvius, in which he illustrated the beauties of the ancient Grecian architecture. But such ardour, however commendable in itself, was turned by his opponents into ridicule, the full brunt of which was brought to bear against him by Lord Byron himself, the most enthusiastic of Philhellenists; who, in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, dubbed him as "that travelled thane, Athenian Aberdeen." But something deeper than mere political pique may have embittered the sarcasm of Lord Byron. The estate of Gicht, which should have descended to his mother, had been sold by her improvident father to Lord Haddo, and the poetical peer may have felt indignant that the earl, however innocently, had supplanted him in the family possession.

In 1804 the Earl of Aberdeen took the degree of M.A. at the university, and in 1806, when he had arrived at the age of twenty-two, he commenced his public life by being elected a representative peer of Scotland. The condition, however, of public affairs was such as might well daunt a young aspirant for political place and responsibility. The peace of Amiens had been quickly terminated, and the war resumed more violently than ever. The victory of Trafalgar, indeed, had secured our supremacy by sea; but this was more than counterbalanced by the successes of Napoleon on land, which already had made him the arbiter of the fate of Europe. Wellington had not as yet appeared upon the scene; and our military expeditions, unwisely planned, had generally ended in disaster and defeat. In such a state of affairs, when the wisdom of the oldest and most experienced of our politicians was at fault, the conduct of the youthful senator was characterized by modest

¹ The following panegyric upon Sir Ralph in another character was written before his death:—"As a country gentleman, ever attentive to all within the circle of his movement, he stands high in the estimation of his neighbours and dependants; and when his military glory shall have fallen into oblivion, it will be gratefully remembered that he was the friend of the destitute poor, the patron of useful knowledge, and the promoter of education among the meanest of his cottagers: as an instance it may be mentioned, that in the village of Tullibody, on his paternal estate, a reading school, under his immediate inspection, was established many years back."—*Campbell's Journey through Scotland*, 4to, 1802, vol. ii.

discretion; and although he steadily supported his party, his voice was seldom heard in the arena of discussion and debate. It was not indeed as a political orator that he was to win his way to influence and distinction, and this general silence distinguished the whole of the earl's public career to the end. But his talents were not the less felt; so that after the reverses of Napoleon in Russia, he was selected for a task of peculiar difficulty and delicacy: this was to detach the Emperor of Austria from the interests of Bonaparte, although his son-in-law, and induce him to unite with the allied sovereigns for his overthrow. That the Earl of Aberdeen should have been chosen for such a mission—on the success of which the fate of Europe depended—shows the estimation in which he was held, although as yet he was scarcely thirty years old. The result of his negotiations justified the choice of our statesmen; and his proceedings at the court of Vienna, as British ambassador, form an important portion of the history of the period. But instead of a full detail, we can only give a passing notice of their effects. Austria was, in the first instance, persuaded to become neutral; she next ventured to mediate between the contending parties; afterwards, to perform the part of mediator with effect, she found it necessary to suspend the alliance subsisting between her and France; and finally, in 1813, she joined the coalition against Napoleon. The reverses of the French arms in the Peninsula, the indecisive victories of Bonaparte at Lützen and Bautzen, the promise of a large subsidy from the British government to aid Austria in the struggle, and the prospect of reconstructing her broken dominion upon the downfall of the conqueror of Europe, were inducements too alluring to be disregarded; and the Emperor of Austria became the hostile opponent of a son-in-law whose day of prosperity was evidently drawing to a close.

In those subsequent victories by which the armies of Bonaparte were overthrown, the Earl of Aberdeen, from his attendance on the Emperor of Austria, saw a large amount of the horrors of war in their worst forms—an experience which may either have created or confirmed that love of peace and non-intervention by which his administration was afterwards characterized, and for which he was so heavily blamed. He witnessed the fights of Lützen and Bautzen; after the battle of Dresden Moreau died in his quarters; with Humboldt he rode over the field of Leipsic, when it was freshly torn by the ploughshare of military destruction; and on one occasion, near Chaumont, both emperor and ambassador, with their whole diplomatic staff, had to ride for their lives to escape the enemy, and never draw bridle until they had reached Dijon, about thirteen leagues distant. But besides a knowledge of the evils of war, with which such incidents made him personally acquainted, his situation as ambassador brought him frequently into contact with Prince Metternich and other foreign statesmen, by whose society his Conservative principles are supposed to have been strengthened, and his policy as foreign minister of Britain afterwards so materially influenced. After securing the Emperor of Austria to the cause of the allied sovereigns, the Earl of Aberdeen was commissioned to withdraw Joachim Murat, King of Naples, from the cause of his brother-in-law Napoleon, who had trained him to greatness, and to whom he owed everything. Diplomacy has duties every whit as stern and unmerciful as those of war, although they are more coolly and dispassionately performed; and the task of Aberdeen, which was to sow dissension among the kindred of the falling hero, and detach them from his cause, was by no means pleasant, however justified by

political necessity. Here also the earl was successful; and he “of the snow-white plume,” the crowned dragoon who had so often in battle been Bonaparte's right arm, joined the allies, on the promise of being confirmed in his Neapolitan throne. These alienations of his best supports, by which the downfall of the French emperor was insured more effectually than by his reverses in the field, were chiefly owing to the young Scottish statesman who, silently and with his pen, was directing those movements under which the greatest of conquerors succumbed. The earl remained in attendance upon the Austrian emperor until the termination of the war, and was present as British ambassador at Chatillon, where the congress of the allied sovereigns was assembled. When so many difficult claims were to be adjusted, it was necessary that Britain, the paymaster of the war, should be fully represented; and thither accordingly Lord Castlereagh, our foreign secretary, and Sir Charles Stuart (afterwards Marquis of Londonderry) were sent as colleagues to Aberdeen and Lord Cathcart. It was a curious destination, by which two Irishmen were balanced by two Scots, as if the fervour of the one nation was to be kept in check by the proverbial cautiousness of the other. At the termination of the war in 1814, the Earl of Aberdeen was advanced to a British peerage by the title of Viscount Gordon.

On the return of the earl to England with the high political prestige he had won, it might have been expected that he would devote himself to public life, and take an important place in the administration. But previous to his mission to Vienna, his wife, a daughter of the first Marquis of Abercorn, whom he had married in 1805, died; and it is not impossible that in his acceptance of such an onerous charge, he sought the solace of a young widowed heart in the bustle of occupation. Be that as it may, when he returned home, he again sought domestic happiness by marrying the widow of Viscount Hamilton, the sister-in-law of his former wife, and mother of the second Marquis of Abercorn. Living aloof from the turmoil of politics and the allurements of ambition, he now devoted himself to those classical studies for which he had shown an early predilection, intermixed with exertions for the improvement of his estates and the comfort of his tenantry. His passion among these rural employments was chiefly the planting of trees, so that whole forests of which his old age saw the maturity, were the reward of his early exertions. In this peaceful manner his life was spent until the year 1828, when the Tories acquired the ascendancy. In this case Lord Aberdeen was not to be overlooked, and under the administration of the Duke of Wellington he became secretary of foreign affairs. In this important office he was enabled to realize his youthful aspirations in behalf of Greece. That country, after a long, ruinous, and doubtful struggle against the overwhelming power of Turkey, had taken fresh courage from the interference of England, France, and Russia in its behalf, and the naval victory which the united fleets of these three powers had obtained over the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the battle of Navarino. In consequence of this promising change, the Greeks had renewed the unequal struggle, and, chiefly through the return of “Athenian Aberdeen” to political office, their efforts were successful; and the erection of the principal states of Greece into an independent Hellenic kingdom was the result. It was the first of a series of experiments in a great political problem, the working of which was reserved for the nineteenth century, and that still awaits solution. It may be called the problem of the resurrection of nations. A nation,

after a life of eight or ten centuries, has finished its natural term of existence, and when it expires its place is occupied by some young successor, who runs a similar career. But can a defunct nation live over again? The trial has been made in our own day, first with Greece, and afterwards with Italy, while the final issue is still an uncertainty.

With the exception of this interference in behalf of Greece, Lord Aberdeen, as secretary for foreign affairs, most scrupulously adhered to his principle of non-intervention. Thus, when Louis Philippe was recognized by the French as their king, instead of sticking for the rights of the elder branch of the Bourbons, he at once assented to the change. He refused to involve this country in a war for the displacement of Dom Miguel from the usurped throne of Portugal; and when the quadruple alliance was formed by Lord Palmerston between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, Lord Aberdeen was opposed to the measure. He also was anxious to maintain our peaceful relationships with Austria and Russia, when the popular feeling of Britain was inclined for war. But these pacific tendencies, under which our island became prosperous, were despised as the effects of a timid or selfish policy; and his lordship was alternately reproached or ridiculed as the friend of foreign despots, and the secret enemy of British liberty. Very different was the view entertained in foreign courts, where he was regarded as a wise, humane, disinterested statesman. The same peaceful character regulated his conduct in reference to our disputes with America, and it was under his direction that Lord Ashburton negotiated those difficult questions about boundaries by which a threatened war between Britain and the United States was happily averted.

The first tenure of office held by Lord Aberdeen as foreign secretary was brought to a close in 1830, by the accession of William IV., and the passing of the reform bill. But whether in or out of office, his political character was so well established, that his opinions had always weight and influence with the ruling powers. In 1834, during Sir Robert Peel's brief administration, he held office as colonial secretary, and again under that statesman in 1841, as foreign secretary; and he rendered material aid to Sir Robert in carrying the repeal of the corn-laws, and the reforms connected with our commerce. In this matter of the corn-laws, he was not obliged, like the premier and many of our statesmen, to unread his own declarations and falsify his former promises, as he had long seen the justice as well as the necessity of a repeal. The same consistency regulated his conduct in voting for the repeal of the test and corporation acts, feeling as a Presbyterian that the eucharist was profaned when used as a qualification for public office.

As Lord Aberdeen was one of the few Scottish noblemen who adhered to the national church of his own country, the events that led to the disruption in 1843 could not fail to secure his anxious attention. The two parties into which the Church of Scotland had been long divided, had at length come to hostile issue; and a conflict was inevitable, in which one or the other party must go to the wall. His endeavours to reconcile them, and prevent such a consequence, were both sincere and earnest. But the question in debate among the contending clergymen was so little understood by the laity, and the politics of the church are so different from those of the state, that the healing measures of mere diplomatists, which might prevent two nations from going to war, will sometimes only aggravate a theological controversy. Each party is persuaded that its cause is that of eter-

nal truth—that not a single pin of the sacred tabernacle can be yielded up without ruining the whole fabric—and that whosoever suggests such concession, can only be a Gallio, who cares for none of these things. Such in the present case was the fate of Lord Aberdeen, and his statesmanlike proposals for their mutual reconciliation: his healing measure for that purpose was supposed only to have hastened on the disruption which it sought to avert. The church was rent asunder, and while each party claimed to be the only true Church of Scotland, his plan, called Lord Aberdeen's Act, which had been at once rejected by the Free Church, has been found by the other an impracticable device, and a blunder in ecclesiastical polity. It will be well when statesmen cease to legislate in religious doctrines which they cannot understand, and in a spiritual government with which they should not meddle.

On the retirement of Sir Robert Peel after the corn-law bill had been carried, the Earl of Aberdeen followed his example, and on the melancholy and sudden death of the former, the earl was recognized as the head of the party called the Peelites. Although small in numbers, and suffering under the odium occasioned by the abolition of the protection duties, they were still powerful from their position and political talents. This was acknowledged when both Whigs and Tories had failed to carry on the government, so that on the downfall of the Derby-Disraeli ministry in 1852, the earl was called upon to form a new administration. He complied, and succeeded by forming a coalition not of one, but of all parties, so that the new cabinet was composed of members of every shade of political opinion from the ultra-Tory to the extreme Radical. Such a stretch of liberality, while it was demanded by the necessity of the occasion, would have found few statesmen capable of imitating.

The first great trial of the new government with Lord Aberdeen at its head, was the Russian war. The pacific principles by which his political life had been governed had now become with him a second nature, while the benefits of the long peace which had generally prevailed in Europe during forty years seemed to warrant their propriety. Here his lordship was placed in a manifest dilemma. A bold and decisive course might either arrest the outbreak, or bring it only the sooner into action. Dismayed by the uncertainty of such an experiment, Lord Aberdeen temporized, first in the hope that war might be averted, and afterwards, that although declared it would not be carried out. In this vacillation he was seconded by some of the ablest members of the cabinet, so that when the Crimean war broke out the country was only half prepared. On the events of this glorious but unfortunate war we shall not here dwell: it is enough to state, that the preparations to meet it were so defective, and the mode of carrying it on so unsatisfactory, that the public discontent compelled the cabinet to resign. His lordship quitted office on the 30th of January, 1855, and retired to private life; and while he carried with him the esteem of all parties, who acknowledged him to have been a wise and upright statesman, notwithstanding the defects of his administration, he was honoured by the queen with the order of the Garter in acknowledgment of his public services.

While his lordship's political career had thus on the whole been illustrious, and so beneficial to his country, it was in private life that his amiable qualities were best felt and appreciated. He was enthusiastically beloved by his tenants, to whom he was ever an indulgent creditor; none of them were distressed for rent or ejected for its non-payment; and

while all of them were comfortable, not a few of them became rich under such a kind considerate landlord. He also showed, even when worn out with years and sickness, that however attached to peace with foreign powers, and non-intervention in their quarrels, he was ready to prefer war to peace when the honour or safety of the country was at stake. This he showed in the volunteer movement, when apprehensions of a foreign invasion called forth such an armed demonstration. The earl was one of its strongest supporters, and his tenantry raised the second rifle corps in Aberdeenshire, which had his son, the Hon. Arthur Hamilton Gordon, for its captain. One of his last public acts was to give a proof of his heartiness in this patriotic movement. On the 2d of October, 1860, the earl invited the officers of the Methlic and Turves Volunteer rifles (his own tenants) to Haddo House, and presented to each of them a handsome and valuable sword, bearing an inscription and the name of the donor—and this, too, when he was so weak that he was obliged to sit on a couch, and had hardly strength to lift the weapons. His lordship died on the 14th December, 1860, at Argyll House, London, aged seventy-six.

ABERNETHY, JOHN, an eminent surgeon and writer on physiology. The birth and parentage of this gentleman were so obscure, that it is impossible to say with certainty whether he was a native of Ireland or of Scotland. It is even affirmed that he was himself ignorant of the country of his birth. Upon the supposition that he was born in Scotland, his name is introduced in the present work. The date of his birth is given loosely as 1763-64. His parents having brought him in his infancy to London, he commenced his education at a day-school in Lothbury, where he acquired the elements of classical literature. Having afterwards been bound apprentice to Mr. Charles Blick, surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, he had the advantage of attending that noble institution, where he eagerly seized every opportunity of making himself practically acquainted with his profession. He also had the advantage of attending the lectures of Mr. John Hunter, at the time when that gentleman was commencing the development of those great discoveries which have made his name so famous. The curiosity which those discoveries excited in the public at large, was felt in an uncommon degree by Mr. Abernethy, whose assiduity and ardour as a pupil attracted the notice of the lecturer, and rendered the latter his friend for life.

While as yet a very young practitioner, his reputation procured for Mr. Abernethy the situation of assistant-surgeon at St. Bartholomew's; and he soon after commenced a course of lectures in the hospital, which, though not very successful at first, became in time the most frequented of any in London, so as to lay the foundation of a medical school of the highest reputation in connection with this institution. On the death of Sir Charles Blick, his former master, Mr. Abernethy, now considered as the best teacher of anatomy, physiology, and surgery in the metropolis, was elected surgeon to the hospital.

The first publications of Mr. Abernethy were a few physiological essays, and one on lumbar abscess, which, with some additions, formed his first volume, published 1793-97, in 8vo, under the title of *Surgical and Physiological Essays*. These were characterized by the same strong sense, and plain and forcible illustration, which marked everything that flowed from his tongue and pen till the end of his life. In 1804 appeared another volume, entitled *Surgical Observations, containing a Classification of*

Tumours, with Cases to illustrate the History of each Species; an Account of Diseases, &c.; and, in 1806, *Surgical Observations, Part Second, containing an Account of Disorders of the Health in general, and of the Digestive Organs in particular, which accompany Local Diseases, and obstruct their Cure*. The fame of these treatises soon spread, not only throughout England, but over the continent of Europe; and the French surgeons, especially, did homage to the masterly spirit they evinced. Bold and successful operations, practical and lucid descriptions, original and comprehensive views, all combined to enhance the great reputation of the author, and to elevate the character of the national school of which he was so bright an ornament.

In 1814 Mr. Abernethy received what might be considered as the highest honour which his profession had to bestow, in being appointed anatomical lecturer to the Royal College of Surgeons. An anecdote illustrative of his sound integrity is told in reference to this era of his life. A fellow of the college having remarked to him, that now they should have something new, Mr. Abernethy seriously asked him what he meant. "Why," said the other, "of course you will brush up the lectures which you have been so long delivering at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and let us have them in an improved form." "Do you take me for a fool or a knave?" rejoined Mr. Abernethy. "I have always given the students at the hospital that to which they are entitled—the best produce of my mind. If I could have made my lectures to them better, I would instantly have made them so. I will give the College of Surgeons precisely the same lectures, down to the smallest details." In the year of this honourable appointment, he published *An Inquiry into the Probability and Rationality of Mr. Hunter's Theory of Life*; being the subject of the two first lectures delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons of London. The aim of these lectures was to elucidate the doctrine previously laid down by Mr. Hunter, that "life, in general, is some principle of activity added by the will of Omnipotence to organized structure, an immaterial soul being superadded, in man, to the structure and vitality which he possesses in common with other animals." Of this work, it is generally allowed that the intentions are better than the philosophy.

Previously to this period, Mr. Abernethy had published other treatises besides those already named. One of the most remarkable was *Surgical Observations on the Constitutional Origin and Treatment of Local Diseases, and on Aneurism*, 8vo, 1809. His memorable cases of tying the iliac artery for aneurism are detailed in this volume; cases which may almost be said to form an era in adventurous surgical experiment. Mr. Abernethy also wrote works on *Diseases resembling Syphilis*, and on *Diseases of the Urethra*; *On Injuries of the Head and Miscellaneous Subjects*; and another volume of *Physiological Essays*. He was likewise the author of the anatomical and physiological articles in Rees's *Cyclopædia*, previous to the article *Canal*. Among his various accomplishments must be ranked a considerable acquaintance with chemistry; and one of his numerous honours is the having, in company with Mr. Howard, discovered fulminating mercury.

Besides his business as a lecturer, Mr. Abernethy enjoyed a vast and lucrative practice as a surgeon. His manner in both capacities was marked by many eccentricities, but particularly in the latter. He could not endure the tedious and confused narratives which patients are apt to lay before a consulting surgeon,

and, in checking these, was not apt to regard much the rules of good-breeding. Considerable risks were thus encountered for the sake of his advice; but this was generally so excellent, that those who required it were seldom afraid to hazard the slight offence to their feelings with which it was liable to be accompanied. Many anecdotes of Mr. Abernethy's encounters with his patients are preserved in the profession. The two following are given in Sir James Eyre's recent work, *The Stomach and its Difficulties*:—"A very talkative lady, who had wearied the temper of Mr. Abernethy, which was at all times impatient of gabble, was told by him the first moment that he could get a chance of speaking, to be good enough to put out her tongue. 'Now, pray, madam,' said he, playfully, 'keep it out.' The hint was taken. He rarely met with his match, but on one occasion he fairly owned that he had. He was sent for to an innkeeper, who had had a quarrel with his wife, and who had scored his face with her nails, so that the poor man was bleeding and much disfigured. Mr. Abernethy considered this an opportunity not to be lost for admonishing the offender, and said, 'Madam, are you not ashamed of yourself to treat your husband thus; the husband, who is the head of all, *your* head, madam, in fact?' 'Well, doctor,' fiercely retorted the virago, 'and may I not scratch my own head?' Upon this her friendly adviser, after giving directions for the benefit of the patient, turned upon his heel, and confessed himself beaten for once." But abruptness and rudeness were not his only eccentricities. He carried practical benevolence to a pitch as far from the common line as any of his other peculiarities. Where poverty and disease prevented patients from waiting upon him in his own house, he was frequently known, not only to visit them constantly, and at inconvenient distances, without fee or reward, but generously to supply them from his own purse with what their wants required. Perhaps the most striking, out of the numerous anecdotes which have been related of him, in illustration of his eccentricities, is one descriptive of his courtship, or rather of his no-courtship. "While attending a lady for several weeks, he observed those admirable qualifications in her daughter which he truly esteemed to be calculated to make the marriage state happy. Accordingly, on a Saturday, when taking leave of his patient, he addressed her to the following purport:—"You are now so well that I need not see you after Monday next, when I shall come and pay you my farewell visit. But, in the meantime, I wish you and your daughter seriously to consider the proposal I am now about to make. It is abrupt and unceremonious, I am aware; but the excessive occupation of my time by my professional duties affords me no leisure to accomplish what I desire by the more ordinary course of attention and solicitation. My annual receipts amount to £—, and I can settle £— on my wife; my character is generally known to the public, so that you may readily ascertain what it is. I have seen in your daughter a tender and affectionate child, an assiduous and careful nurse, and a gentle and ladylike member of a family; such a person must be all that a husband could covet, and I offer my hand and fortune for her acceptance. On Monday, when I call, I shall expect your determination; for I really have not time for the routine of courtship." In this humour the lady was wooed and won, and the union proved fortunate in every respect. A happier couple never existed."

After a life of great activity, and which proved of much immediate and remote service to mankind, the subject of this memoir expired, at Enfield, on the 20th of April, 1831.

ADAM, ALEXANDER, an eminent grammarian and writer on Roman antiquities, was born at Coats of Burgie, in the parish of Rafford and county of Moray, about the month of June, 1741. His father, John Adam, rented one of those small farms which were formerly so common in the north of Scotland. In his earlier years, like many children of his own class, and even of a class higher removed above poverty, he occasionally tended his father's cattle. Being destined by his parents, poor as they were, for a learned profession, he was kept at the parish school till he was thought fit to come forward as a bursar at the university of Aberdeen. He made this attempt, but failed, and was requested by the judges to go back and study for another year at school. This incident only stimulated him to fresh exertions. He was prevented, however, from renewing his attempt at Aberdeen, by the representations of the Rev. Mr. Watson, a minister at Edinburgh, and a relation of his mother, who induced him to try his fortune in the metropolis. He removed thither early in the year 1758; but, it appears, without any assured means of supporting himself during the progress of his studies. For a considerable time, while attending the classes at the college, the only means of subsistence he enjoyed consisted of the small sum of one guinea per quarter, which he derived from Mr. Alan Macconochie (afterwards Lord Meadowbank), for assisting him in the capacity of a tutor. The details of his system of life at this period, as given by his biographer Mr. Henderson, are painfully interesting. "He lodged in a small room at Restalrig, in the north-eastern suburbs; and for this accommodation he paid fourpence a-week. All his meals, except dinner, uniformly consisted of oatmeal made into porridge, together with small beer, of which he only allowed himself half a bottle at a time. When he wished to dine, he purchased a penny loaf at the nearest baker's shop; and, if the day was fair, he would despatch his meal in a walk to the Meadows or Hope Park, which is adjoining to the southern part of the city; but if the weather was foul, he had recourse to some long and lonely stair, which he would climb, eating his dinner at every step. By this means all expense for cookery was avoided, and he wasted neither coal nor candles; for, when he was chill, he used to run till his blood began to glow, and his evening studies were always prosecuted under the roof of some one or other of his companions." There are many instances, we believe, among Scottish students, of the most rigid self-denial, crowned at length by splendid success; but there is certainly no case known in which the self-denial was so chastened, and the triumph so grand, as that of Dr. Adam. In 1761, when he was exactly twenty, he stood a trial for the situation of head teacher in George Watson's Hospital, Edinburgh, and was successful. In this place he is said to have continued about three years; during which he was anxiously engaged in cultivating an intimacy with the classics—reading, with great care, and in a critical manner, the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Cicero, and Livy. His views were now directed towards the church, and he was on the eve of being licensed as a preacher of the gospel, when suddenly a prospect opened before him of becoming assistant, with the hope of being eventually the successor, of Mr. Matheson, rector of the high-school. This appointment he obtained, and in 1771 the increased infirmities of Mr. Matheson threw the whole of this charge into the hands of Mr. Adam.

The time when he assumed this respectable office was very fortunate. Every department of knowledge in Scotland was at this period adorned by higher



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FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY J. H. HENNING

names than had ever before graced it; and hence the office of master in the principal elementary school of the country presented to a man of superior qualifications a fair opportunity of distinguishing himself. This opportunity was not lost upon Mr. Adam. He devoted himself with singular assiduity to his duties; and under his auspices the school gradually increased in numbers and reputation. Soon after his appointment he began to compose a series of works to facilitate the study of the Latin language. His *Rudiments of Latin and English Grammar* were published in 1772, and though composed in a style which appeared to the generality of teachers as a dreadful schism and heresy, met with the approbation of a discerning few, whose praise was sufficient to overbalance the censure of the multitude. His offence consisted in the novel attempt to teach the grammatical rules of Latin in English prose, instead of Latin prose or verse, which latter had been the time-honoured fashion of the schools both of England and Scotland since the days of the Reformation. The daring innovator was assailed with a storm of abuse by numerous individuals, more especially by those of his own profession.

Among those who took an active part in condemning his work, Dr. Gilbert Stuart was very conspicuous. This extraordinary *litterateur* was a relation of Ruddiman; and, as an additional incentive to his hostility, conceived that Adam had gained the rectorship of the high-school more by interest than by merit. He accordingly filled the periodical works of the day with ridicule and abuse directed against the unfortunate grammar. Amongst other pasquinades appeared an account, in Latin, of a Roman funeral, in which that work was personified as the dead body, while the chief mourner was meant to represent Mr. Adam sorrowing for the untimely fate of his best-beloved child. The other persons officiating are introduced under the technical terms in use among the ancient Romans; and, to heighten the ridicule, and give it aid from local circumstances, the ingenious satirist placed in front of the mourners a poor lunatic of the name of Duff, well known in Edinburgh at the time for his punctual attendance at the head of all funeral processions. While his work was still the subject of censure, the ingenious author was partly compensated for all his sufferings by a degree of LL.D., which was conferred upon him by the College of Edinburgh in 1780. Some years after the grammar began gradually to make its way in schools, and finally he had the satisfaction of seeing it adopted in his own seminary. Among the great names which at an early period had sanctioned it with their approbation are those of Lord Kames, Bishop Lowth, and Dr. Vincent, master of St. Paul's School.

The next work of Dr. Adam is entitled *A Summary of Geography and History* but the date of the first edition is not mentioned by his biographer. In 1791 he published his excellent compendium of *Roman Antiquities*, and in 1800 his *Classical Biography*; for the copyright of the former he received £600, and for that of the latter £300. Dr. Adam's last and perhaps his most laborious work was his *Latin Dictionary*, published in 1805. Towards the beginning his illustrations are brief, but, as he proceeds, they gradually become more copious. It was his intention to add an English-and-Latin part, and to enlarge the other to a considerable extent. In this favourite plan he had made some progress at the time of his death.

On the 13th of December, 1809, Dr. Adam was seized in the high-school with an alarming indisposition, which had all the appearance of apoplexy.

Having been conducted home, he was put to bed, and enjoyed a sound sleep, which appeared to have arrested the progress of the disease, for he was afterwards able to walk about his room. The apoplectic symptoms, however, returned in a few days, and he fell into a state of stupor. His last words marked the gradual darkening of the ray of life and intellect beneath this mortal disorder. He said, "It grows dark, boys—you may go—" his mind evidently wandering at that moment to the scene where he had spent the better part of his life. This twilight soon settled down into the night of death: he expired early in the morning of the 18th December, 1809. The death of the amiable and excellent Dr. Adam operated among his numerous friends and admirers like a shock of electricity. Men of all ages and denominations were loud in lamenting an event which had bereaved them of a common benefactor. The effect of the general feeling was a resolution to honour him with what was at that time a very rare circumstance in Scotland—a public funeral.

The life of Dr. Adam proves, had any proof been wanting, the possibility of rising to distinction in this country from any grade of life, and through whatsoever intervening difficulties. In 1758 and 1759 he was a student living at the inconceivably humble rate of four guineas a year; in ten years thereafter he had qualified himself for, and attained, a situation which, in Scotland, is an object of ambition to men of considerable literary rank. The principal features of his character were, unshaken independence and integrity, ardour in the cause of public liberty, the utmost purity of manners and singleness of heart, and a most indefatigable power of application to the severest studies. "His external appearance was that of a scholar who dressed neatly for his own sake, but who had never incommoded himself with fashion in the cut of his coat or in the regulation of his gait. Upon the street he often appeared in a studious attitude, and in winter always walked with his hands crossed, and thrust into his sleeves. His features were regular and manly, and he was above the middle size. In his well-formed proportions and in his firm regular pace there appeared the marks of habitual temperance. He must have been generally attractive in his early days; and, in his old age, his manners and conversation enhanced the value and interest of every qualification. When he addressed his scholars, when he commended excellence, or when he was seated at his own fireside with a friend on whom he could rely, it was delightful to be near him; and no man could leave his company without declaring that he loved Dr. Adam."

ADAM, ROBERT, an eminent architect, was born at Edinburgh in the year 1728. His father, William Adam, of Maryburgh, in the county of Fife, also distinguished himself as an architect: Hopetoun House and the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh are specimens of his abilities. Robert, the second son, inherited his father's taste, and lived in a time more favourable to its development. He was educated in the university of Edinburgh, where he enjoyed the kind attentions of Robertson, Smith, and Ferguson, all of whom were his father's friends. As he advanced in life he was on friendly and intimate terms with Archibald, Duke of Argyle, Sir Charles Townshend, and the Earl of Mansfield. About the year 1754, with a view to improve his knowledge of architecture, he travelled on the Continent, and resided three years in Italy, where he surveyed the magnificent specimens of Roman architecture, the buildings of the ancients, in his opinion, being the proper school of the architectural student. But

while he beheld with much pleasure the remains of the public buildings of the Romans, he regretted to perceive that hardly a vestige of their private houses or villas was anywhere to be found. The interest which he felt in this particular branch of Roman remains, and his anxiety to behold a good specimen of the private buildings of this wonderful people, induced him to undertake a voyage to Spalatro, in Dalmatia, to visit and examine the palace of Dioclesian, where, after his resignation of the empire, in 305, that emperor spent the last nine years of his life. He sailed from Venice in 1754, accompanied by two experienced draughtsmen and M. Clerisseau, a French antiquary and artist. On their arrival at Spalatro they found that the palace had not suffered less from dilapidations by the inhabitants, to procure materials for building, than from the injuries of time; and that, in many places, the very foundations of the ancient structures were covered with modern houses. When they began their labours the vigilant jealousy of the government was alarmed, and they were soon interrupted; for, suspecting their object was to view and make plans of the fortifications, the governor issued a peremptory order, commanding them to desist. It was only through the influence and mediation of General Græme, the commander-in-chief of the Venetian forces (probably a Scotsman), that they were at length permitted to resume their labours; and in five weeks they finished plans and views of the remaining fragments, from which they afterwards executed perfect designs of the whole building. Mr. Adam soon after returned to England, and speedily rose to professional eminence. In 1762 he was appointed architect to their majesties, and in the year following he published, in one volume large folio, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro, in Dalmatia*. This splendid work contains seventy-one plates, besides letter-press descriptions. He had at this time been elected a member of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and in 1768 he was elected to represent Kinross-shire in parliament, which was probably owing to the local influence of his family. A seat in the House of Commons being incompatible with employment under the crown, he now resigned his office as architect to their majesties; but continued to prosecute his professional career with increasing reputation, being much employed by the English nobility and gentry in constructing new and embellishing ancient mansions. In the year 1773, in conjunction with his brother, James Adam, who also rose to considerable reputation as an architect, he commenced *The Works in Architecture of R. and J. Adam*, which before 1776 had reached a fourth number, and was a work of equal splendour with the one above referred to. The four numbers contain, among other productions, Sion House, Caen Wood, Luton Park House, the Gateway of the Admiralty, and the General Register House at Edinburgh; all of which have been admired for elegant design and correct taste, though the present age, in its rage for a severe simplicity, might desire the absence of certain minute ornaments with which the Adams were accustomed to fill up vacant spaces. Before this period the two brothers had reared in London that splendid monument of their taste—the Adelphi, which, however, was too extensive a speculation to be profitable. They were obliged in 1774 to obtain an act of parliament to dispose of the houses by way of lottery. The chief Scottish designs of Adam, besides the Register Office, were the new additions to the University of Edinburgh and the Infirmary of Glasgow. "We have also seen and admired," says a biographer, "elegant designs executed by Mr. Adam, which were intended

for the South Bridge and South Bridge Street of Edinburgh; and which, if they had been adopted, would have added much to the decoration of that part of the town. But they were considered unsuitable to the taste or economy of the times, and were therefore rejected. Strange incongruities," continues the same writer, "appear in some buildings which have been erected from designs by Mr. Adam. But of these it must be observed, that they have been altered or mutilated in execution, according to the convenience or taste of the owner; and it is well known that a slight deviation changes the character and mars the effect of the general design. A lady of rank was furnished by Mr. Adam with the design of a house; but on examining the building after it was erected, he was astonished to find it out of all proportion. On inquiring the cause he was informed that the pediment he had designed was too small to admit a piece of new sculpture which represented the arms of the family, and, by the date which it bore, incontestably proved its antiquity. It was therefore absolutely necessary to enlarge the dimensions of the pediment to receive this ancient badge of family honour, and sacrifice the beauty and proportion of the whole building. We have seen a large public building which was also designed by Mr. Adam; but when it was erected the length was curtailed of the space of two windows, while the other parts remained according to the original plan. It now appears a heavy unsightly pile, instead of exhibiting that elegance of proportion and correctness of style which the faithful execution of Mr. Adam's design would have probably given it. To the last period of his life Mr. Adam displayed the same vigour of genius and refinement of taste; for in the space of one year immediately preceding his death he designed eight great public works, besides twenty-five private buildings, so various in style, and beautiful in composition, that they have been allowed by the best judges to be sufficient of themselves to establish his fame as an unrivalled artist." Mr. Adam died on the 3d of March, 1792, by the bursting of a blood-vessel, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. It remains only to be said that, while his works commanded the admiration of the public, his natural suavity of manners, joined to his excellent moral character, had made a deep impression upon the circle of his own private friends. His brother James, who has been referred to as associated with him in many of his works, died October 20, 1794.

ADAMSON, HENRY, a poet of the seventeenth century, and probably a relative of the subject of the following article, was the son of James Adamson, who was dean of guild in Perth, anno 1600, when the Gowrie conspiracy took place in that city. The poet was educated for the pulpit, and appears to have made considerable progress in classical studies, as he wrote Latin poetry above mediocrity. He enjoyed the friendship and esteem of a large circle of the eminent men of that age, particularly Drummond of Hawthornden, who induced him, in 1638, to publish a poem entitled *Mirthful Musings for the Death of Mr. Gall*; being in fact a versified history of his native town, full of quaint allegorical allusions suitable to the taste of that age. A new edition of this curious poem, which had become exceedingly rare, was published in 1774, with illustrative notes by Mr. James Cant. The ingenious author died in 1639, the year after the publication of his poem.

ADAMSON, PATRICK, Archbishop of St. Andrews. This prelate, whose name occupies so

remarkable a place in the history of the Scottish reformation, was born of humble parents, in the town of Perth, in or nigh the year 1543. He studied at the university of St. Andrews, and, after having gone through the usual course, he graduated as Master of Arts. His name at this period was Patrick Consteane, or Constance, or Constantine, for in all these forms it is written indifferently; but how it afterwards passed into Adamson we have no means of ascertaining. At the close of his career at college, he opened a school in Fife, and soon obtained the notice and patronage of James M'Gill of Rankeillor, one of the judges of the Court of Session, who possessed considerable political influence. He had not long been minister of Ceres, to which he had been appointed, when we find him impatient to quit his charge; and accordingly, in 1564, he applied to the General Assembly for leave "to pass to other countries for a time, to acquire increase of knowledge," but was inhibited to leave his charge without the Assembly's license. That license, however, he seems at length to have obtained, and probably also before the meeting of the Assembly in the following year, when they published such stringent decisions against those ministers who abandon their spiritual charges. Patrick Constance, or, as we shall henceforth call him, Adamson, now appointed tutor of the son of M'Gill of Rankeillor, passed over with his young charge, who was destined for the study of the civil law, to Paris, at that time the chief school of the distinguished jurisconsults of Europe.

Adamson had not been long in Paris when such adventures befell him as might well make him sigh for the lowly obscurity of Ceres. In the course of events that had occurred in Scotland during his absence, were the marriage of Queen Mary and Henry Darnley, and the birth of their infant, afterwards James VI.; and Adamson, who at this time was more of a courtier than a politician, and more of a poet than either, immediately composed a triumphant "carmen" on the event, entitled, *Serenissimi ac nobilissimi Scotia, Anglia, Francia, et Hibernia Principis, Henrici Stuarti Illustrissimi Herois, ac Mariæ Reginae amplissima Filii, Genethliacum*. The very title was a startling one, both to France and England, the great political questions of which countries it at once prejudged, by giving them the Scottish queen for their lawful, indisputable sovereign. Had this poem, which was published a few days after the event, been produced in England, its author would scarcely have escaped the Star Chamber; but as it was, he was within the reach of Catherine de Medicis, to the full as jealous of her authority as Elizabeth herself. Adamson was therefore rewarded for his Latin poetry by a six months' imprisonment, which perhaps would have been succeeded by a worse inflection, had it not been for the mediation of Mary herself, backed by that of some of her chief nobles. It did not at that time suit the policy of France to break with Scotland, and the poet was set at liberty. Having thus had a sufficient sojourn in Paris, Adamson repaired with his pupil to Bourges, where both entered themselves as students of law. Even here, however, he was not long allowed to remain in safety. The massacre of St. Bartholomew—that foul national blot of France, and anomaly of modern history—burst out with the suddenness of a tornado, and, amidst the ruin that followed, no Protestant could be assured of his life for a single hour. Adamson had his full share of the danger, and narrowly escaped by finding shelter in a lowly hostelry, the master of which was after-

wards flung from the top of his own house, and killed on the pavement below, for having given shelter to heretics. While immured in this dreary confinement for seven months, and which he fitly termed his sepulchre, Adamson consoled himself with Latin poetry upon themes suited to his condition; one attempt of this nature being the tragedy of Herod, and the other a version of the book of Job. As soon as he was able to emerge, one of the first uses which he made of his liberty was to return home and resume those ministerial labours which he had good cause to regret he ever had abandoned.

This return was at a critical period; for the archbishopric of St. Andrews was at that time vacant, and, notwithstanding the Presbyterian doctrine of parity, which had been laid down as a fundamental principle of the Scottish church, the chief prelatic offices were still continued, through the overbearing influence of those nobles who now directed the government. But it was from no love of Episcopacy in the abstract that these magnates continued such charges, obnoxious though they were to the church and the people at large, but that they might derive from them a profitable revenue as lay proprietors of the livings. In this way the Earl of Morton had acquired a claim to the revenues of the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and only needed some ecclesiastic who could wear the title, and discharge its duties, for a small percentage of the benefice. It was a degrading position for a churchman, and yet there were too many willing to occupy it, either from love of the empty name, or an ambitious hope of converting it into a substantial reality. Among these aspirants for the primacy of Scotland, Patrick Adamson was suspected to be one; and it was thought that he hoped to succeed through the influence of his patron, M'Gill of Rankeillor. These surmises his subsequent conduct too well justified. But Morton had already made his election in favour of John Douglas, who was inducted into the office, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of John Knox. The conduct of Adamson on this occasion was long after remembered. The week after the induction, and when the greatest concourse of people was expected, he ascended the pulpit and delivered a vehement and sarcastic sermon against the episcopal office as then exercised in Scotland. "There are three sorts of bishops," he said; "my lord bishop, my lord's bishop, and the Lord's bishop. My lord bishop was in the Papistry; my lord's bishop is now, when my lord gets the benefice and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure; and the Lord's bishop is the true minister of the gospel." He saw that, for the present at least, he could not be primate of St. Andrews, and therefore turned his attention to the more humble offices of the church. And there, indeed, whatever could satisfy the wishes of a simple presbyter was within his reach; for he was not only in general esteem among his brethren, but highly and justly valued for his scholarship, and his catholicism of Calvin in Latin heroic verse, which he had written in France, and was about to publish in Scotland with the approbation of the General Assembly. He now announced his willingness to resume the duties of the ministry; and the town of Paisley became his sphere of duty, according to the appointment of the Assembly. In addition to this, he was subsequently appointed commissioner of Galloway, an office which resembled that of a bishop as to its duties, but divested of all its pre-eminence and emolument. Some of the best men of the kirk had undertaken this thankless office with alacrity,

and discharged its duties with diligence, but such was not the case with Patrick Adamson; and when his remissness as a commissioner was complained of to the General Assembly, he acknowledged the justice of the accusation, but pleaded in excuse that no stipend was attached to the office.

Of the labours of Adamson while minister of Paisley no record has been preserved. His time there, however, was brief, as a new sphere was opened to his ambition. The great subject of anxiety at this period in the church was the construction of the *Book of Policy*, otherwise called the *Second Book of Discipline*, and procuring its ratification by the government; but the chief obstacle in the way was the Earl of Morton, now regent, whose principal aim, besides enriching himself with the ecclesiastical revenues, was to bring the two churches of England and Scotland into as close a conformity as possible, in order to facilitate the future union of the two kingdoms under the reign of his young master, James VI. Here it is that we find Adamson busy. He became an active negotiator for the *Book of Policy*, and while he managed to secure the confidence of the leading men in the church, he ingratiated himself into the favour of the regent; so that when the latter chose him for his chaplain, the brethren seem to have hoped that the accomplishment of their purpose would be facilitated by having such an advocate at court. But never were ecclesiastics more thoroughly disappointed in their hopes from such a quarter. The archbishopric of St. Andrews had again become vacant, and Morton nominated Adamson to the see, who, on receiving the appointment, began even already to show that he would hold it independently of the authority of the church by refusing to submit to the usual trial and examination of the Assembly. While chaplain to the regent, he had been wont, while preaching and giving his glosses upon texts of Scripture, to say, "The prophet would mean this"—a phrase so usual with him on such occasions that his hearers could not help noticing it. At length, when he became primate of Scotland, Captain Montgomery, one of the regent's officers, exclaimed, with dry humour, "I never knew what the prophet meant till now!" As Adamson's entering into the archbishopric was such an act of contravention to the authority of the church, the Assembly, at one of its meetings in 1577, resolved to institute proceedings against the offender. But even this formidable danger he was able to avert for the time with his wonted craft. He professed the utmost humility, and offered to lay down his office at the feet of the Assembly, and be ordered at their pleasure, but represented how desirable it would be to postpone all such proceedings until the *Book of Policy* had been finished, and ratified by the regent. The matter was thus reduced to a mere question of time, and his suggestion prevailed.

The great subject now at issue was the *Book of Ecclesiastical Policy*—the Magna Charta of the Church of Scotland—upon the passing of which its rights and liberties as a national church were at stake. It was, as might have been expected, completely presbyterian in its discipline, and subversive of that episcopal rule which the court was labouring to establish. Among these enactments it was decreed that no bishop should be designated by his title, but his own name, as a brother, seeing he belonged to a church that has but one Lord, even Christ—that no bishops should thenceforth be appointed in it; and that no minister should accept the office on pain of deprivation. Against such conclusions it is not wonderful that Adamson demurred. But as himself and the Bishop of Aberdeen constituted the entire

minority in the Assembly, his opposition went no further than to procrastinate any final conclusion. But the *Policy* was at length concluded, and ready to be presented to the government, and for this Adamson had reserved his master-stroke. The book was to be subscribed by every member individually, but this form the archbishop opposed. "Nay," he said, "we have an honest man, our clerk, to subscribe for all; and it would derogate from his faithfulness and estimation if we should all severally subscribe." The brethren assented to the proposal, although some of them seem to have entertained a lurking suspicion that all was not right; so that Mr. Andrew Hay, minister of Renfrew, could not help exclaiming, "Well, if any man comes against this, or denies it hereafter, he is not honest." He stepped up to Adamson, and said to him in the presence of three or four by-standers, "There is my hand, Mr. Patrick; if you come against this hereafter, consenting now so thoroughly to it, I will call you a knave, were it never so publicly." The *Book of Policy* was to be presented to the Lords of Articles for ratification on the part of the government; and strangely enough, Adamson was commissioned to present it. Morton and the lords asked him if he had given his assent to these enactments, to which he answered that he had not, and that he had refused to subscribe to them. Here was a loophole of escape for the council: the Archbishop of St. Andrews had withheld his assent, and they could do no less than follow the example. The book was rejected, and the ministers were left to divine the cause of the refusal. But Andrew Hay, on inquiring of several members of council, who told him the particulars, and laid the whole blame of the refusal on Adamson, soon saw that he had a pledge to redeem; and on the archbishop passing by at that instant, he gripped him by the hand, looked him angrily in the face, and exclaimed, in presence of the others, "O knave, knave, I will crown thee the knave of all knaves!" It is enough to add here, that the *Book of Policy*, after having been delayed three years longer, was in 1581 thoroughly ratified and ordained in every point, and ordered to be registered in the books of the Assembly. As for Adamson, we find him employed during this interval in preaching in St. Andrews, lecturing in the college, and attending the meetings of the General Assembly, but with no greater authority than that of the ordinary brethren. But symptoms even already had shown that the court favour upon which he was willing to build was but a sandy foundation, for his powerful patron, the Earl of Morton, had been brought to the block. He prepared himself, therefore, to recognize the authority of the kirk in the doctrine of bishops, to which he had been opposed, and even gave his subscription to the articles of the *Book of Policy*, which he had hitherto withheld. This was in St. Andrews, before the celebrated Andrew Melville and a party of his friends who were assembled with him. But all this was insufficient: he must also secure the favour of the party in power, whatever for the time it might be; and for this purpose he passed over to Edinburgh, and took his seat in the Convention of Estates. Here, however, his reception was so little to his liking, that he found he must side wholly with the kirk. He therefore addressed himself to the ministers of Edinburgh with professions which his subsequent conduct showed to be downright hypocrisy. He told them that he had come over to the court in the spirit of Balaam, on purpose to curse the kirk and do evil; but that God had so wrought with him, that his heart was wholly changed, so that he had advocated and voted in the church's behalf—

and that henceforth he would show further and further fruits of his conversion and good meaning. This self-abasing comparison of himself to Balaam must have staggered the unfavourable suspicions of the most sceptical; at all events, it did so with the apostolic John Durie, who rejoiced over the primate's conversion, and wrote a flattering account of it to James Melville. The latter, in consequence, visited Adamson upon his return, and told him the tidings he had received, for which he heartily thanked God, and offered the archbishop the right hand of Christian fellowship. The other, still continuing his penitent grimace, described the change that had passed upon him at great length, which he attributed to the working of the Spirit within him. Perhaps he overacted his part, for Melville only observed in reply, "Well, that Spirit is an upright, holy, and constant Spirit, and will more and more manifest itself in effects; but it is a fearful thing to lie against him!"

It was indeed full time for the Archbishop of St. Andrews not only to recover his lost credit with the kirk, but the community at large. He was generally accused of the vices of intemperance and gluttony; he was noted as an unfaithful paymaster, so that he stood upon the score of most of the shopkeepers in the town; and what was still worse, he was accused of consorting with witches, and availing himself of their unlawful power! We of the nineteenth century can laugh at such a charge, and imagine it sufficient not only to disprove itself, but weaken all the other charges brought against him. But in the sixteenth century it was no such laughing matter; for there were not only silly women in abundance to proclaim themselves witches, but wise men to believe them. Even the pulpits of England as well as Scotland resounded with sermons against witchcraft; and the learned and wise Bishop Jewel, while preaching before Elizabeth, assured her majesty that the many people who were dying daily, in spite of all the aid of leechcraft, were thus brought to their end by spells and incantations. While this was the prevalent belief, a person having recourse to such agency was wilfully and deliberately seeking help from the devil, and seeking it where he thought it could best be found. Now Adamson, among his other offences, had fallen into this predicament. He was afflicted with a painful disease, which he called a "fœdity;" and being unable to obtain relief from the regular practitioners, he had recourse to the witches of Fife, and among others, to a notable woman, who pretended to have learned the art of healing from a physician who had appeared to her after he was dead and buried! This wretched creature, on being apprehended and convicted of sorcery, or what she meant to be such, was sentenced to suffer death, as she would have been in any other country of Europe, and was given in charge to the archbishop for execution. But the woman made her escape, and this, it was supposed, she did through Adamson's connivance. After this statement, it needs scarcely be wondered at that foremost in the accusations both from the pulpit and in church-courts, the crime of seeking aid from Satan should have been specially urged against him. The man who will attempt "to call spirits from the vasty deep," incurs the guilt of sorcery whether they come or not.

While such was the evil plight to which the archbishop was reduced, and out of which he was trying to struggle as he best could, the condition of public affairs was scarcely more promising for his interests. In the Assembly held in April, 1582, he had seen Robert Montgomery, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was his constant ally in every episcopal movement, arraigned at their bar, reduced to the most humbling

confessions, and dismissed with the fear of deposition hanging over him. In the same year, the Raid of Ruthven had occurred, by which the royal power was coerced, and presbytery established in greater authority than ever. Dismayed by these ominous symptoms, Adamson withdrew from public notice to his castle of St. Andrews, where he kept himself "like a toad in his hole," giving out that his painful "fœdity" was the cause of his retirement. But at length the sky began to brighten, and the primate to venture forth after a whole year of concealment. The king emancipated himself from his nobles of the Raid, and came to St. Andrews, upon which the archbishop, flinging off his sickness like a worn-out cloak, resumed his abandoned pulpit with royalty for an auditor, and preached such sermons as were well fitted to ingratiate himself into the favour of the young sovereign. They were furious declamations against the lords of the Raid, against the ministers of the kirk by whom they had been countenanced, and against all their proceedings by which the headlong will of James had been reduced within wholesome limits; and these, too, were delivered in such fashion, as, we are informed by James Melville, "that he who often professed from the pulpit before that he had not the spirit of application, got the gift of application by inspiration of such a spirit as never spoke in the Scriptures of God." Among the other effects of the Raid of Ruthven, was the banishment of the king's unworthy favourites, the Earl of Arran and the Duke of Lennox, the former from the royal presence, and the latter from the country; and Lennox took his exile so much to heart, that he died soon after he arrived in France, while James continued to bewail his loss. Here, then, was a favourable theme for the archbishop. The chief offence alleged against Lennox was, that though outwardly a Protestant, he had not only lived, but even died, a Papist; and from this stigma it was Adamson's main effort to clear the memory of the departed. He therefore boldly asserted, in his sermon, that Lennox had died a good Protestant, and in proof of this he exhibited in the pulpit a scroll, which he called the duke's testament. It happened unluckily for the preacher, however, that an honest merchant woman, who sat near the pulpit, looked narrowly at this important document, and saw with astonishment that it was an account of her own, which she had sent to the archbishop for a debt of some four or five years' standing, but which, like other reckonings of the kind, he had left unpaid!

Adamson's loyalty was soon rewarded, and in a way that best accorded with his wishes. He was to be employed as ambassador or envoy from the king to the court of London. What was the ostensible object of his mission does not appear; but its real purport was, the suppression of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and the establishment of such a form of Episcopacy in its stead as might make the union of the two countries more complete, when James should become king of both. But in such an office the messenger behaved to go warily to work, as Elizabeth was apt to take fire at every movement that pointed to a succession in her throne. Another serious difficulty interposed in the very threshold of the archbishop's departure. He had already been charged before the presbytery of St. Andrews, as corrupt both in life and doctrine: the trial was removed to the synod, and was finally remitted to the General Assembly, at whose bar he must justify himself, or be deposed for non-appearance; and he thus felt himself between the horns of a dilemma in which his comparance or absence might be equally fatal. If, however, he could only get the trial delayed until

he had accomplished his mission, he might then brave it, or quash it with impunity. He therefore called sickness to his aid, and pretended that he was going to the wells of Spa, in Germany, for the recovery of his health; and this was nothing more than reasonable, even though he should take London by the way. Forth therefore he went, unhindered and unsuspected; and, if there is any truth in *The Legend of the Lymmar's Life*, a satirical poem written by Robert Semple, the archbishop's conduct during this embassy was anything but creditable to his employers. His chief aim, indeed, seems to have been to replenish his extenuated purse; and, provided this was accomplished, he was not scrupulous about the means. Even horses, books, and gowns came into his permanent possession under the name of loans. His approach to the palace for his first, and, as it turned out, his last audience, was equally unseemly, for he used the hallowed wall of the palace of the virgin queen with as little fastidiousness as if it had been the dingy habitation of some Scottish baron in one of the closes of the Canonicate, so that a porter, who espied him from the gate, rushed out and rebuked his indecorum with a cudgel. But, amidst all his Scapin-like tricks in the English metropolis, from which he seems to have derived for the time a comfortable revenue, Adamson was not unmindful of the real object of his journey, which he pursued with a diligence worthy of a better cause. He endeavoured to enlist the prejudices of the queen against the ministers of Scotland, and such of the nobility as favoured them; he consulted with the bishops upon the best means of conforming the Scottish to the English church; and, aware of the purpose of his own court to banish or silence the best of the clergy, he wished them to send learned and able ministers to supply the pulpits of those who were to be displaced. But, not content with this, he endeavoured to bring the Kirk of Scotland into discredit with the foreign reformed churches of France, Geneva, and Zurich, by sending to them a list of garbled or distorted passages as propositions extracted from the Scottish Confession, and craving their opinion as to their soundness. It was a crafty device, and might have been attended with much mischief, had it not been that an antidote to the bane was at this time in England, in the person of Mr. Andrew Melville, a more accomplished scholar, as well as a more able and eloquent writer, than Adamson himself. He drew up a true statement of the subjects propounded, and sent them to the foreign churches, by which the archbishop's design was frustrated. But the work of mere ecclesiastical diplomacy does not seem to have been sufficient for the restless Adamson, so that he was suspected of intriguing with the French and Spanish ambassadors, and connecting himself with the plot of Throckmorton, the object of which was the liberation of Mary and the restoration of Popery. It was a strange period of plots and conspiracies, where Protestant, Papist, and Puritan, priest and layman, foreigner and Englishman, were often mingled together as in a seething and bubbling cauldron, for the concoction of a charm by which a cure for every public evil was to be effected. It was immediately on the detection of this Throckmorton conspiracy, and the apprehension of its author, that the archbishop secretly withdrew from England and returned home, after having been employed fully six months in these and other such devices in London.

While Adamson had thus been occupied in England, the government at home had not been idle; and the worthless Earl of Arran, who, since the suppression of the Raid of Ruthven, had recovered

the royal favour, proceeded to put his plan in execution of silencing, imprisoning, and banishing the best and most distinguished of the Scottish clergy. It was thus that the flocks were to be brought to helplessness, and a new order of shepherds introduced. The list of the persecuted was a large one; but among the most illustrious of these were some of the most distinguished lights of the Scottish reformation, such as Andrew Melville, John Davidson, Walter Balcanquhal, and James Lawson. Of these we can only particularize the last, as his closing scene was but too intimately connected with the history of Patrick Adamson. Lawson had been the friend and fellow-labourer of Knox, whom he succeeded as minister of Edinburgh; and in this important charge, while he was closely connected with all the principal ecclesiastical movements of the period, he was distinguished by his gentleness, self-denial, and piety. But these were the very qualities that now marked him out as a victim; and the imperious Arran did not hesitate to threaten that, though his head were as big as a haystack, he would make it fly from his shoulders. Lawson knew that his life was aimed at, and, like several of his brethren thus circumstanced, he fled to England, and took up his residence at London, in one of the lanes leading from Cheapside. But the uncongenial climate, and, above all, the defection of many of his flock during his absence, so heavily afflicted him, that he fell into a disease, of which he died in little more than a month. Upon his death-bed, the English who visited him were edified with his pious remarks, which they carefully treasured up for their families and acquaintances; and his last prayers were for mercy in behalf of those who would neither enter the kingdom of God themselves, nor suffer others to enter therein. And will it be believed that Patrick Adamson, the man for whom in especial he had so prayed, conceived the idea of perverting such a death-bed to his own political purposes? But so it was. He sat down with the pen of a ready writer, and composed an elaborate testament in Lawson's name, in which the dying man was made to abjure all his Presbyterian principles, to grieve over them as deadly sins, to recommend the government of the church by bishops, and enjoin implicit obedience to the king's authority. It was indeed a bold exploit in literary forgery; but, at this period and afterwards, when the pen outran the activity of the press, and communities were so separated, it was easy to make a fraud of this kind, where the locality was transferred to London, to pass current in the streets of Edinburgh. There is no doubt that thus the archbishop had calculated; but, like many very cunning people, he in this instance betrayed himself by his over-scrupulous dexterity. Thus, not content with making Lawson recant all the principles of his well-spent life with a hurry that was inconceivable, and laud episcopal rule with an unctious and earnestness which the Archbishop of Canterbury himself could not have surpassed, he also made him, in exhorting his old co-presbyters, to vent a malignity of sentiment, and drolling bitterness of satire, such as, whether living or dying, Lawson could not and would not have used. But it fortunately happened that proof still stronger than inferential evidence was at hand, to convict this impudent forgery; for Lawson himself had written his last testament, which was witnessed with the honoured names of Andrew Melville, James Carmichael, John Davidson, and Walter Balcanquhal.

After his return from England, Adamson did not lie idle; he zealously joined the king and Arran in their persecution of the best adherents of the kirk, under which, not only the principal ministers, but

also the chief of the nobility, were fugitives in England. His pen also was soon in requisition for a more dignified work, at least, than that of blackening the memory of a departed brother; it was to advocate, defend, and justify certain obnoxious measures of James and his favourite, that had passed through the parliament in 1584, and were generally unpopular, both on account of their anti-presbyterian spirit in religion and their despotic tendencies in civil rule. This task Adamson accomplished, and with such plausibility and ingenuity, that his apology was not only in high favour with the king, but widely popular in England, so that it was inserted in the appendix of Holinshed's *History* as a true picture of the religious state of Scotland. But this was not his only reward. Although he was still a suspended presbyter, with his trial by the General Assembly hanging over him, and accounted a very Julian the Apostate by his former brethren, yet he was now to be confirmed in his primacy, with all the high rights and immunities that could be comprised within the office. This was announced by a royal letter, under the great seal, and, as such, was indignantly termed by the ministers the King's bull, "giving and granting to his well-beloved clerk and orator, Patrick, Archbishop of St. Andrews, power, authority, and jurisdiction to exercise the same archbishopric by himself, his commissioners, and deputies, in all matters ecclesiastical, within the diocese of St. Andrews, and sheriffdoms which have been heretofore annexed thereto." In this way he would be able to sit as presiding moderator in that Assembly where he should have stood as a culprit, and to silence the charges which he could not answer. But this, his culminating point, was also that of his downfall. The banished lords, who had withdrawn themselves to England, now took counsel upon the oppressed state of their country, and resolved to redress it after the old Scottish fashion. They therefore approached the border, where they could communicate with their allies, and appoint musters of their retainers; and at length, all being in readiness, Angus, Mar, Glamis, and the Hamiltons entered Scotland, and rapidly marched to Stirling, at the head of eight thousand armed men, to reason with their misguided sovereign. He soon found himself, like many of his ancestors, the pupil of force and necessity, and was compelled to yield to their stern remonstrances; while Arran was again, and for the last time, banished into that obscurity from which he should never have been summoned.

The return of the exiled lords, and the banishment of Arran from court, produced a breathing interval to the kirk; and the ministers who had been dispersed, warded, or silenced, were restored to liberty and their charges. It was now time, therefore, to redress the evils that had been inflicted upon the church, and these too by members of its own body, during the last two years of trial, if its polity and discipline were to be something more than a name. It was a stern duty, as Adamson was soon to feel. He had laboured for the eversion of the kirk, and the persecution of its ministers, under an unconstitutional authority against which he had protested and subscribed; and for all this he must answer before the court to which the assize of such delinquencies pertained. The synod of St. Andrews, which had been closed during the persecution, was to be reopened; and their first work was to be the trial of their own archbishop, whom their laws recognized as a simple presbyter, and nothing more. This solemn meeting was therefore convoked in April, 1586, to which a great concourse assembled; and thither also came the archbishop, "with a great

pontificality and big countenance," for he boasted that he was in his own city, and possessed of the king's favour, and therefore needed to fear no one. He also placed himself close by the preacher, who was Mr. James Melville, as if determined to outbrave the whole assembly. The discourse was a vindication of the polity of the church, and a rehearsal of the wrongs it had suffered; and then, "coming in particular," says Melville himself, "to our own Kirk of Scotland, I turned to the bishop, sitting at my elbow, and directing my speech to him personally, I recounted to him, shortly, his life, actions, and proceedings against the kirk, taking the assembly there to witness, and his own conscience before God, if he was not an evident proof and example of that doctrine; whom, being a minister of the kirk, the dragon had so stung with the poison and venom of avarice and ambition, that, swelling exorbitantly out of measure, threatened the wreck and destruction of the whole body, unless he were timeously and with courage cut off." To this formidable appeal the archbishop endeavoured to answer, but it was only with frivolous objections and threats of the king's displeasure, while his courage was so utterly gone that he could scarcely sit, far less stand on his feet. But the business commenced, the process was entered into, and Adamson left the meeting. He was invited to return, but he sent for answer that the synod was no judge to him, but he to it. He not only persisted in refusing to appear, but sent such answers to the charges against him as only aggravated the offence. Nothing remained but to inflict upon him the final sentence of the church, which was done accordingly.

The doom so long suspended had thus fallen at last; but still the primate would not yield. He rallied himself for a desperate counter-movement, and penned, by his own sole authority, a sentence of excommunication against the two Melvilles and some of his principal accusers in the synod, which he sent by a boy, accompanied by two of his jackmen; but when this most informal missive was read in the church, the audience were as little moved as if he had excommunicated the stones of the building. He also sent a complaint against these proceedings to the king, with an appeal from the authority of the synod, to his majesty, the estates, and the privy council. On the arrival of Sabbath, he prepared for a decisive effort, by preaching in the church in spite of the sentence. But just when he was about to ascend the pulpit, a mischievous rumour reached his ear, that several gentlemen and citizens had assembled in the new college, to take him out of the pulpit, and hang him; and, terrified at the report, he not only called his friends and jackmen to the rescue, but fled from the church, and took refuge in the steeple. And yet the whole cause of the stir was nothing more than the assembling of a few gentlemen and citizens in the new college, to attend the preaching of Andrew Melville, instead of that of an excommunicated man! The archbishop's friends followed him to the steeple, to assure him of his safety; but so desperate was his fear, that they could scarcely drag him out by force. While he was half-led, half-carried down the High Street, and through the north gate towards his castle, an unlucky stray hare, terrified at the coming din, suddenly started up, and fled before them. Even this incident could impart some gravity to the scene. It was a popular belief at that time in Scotland that a witch, when pursued, usually assumed the form of a hare, more effectually to insure her escape; and the appearance of the poor animal at such a time and place made the people declare that it was no other than the

prelate's witch, abandoning her master, to make good her own safety.

We have already stated that Adamson appealed against the sentence of excommunication, to the authority of the king. In this singular appeal, he declaimed with great learning and marvellous plausibility about the right of royalty to interpose against ecclesiastical as well as civil tyranny; and as he had already made out, as he thought, his own case to be one of undue ecclesiastical oppression on the part of his enemies, the conclusion was plain, that the king could lawfully release him from the spiritual sentence. He wound up his reasoning with the following supposition, to which, he well knew, James would not be insensible: "Beseeching your majesty to consider and weigh with your highness' self, nobility, and council, how dangerous a thing it is to put such a sword in such men's hands, or to suffer them to usurp further than their duty; whereby it may come to pass, that as rashly and unorderly they have pretendedly excommunicated the first man of your majesty's parliament (albeit unworthy), so there rests nothing of their next attempt to do the same to your majesty's self." The king's pride was roused at such a thought, and he arrogantly required the ministers to rescind their sentence, threatening them with the deprivation of their rights and stipends in the event of a refusal. The General Assembly met in May the same year, when these conditions were proposed, and the members were in sore strait how to act, for most of the restored lords, after being replaced in their possessions, had left the church to shift for itself. At length a medium course was adopted by the Assembly, and that, too, only by a small majority. It was, that the archbishop "should be holden and repute in the same case and condition that he was in before the holding of the synod of St. Andrews, without prejudice, discerning, or judging anything of the proceedings, process, or sentence of the same synod." It was a strange decision, by which Adamson was allowed to teach, preach, and exercise his clerical functions, excommunicated though he still was; while the pulpits, by royal decree, were not only to be patent to his entrance, but the students of St. Andrews were commanded to attend his lectures in the old college as heretofore. This violence, as might be expected, produced counter-violence, so that libels were thrown not only into the archbishop's chamber, but the pulpits in which he officiated, threatening him with death for his intrusion. And as if all this had not been enough, he added to his further disqualifications, by inability to pay his debts, in consequence of which he was, according to the practice of the Scottish law, denounced a rebel, and put to the horn. This case was brought before the Assembly of June, 1587, because many people had demurred to attend his ministrations while he laboured under such degrading disabilities. The Assembly, however, decided that these were of a civil rather than an ecclesiastical character, and referred them to the king for adjustment.

In the very same year and month, while Adamson was in this miserable plight—an excommunicated minister and an outlawed prelate—the first man in the parliament, and yet a denounced rebel because he could not pay his debts—a gleam of royal sunshine fell upon him, which was destined to be the last. The celebrated Du Barts visited Scotland, and James was desirous that the learned poet should see the two most accomplished scholars in Scotland—Andrew Melville and Patrick Adamson. To St. Andrews, accordingly, the royal *cortege* repaired; and the first notice which Melville had of the visit was

from the king himself, who bluntly told him that he had come with the illustrious foreigner, to have a lesson from him in his class-room. Melville would have excused himself, on the plea that he had already delivered his ordinary lecture in the forenoon. "That is all one," said the king; "I *must* have a lesson, and be you here within an hour for that effect." In less than an hour the professor was in readiness, and commenced such a lecture, as made the king wish himself once more among the deer in Falkland. It was an eloquent extemporaneous oration, in which he vindicated Christ's right of sovereignty over his own church, and refuted and exposed the acts of parliament that had been lately enacted subversive of the kirk's authority. James went home in no very pleasant mood, and remained in a fume the whole evening. On the next morning it was Adamson's turn, who was not likely to trespass in the same fashion. During the interval, he had prepared a "tightened-up abridgment" of his previous year's lectures, in which he attempted to vindicate the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and justify the steps that had been taken for that purpose. Andrew Melville, who attended as an auditor, took notes of the archbishop's arguments; and without further study, caused the college bell to be rung after a short interval, to announce a new lecture. The king, who had not yet digested the lesson of yesterday, sent a warning to Melville to be moderate, otherwise he would discharge him; to which the other replied, that his majesty's ear had already been abused by Adamson's errors and untruths, which he could not allow to pass unquestioned, unless his breath were stopped by death itself—but that still, he should be careful to behave himself most moderately and reverently to his majesty in all respects. The king was satisfied with this assurance, and repaired to the class-room, where Adamson was also in attendance; and he craved and obtained the royal permission to reply, should anything be alleged against his doctrine. The two strong champions were now standing front to front in the lists—and never had king of Scotland so delighted in the hurdling together of man and horse, and the shivering of spears, as did James in the prospect of an intellectual tournament, where dexterous syllogisms and home-thrust arguments were the only blows in circulation. But here Melville changed his tactics, in a way that would have puzzled the most experienced master of fence. He had no longer a controversy with Episcopacy, but with Popery, the great common enemy of Protestantism at large; and thus secure of the sympathy of his audience, he extracted from the works of the Popish authors the strongest arguments they had adduced in defence of their system, for the purpose of refuting them. But these arguments were the very same which Adamson had used in the forenoon, in favour of the spiritual government of kings and bishops! There, however, they stood among the ranks of the uncircumcised; and as such, they were attacked with an amount of Scripture and learning, and a force and fervour of eloquence, as completely swept them off the field. It was now the archbishop's turn to bestir himself, but he was dumb—dumb as the bench he sat upon. At last, the king advanced to the rescue; and after making several logical *distinguas*, upon which he harangued for some time, he ended by commanding the students to reverence and obey his archbishop. When James departed, Du Barts stayed behind a whole hour, conversing with Andrew Melville, after which he mounted his horse, and rejoined his majesty. The king wished to know the opinion of the foreigner upon the two men they had heard; to

which Du Bartes replied, that they were both learned men, but that the prelate's lectures were conned and prepared, while Melville had a great and ready store of all kinds of learning within him; and that his spirit and courage were far above the other. In this correct estimate James completely agreed.

From this period the life of Adamson was but a brief and mournful record. After his late discomfiture, he became weary of teaching in the college, and seems to have remitted it in a great measure to his successful rival. The ministrations of the pulpit could not console him, as the audiences either avoided him as an excommunicated man, or tarried and listened as to the voice of an intruder. Fresh complaints were made against him in the church courts, of having collated unworthy persons to benefices within his diocese. And, to crown all, he finally lost the favour and protection of the king, whom he had served only too well, but who was now weary of an archbishop buried under debt and disgrace, and whose season of working seemed well nigh over. Broken in health as well as in spirit, it might have been thought that James would at least have suffered such a faithful servant to depart in peace; but as if his own ungrateful hand, and no other, ought to deal the final blow, he alienated from him whatever of the revenues of his diocese he was still permitted to enjoy, and bestowed them upon the young Duke of Lennox, the son of his early favourite. In 1591, Adamson was dying a heart-broken man, and unable to procure for himself and his family even the common necessities of life. But besides hollow friends, he had generous enemies, and these last came forward in the hour of his extremity. Such especially were the two Melvilles, whom he had persecuted in the season of his ascendancy, but who now supported him for several months at their own expense. At last, he was reduced to such miserable shifts, that he entreated a charitable collection to be made for him among the brethren in the town of St. Andrews; and as an inducement, he offered to repair to the pulpit, and there make open confession of his offences. This, indeed, his sickness prevented him from accomplishing; but he rendered an equivalent, in a distinct "Recantation," which he subscribed, and sent to the synod of St. Andrews. Besides thus showing how little he had cared for Episcopacy, and how much he had used it for his own aggrandizement, he evinced the force of his early and long-concealed convictions in favour of Presbyterianism, by the remorse which he now felt at the thought of his excommunication, and his earnestness to be absolved from the sentence; and to this effect he sent a supplication to the presbytery of St. Andrews. They deputed two of the brethren, one of whom was James Melville, to examine him, and, if they judged fit, to release him. As soon as the dying man saw Melville, he rose up in bed, plucked the night-cap from his head, and exclaimed, "Forgive, forgive me, for God's sake, good Mr. James, for I have offended and done wrong to you many ways!" Melville spoke to him of his sin against Christ and his church, exhorted him to repentance, with the assurance of mercy from God if he repented, and forgave him with all his heart. His excommunication was then spoken of, and he was asked if he acknowledged its lawfulness. To this his emphatic reply, which he repeated again and again, was, "Loose me, for Christ's sake!" His state and petition were fully reported to the presbytery, and he was forthwith absolved. Even yet, as appears from his "Recantation," he had hoped to struggle through this his last illness; and he professed in it his earnest desire and purpose to commence a better

life, and repair the evils he had inflicted upon religion and the church. But his new-born sincerity was not to be thus tried, and he died in the lowest depths of his humiliation and repentance. His character is thus strongly and briefly summed up by James Melville, who knew him well, and witnessed his career from its height to its mournful termination:—"This man had many great gifts, but especially excelled in the tongue and pen; and yet, for abusing of the same against Christ, all use of both the one and the other was taken from him, when he was in greatest misery and had most need of them. In the latter end of his life, his nearest friends were no comfort to him, and his supposed greatest enemies, to whom indeed he offered greatest occasion of enmity, were his only friends, and recompensed good for evil, especially my uncle Andrew, but found small tokens of any spiritual comfort in him, which chiefly he would have wished to have seen at his end. Thus God delivered his kirk of a most dangerous enemy, who, if he had been endowed with a common civil piece of honesty in his dealing and conversation, he had more means to have wrought mischief in a kirk or country, than any I have known or heard of in our island."

As will be surmised from the foregoing account, Patrick Adamson was both an able and a voluminous writer; but most of his productions were merely written for the day, and have passed away with the occasions in which they originated. Some of them he never purposed to acknowledge, while others remained unpublished in manuscript. Most of these he confessed and regretted in his "Recantation," declaring, that if it should please God to restore his health, he would change his style, "as Cajetan did at the Council of Trent." His principal writings were collected and published, in one quarto volume, by Thomas Volusus (Wilson) in 1619; but notwithstanding their undoubted excellence, it may be questioned if they are now at all known beyond the library of the antiquary. It appears that on becoming minister of Paisley, Adamson married the daughter of a lawyer, who survived him, and by whom he had a family; but all record of them has passed away, so that he may be said to have been the last, as he was the first, of his race. The precise date of his death has not been mentioned; but it was in the latter part of the year 1591. Such was the career and end of the great antagonist and rival of Andrew Melville.

AGNEW, SIR ANDREW, of Lochnaw, Bart., Lieutenant-General. The family of Agnew lays claim, and probably with justice, to a more illustrious antiquity than most of our Scottish noble houses. The Agnews entered Scotland in the reign of David II., where they acquired the lands of Lochnaw, and were invested with the offices of heritable constables and sheriffs of Wigtonshire.

The subject of the present memoir, and fifth baronet of Lochnaw, was born in 1687, and was the eldest son of a family of twenty-one children. This was a truly patriarchal number; but he lived almost to equal it, being himself ultimately the father of seventeen sons and daughters by one mother, the daughter of Agnew of Creoch. Sir Andrew embraced the military profession at an early period, as many of his family had done, and was an officer in the great Marlborough campaigns, as we find him a cornet in the second regiment of dragoons or Scots Greys at the battle of Ramillies, when he had just reached his nineteenth year. It was in this capacity, and under such training, that besides being a skilful and successful officer, he became distinguished by

those deeds of personal daring, as well as eccentric peculiarities of manner, that long made him a favourite in the fireside legends of the Scottish peasantry. Among these, we are told, that on one occasion having been appointed to superintend the interment of the slain after one of the continental engagements, his orderly came to him in great perplexity, saying, "Sir, there is a heap of fellows lying yonder, who say they are only wounded, and won't consent to be buried like the rest: what shall I do?" "Bury them at once," cried Sir Andrew, "for if you take their own word for it, they won't be dead for a hundred years to come!" The man, who understood nothing beyond the word of command, made his military salaam and went off with full purpose to execute the order to the letter, when he was checked by a counter-order from his superior, who perhaps little thought that his joke would have been carried so far. On another occasion, when an engagement was about to commence, he pointed to the enemy, and thus briefly and pithily addressed his soldiers: "Weel, lads, ye see these loons on the hill there: if ye dinna kill them, they'll kill you."

When the battle of Dettingen took place, which occurred in 1743, where George II. commanded the British troops in person, Sir Andrew Agnew held the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was appointed to keep a pass at the outskirts of the British army, through which an attack of the French was apprehended. On this post of danger the knight of Lochnaw stationed himself with his regiment of Scots Fusiliers as coolly as if he had been upon the boundary of one of his own farms in Wigtonshire. One day, while at dinner, he was informed that there were symptoms of a coming attack—that the enemy's cavalry were mustering at no great distance. "The loons!" cried Sir Andrew indignantly; "surely they will never hae the impudence to attack the Scots Fusiliers!" and forthwith ordered his men to finish their dinner quietly, assuring them that they would fight all the better for it. He continued eating and encouraging his officers to follow his example, until the enemy were so nigh, that a shot struck from his hand a bone which he was in the act of picking. "They are in earnest now!" he cried, and drew up his men to receive the enemy, who came on at full charge. They were a portion of the royal household troops, the picked and best-disciplined soldiers of France, mounted upon heavy and powerful horses, and armed with cuirasses that were buckled close to the saddle, so that the point of a bayonet could not easily find entrance within their steel panoply. Sir Andrew, who knew that it was useless to abide such an avalanche of man and horse, ordered his soldiers not to fire until they saw the whites of their enemy's eyes, to take aim only at their horses, and open their ranks as soon as a charge was made upon them. This skilful manœuvre succeeded as he had foreseen—the French horses were brought down in heaps, their riders easily bayoneted, and the far-famed household troops were driven back with heavy loss. After the battle, George II. observed, "Well, Sir Andrew, I hear that your regiment was broken; that you let the French cavalry in upon you." "Yes, please your majesty," replied the gallant humourist, "but they didna gang back again."

The most important military service, however, in which Sir Andrew Agnew was engaged, was the defence of Blair Castle against the troops of the Pretender, during the insurrection of 1745-6. On the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland in Perth, to take the command of the royalist army, he found it necessary to occupy and garrison Blair Castle, the

seat of the Duke of Athol, then absent, for the purpose of suppressing the disaffected of the district, and cutting off the communications of the rebels by the great roads between the southern and northern parts of the country. For this service Sir Andrew was selected, and despatched thither with a detachment of three hundred soldiers. Not only was no siege expected, but the place was ill fitted to sustain one; for it was scantily supplied with provisions, and had no artillery or military stores, while the soldiers had only nineteen rounds of ammunition per man. Of all this the rebels seem to have been apprised, and accordingly, on the morning of the 17th of March, 1746, Lord George Murray (the Pretender's lieutenant-general), Lord Nairne, Macpherson of Clunie, and other Jacobite leaders, resolved to recover the castle, and open their communications. They came, therefore, in great force, captured the detached parties that were without the castle, and suddenly appeared before the fort itself, while such a visit was neither expected nor desired. Most commanders in such a situation would have abandoned the fort as untenable; but Sir Andrew had not thus learned his military lessons under the great Marlborough: he resolved to defend it to the last, notwithstanding its impoverished condition, and thus gave time for the collection of those forces by which the insurrection was soon after extinguished at Culloden. He therefore issued strict orders to his garrison, now reduced to 270 men, to save their ammunition with the utmost care; and, as there were no provisions in the castle but some bread and cheese, he commanded these to be dealt out in small daily rations.

As the obtaining of Blair Castle was of the utmost importance to the rebels, Lord George Murray, their ablest commander, commenced the siege in due form. He began by a summons to surrender; and knowing the old knight's fiery temper, he wrote to him to this effect, not upon decent foolscap, but a piece of shabby gray paper. But who was to enter the lion's den, and beard him with such a missive? No Highlander could be found to undertake the task, so that it was intrusted to a comely young servant maid of Blair Inn, who had found favour in the eyes of Sir Andrew's young officers while they resorted there, and who thought that they would not allow her to be harmed. She approached the garrison, taking care to avoid being shot by waving the paper over her head like a flag of truce. When she delivered her credentials, she earnestly entreated the officers to surrender, assuring them that the Highlanders were a thousand strong, and would *ding* the castle about their ears; but this friendly warning they only received with peals of laughter, telling her that they would soon set these Highlanders a scampering, and visit her at the inn as before. No one, however, would deliver the summons to Sir Andrew, except a timid lieutenant of the company, whose nerves were further unstrung by the use of strong waters; but no sooner did the old knight hear the first sentence read, than he burst forth into such a storm of wrath, and uttered such fearful threats of shooting the next messenger through the head who dared to propose a surrender, that the lieutenant took to his heels, while Molly, who stood at the bottom of the stairs, and heard the whole, fled across the fields like a startled hare. She told her employers, waiting in the churchyard of Blair, the result of her mission, who laughed heartily at the rage of Sir Andrew. Still further to provoke him, and perhaps tempt him to a rash sally, they threw large stones at the walls, accompanied with biting jokes at his expense; but fiery though his temper

was, and impatient of ridicule, he was too wary a soldier to afford them such an advantage. In the meantime, the more serious work of the siege went on with vigour, and, though the walls of Blair Castle were of great thickness, the assailants not only used common, but also hot shot, in the hope of setting the building on fire. The wood, being luckily not very combustible, only smouldered as it received the balls. But the chief confidence of the rebels was to starve the garrison out, knowing how scantily it was supplied; and for this purpose they strictly blockaded the place, while their best marksmen were ordered to keep up a close fire wherever a man showed himself. This last incident suggested to the officers of the castle a practical joke at the expense of their commander, whom they loved, feared, and laughed at when they dared. They got one of his old uniforms; and having stuffed it with straw and furnished the figure with a spy-glass, they placed it at a small turret window, where it looked like no other than Sir Andrew himself reconnoitring the enemy below. The rifles of the assailants were all brought to bear upon it, and the best marksmen of the Highlands continued to riddle this deceptive wisp, until Sir Andrew himself, wondering why this point should have been selected for such a hot attack, ascended the turret, and there he saw this other identity standing under fire, as stiff, fearless, and imperturbable as himself! He was in a towering rage at the irreverent joke, and resolved that the perpetrator should not escape a share of it. The wag was ordered to go to this spot so full of risk, and carry the puppet away, Sir Andrew gruffly pronouncing this retributive sentence: "Let the loon that set it up, just gang up himsel' and tak' it down again."

Beyond all military calculation, Sir Andrew Agnew, with miserably scanty means, had made good his position from the 17th of March to the end of the month. Longer than this, however, it was impossible to hold out, as the provisions of the garrison were exhausted, so that nothing seemed to be left them but a desperate sally, or immediate surrender. A faint chance indeed there might be of some messenger stealing through the leaguer, and carrying tidings of their condition to the Earl of Crawford, who was then at Dunkeld with a strong force of Hessians. This was now attempted, and the gardener of Blair Castle undertook to be the messenger. The gate was opened without noise; he stole out unperceived, mounted a horse, and rode cautiously down the avenue to the highway; but immediately a firing and pursuit commenced, and, on the following day, a Highlander was seen mounted on the gardener's horse, so that the garrison thought he must have been either killed or taken. On the 1st of April, however, they were startled by an unexpected messenger; this was no other than Molly of the inn, formerly the envoy of the rebels, who now came with the joyful intelligence that they had broken up their encampment, and gone away to Dalnacardoch. Sir Andrew, who was not only wary but short-sighted, would not trust the news, and abode a day longer in his hunger-bitten hold, when an officer arrived from the Earl of Crawford, to say that his lordship himself was on the road with his cavalry, and would arrive within an hour. Such was the case; for the gardener's horse, being alarmed at the firing, had thrown him, and been captured by the Highlanders, so that he had made his journey to Dunkeld on foot. When Crawford arrived, Sir Andrew drew up his soldiers to receive him, and thus addressed the earl: "My lord, I am very glad to see you; but, by all that's good, you have been

very dilatory; we can give you nothing to eat." The earl laughed good humouredly, and invited Sir Andrew and his officers to dine with him—an invitation that was never more welcome, perhaps, than at the present crisis. The summer-house in the garden was immediately turned into a dining-room, the table was plentifully covered with substantial dishes and excellent wines, and the half-starved and doomed defenders of Blair Castle were translated, as if by magic, into the regions of safety, hilarity, and good cheer.

After the siege was thus raised, Sir Andrew Agnew's gallant defence was not forgot. He and his soldiers were publicly thanked by the Duke of Cumberland, and soon afterwards he was promoted to a colonelcy of marines. In 1747, in consequence of the abolition of the many old feudal offices in Scotland, his hereditary sheriffdom of Wigtonshire was among the number; but he received £4000 as a compensation from government. In 1750 he was appointed governor of Timmouth Castle, in room of the Duke of Somerset. He died, with the rank of lieutenant-general, in 1771, at the age of eighty-four, and was succeeded by his fifth son, Sir Stair Agnew, who was born October 9, 1734. His father, who at that period was absent on foreign service, found at his return the infant nestled in the maternal bosom. "What's this ye hae got, Nelly?" he asked, as this was the first intelligence he had of the event. "Another son to you, Sir Andrew," she answered. "And what do you call this boy?" "I have called him Stair, after the earl, your commander." "Stair, Sir Stair," repeated the knight, whistling the sibilant sounds through his teeth—"Sir Stair, Sir Devil! It disna clink weel, Nelly." The sounds, however, were at last united, whether they clinked or not, for the child, by the death of his elder brothers, ultimately succeeded to the baronetcy of Lochnaw.

AIDAN, SAINT, Bishop of Lindisfarne in the seventh century, was originally a monk in the island of Iona, and afterwards became a missionary in England. The causes that brought Aidan to England were the following:—Oswald having recovered the kingdom of Northumbria from its pagan oppressors, by a signal and surprising victory, his piety attributed this success to the aid of the true God, whom he had invoked; and the first movement of his reign was to arrest the growing heathenism of his people, and recall them to the Christian faith. For this purpose he applied, however, not to the Italian monks, as his uncle had done, but to the Culdees of Iona; among whom he had been sheltered in his early youth, during the disasters of his family, and by whom he had been carefully educated. The message was gladly received by the Culdee brethren, and Cormac, a learned monk of their order, was forthwith sent to Northumbria. But the savage manners of the people appalled him, their inability to comprehend his instructions disgusted him, so that, despairing of their conversion, he speedily returned home. While he was giving an account of his mission, and describing the Northumbrians as a race of impracticable savages, a voice of rebuke was suddenly heard in the assembly: "Brother, it seems to me that your want of success was owing to a want of condescension to your hearers. You should first have fed them with milk, according to the apostolic rule, until they were fitted to receive stronger food." All eyes were turned upon the speaker, who was Aidan. It was unanimously agreed by the assembly that he was the fittest person to attempt the conversion of the Northumbrians, and, on the charge being proposed to him, he cordially agreed. He arrived in

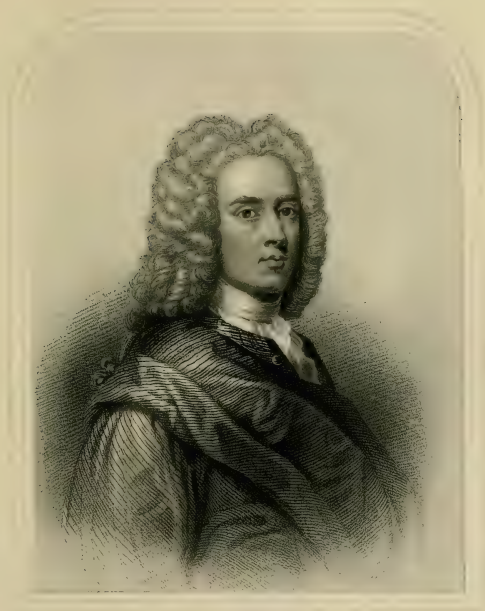
England A.D. 634, and repaired to the court of king Oswald. And now a missionary work commenced in the Northumbrian kingdom such as missionary annals can seldom parallel, for both king and monk went hand in hand in the duty. Aidan, being a Celt, was either wholly ignorant of the Saxon language of his hearers or imperfectly acquainted with it; but, when he preached, Oswald was ready to interpret his addresses. The happiest results attended these joint labours. The ancient idolatry was utterly thrown aside, and Christianity established over Deira and Bernicia. Still further to confirm this change, Aidan prevailed upon the king to transfer the episcopal see from York to Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, a bleak peninsula upon the coast of Northumberland, which probably the Culdee preferred from its resemblance to his own beloved Iona, and here accordingly a monastery was erected, which Aidan supplied with monks from his own country.

After the death of Oswald, who was slain in battle, the kingdom of Northumbria was once more parted into two sovereignties, those of Deira and Bernicia; in the former of which Oswin was appointed king, and in the latter Oswio. It was, however, a peaceful conjunction; and Aidan still continued, as before, to preside over the church of Northumberland. The character of Oswin appears to have fully resembled that of his amiable predecessor, and the Bishop of Lindisfarne seems to have loved him with a still higher affection than even that which he bore for Oswald. Amidst the obscurity of that remote period, and the shadowy character of its actors, Bede tells us a touching story, in which the simple manners of the times, as well as the intercourse between the king and the bishop, are brought out in strong relief. Oswin had once presented to Aidan a fine horse. It happened that one day, as the Culdee was riding forth, he met a poor man who asked of him an alms, and Aidan, having no money, bestowed on him the horse and its rich trappings. The king on hearing of this was displeased, and could not refrain from expressing his resentment when Aidan next dined with him. "Why were you so lavish of my favour," he said, "as to give away my pad to a beggar? If you must needs mount him on horseback, could you not have given him one of less value? Or, if he wanted any other relief, you might have supplied him otherwise, and not have parted so easily with my gift." "You have not carefully considered this matter," replied Aidan, "for otherwise you could not set a greater value on the son of a mare, than on a son of God." In this way the affair ended for the present. Not long after, when the king returned from hunting, he saw the bishop, and, remembering what had lately occurred, he laid aside his sword, threw himself at the good man's feet, and asked his forgiveness for the rude words he had uttered. Aidan, grieved to see the king in this posture, immediately raised him, and declared that the whole matter was forgot. After this interview, however, Aidan was observed to be very sad; and, on being asked the cause by some of his monks, he burst into tears, and replied, "How can I be otherwise than afflicted? I foresee that Oswin's life will be short, for never have I beheld a prince so humble. His temper is too heavenly to dwell long among us, and, truly, the nation does not deserve the blessing of such a ruler." This mournful prediction was soon after accomplished by the death of Oswin, who was assassinated in August, 651: and Aidan took the matter so deeply to heart, that he died a fortnight after.

Such is the little that we know of Saint Aidan, the apostle of Northumberland and Bishop of Lindis-

farnie. That he was great and good, and that he accomplished much, is evident from the old chronicles, and especially from the history of venerable Bede, from whom the foregoing brief account has been chiefly gathered.

AIKMAN, WILLIAM, a painter of considerable merit of the last century, was born in Aberdeenshire, October 24, 1682. His father was William Aikman of Cairney, a man of eminence at the Scottish bar, who educated his son to follow his own profession. But a predilection for the fine arts, and a love of poetry, which gained him the friendship of Ramsay and Thomson, induced the youth to give up studying for the law, and turn his attention to painting. Having prosecuted his studies in painting for a time at home under Sir John Medina, and also in England, he resolved to visit Italy, that he might complete his education as an artist, and form his taste by an examination of the classic models of antiquity; and accordingly, in 1707, having sold his paternal estate near Arbroath, that he might leave home untrammelled, he went to Rome, where, during a period of three years, he put himself under the tuition of the best masters. He afterwards visited Constantinople and Smyrna, where the gentlemen of the English factory wished him to engage in the Turkey trade; an overture which he declined; and returning to Rome, he there renewed his studies for a time. In 1712 he revisited his native country, and commenced practising his profession; but though his works were admired by the discerning few, he did not meet with adequate encouragement, the public being too poor at that time to purchase elaborate works of art, and the taste for such works being then too imperfectly formed. At this period he formed an intimacy with Allan Ramsay, whose portrait he afterwards painted. John, Duke of Argyll, who equally admired the artist and esteemed the man, regretting that such talents should be lost, at length prevailed upon Aikman, in 1723, to move with all his family to London. There, under the auspices of his distinguished friend, he associated with the most eminent British painters of the age, particularly Sir Godfrey Kneller, whose studies and dispositions of mind were congenial with his own. The duke also recommended him to many people of the first rank, particularly the Earl of Burlington, so well known for his taste in architecture; and he was thus able to be of much service to Thomson, who came to London soon after himself, as a literary adventurer. He introduced the poet of *The Seasons* to the brilliant literary circle of the day—Pope, Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot, &c.—and, what was perhaps of more immediate service, to Sir Robert Walpole, who aimed at being thought a friend to men of genius. Among the more intimate friends of Aikman was William Somerville, author of *The Chase*, from whom he received an elegant tribute of the muse, on his painting a full-length portrait of the poet in the decline of life, carrying him back, by the assistance of another portrait, to his youthful days. This poem was never published in any edition of Somerville's works. Aikman painted, for the Earl of Burlington, a large picture of the royal family of England; all the younger branches being in the middle compartment, on a very large canvas, and on one hand a full-length portrait of Queen Caroline; the picture of the king (George II.)—that king who never could endure "boetry or bainting" as he styled the two arts in his broken English—intended for the opposite side, was never finished, owing to the death of the artist. This was perhaps the last picture brought towards a close by Aikman, and it



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is allowed to have been in his best style; it came into the possession of the Duke of Devonshire by a marriage alliance with the Burlington family. Some of his earlier works are in the possession of the Argyle and Hamilton families in Scotland; his more mature and mellow productions are chiefly to be found in England, and a large portion at Blickling, in Norfolk, the seat of the Earl of Buckinghamshire; these are chiefly portraits of noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen, friends of the earl. He died, June 4, 1731, at his house in Leicester Fields, and, by his own desire, his body was taken to Scotland for interment; his only son, John (by his wife Marion Lawson, daughter of Mr. Lawson of Cairnmuir, in Peeblesshire), whose death immediately preceded his own, was buried in the same grave with him, in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh. A monument was erected over the remains of Mr. Aikman, with the following epitaph by Mallet, which has been long since obliterated:—

"Dear to the good and wise, dispraised by none,
Here sleep in peace the father and the son.
By virtue as by nature close allied,
The painter's genius, but without the pride.
Worth unambitious, wit afraid to shine,
Honour's clear light, and friendship's warmth divine.
The son, fair-rising, knew too short a date;
But O how more severe the parent's fate!
He saw him torn untimely from his side,
Felt all a father's anguish—wept, and died."

In his style of painting Aikman seems to have aimed at imitating nature in her most simple forms; his lights are soft, his shades mellow, and his colouring mild and harmonious. His touch has neither the force nor the harshness of Rubens; nor does he, like Reynolds, adorn his portraits with the elegance of adventitious graces. His compositions are distinguished by a placid tranquillity, rather than a striking brilliancy of effect; and his portraits may be more readily mistaken for those of Kneller than for the works of any other eminent artist.

AINSLIE, HEW. This poet, whose songs in the Scottish dialect have obtained considerable popularity, was born April 5th, 1792, at Bargeny Mains, in the parish of Dailly, Ayrshire. He was first educated by a private tutor at home, afterwards at the parish school of Ballantrae, and finally at the academy of Ayr. On leaving the academy, he became assistant landscape gardener on the estate of Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton, a situation which he afterwards exchanged at the age of sixteen for that of a lawyer's clerk in Glasgow; but the confinement of the office being injurious to his health, he removed to Roslin, and subsequently obtained a clerkship in the Register Office, Edinburgh.

Like most of the tuneful class, Hew Ainslie was a poet from his early years, and had composed verses before he left his native Carrick. The practice was not neglected when his age was more matured, and in consequence of a visit to Ayrshire in 1820, his poetical ardour burst forth into authorship under the title of *A Pilgrimage to the Land of Burns*. The volume thus entitled was a duodecimo of 271 pages, printed at Deptford, "for the author," in 1822, and amidst jokes, stories, and descriptions connected with the history of our great Scottish bard, it was more plentifully interspersed with Ainslie's own poetry, which his narrative seems mainly intended to introduce. This mixture of prose and verse makes a very lively and readable book, and as such the *Pilgrimage* brought the author into considerable notice.

In the meantime Ainslie had married, had found the salary of his clerkship in the Register House

too small to maintain his family, and had moreover discovered that he was not likely to be enriched by cultivating poetry as a regular occupation. He wisely therefore resolved to emigrate to the United States, where the field was open to industrious enterprise, and where his chances were better both for health and prosperity. He accordingly arrived at New York in 1822, purchased a farm, and settled on it for three years. Still haunted however by the restless eccentricity and love of change that characterizes poets, he joined the Socialists of New Harmony, under their leader Robert Owen; but after a year's experience he renounced the system, and set up as a brewer first at Louisville, and afterwards at New Albany. But his premises having been destroyed by accident, he changed his occupation to that of the erection of mills and factories, and finally settled in Jersey, a suburb of New York.

Thus far we have been enabled to trace the course of Hew Ainslie in America, and until 1855, in which he published a volume of *Scottish Songs, Ballads, and Poems*, at New York; but after this period our information deserts us, so that we neither know how he prospered in his old age, nor in what year he died. That he had never ceased, however, to cultivate poetry as his first love, or to remember Scotland with a filial devotedness, his last publication is a satisfactory proof. Their Scottish raciness is as complete as if he still trode his native heather, instead of having been a sojourner for more than thirty years in America. Their merit also is so far above mediocrity, that they will be remembered and cherished in Scotland long after the history of their author is forgot.

AITON, WILLIAM, an eminent horticulturist and botanist, was born, in 1731, at a village in the neighbourhood of Hamilton. Having been regularly bred to the profession of a gardener, as it was and still is practised by numbers of his countrymen, with a union of manual skill and scientific knowledge, he removed to England in 1754, and, in the year following, obtained the notice of the celebrated Philip Miller, then superintendent of the physic garden at Chelsea, who employed him for some time as an assistant. The instructions which he received from that eminent gardener laid the foundation, it is said, of his future fortune. His industry and abilities were so conspicuous, that, in 1759, he was pointed out to the Princess-dowager of Wales as a fit person to manage the botanical garden at Kew. His professional talents also procured him the notice of Sir Joseph Banks, and a friendship commenced which subsisted between them for life. Dr. Solander and Dr. Dryander were also among the number of his friends. The encouragement of botanical studies was a distinguished feature of the reign of George III., who, soon after his accession, determined to render Kew a repository of all the vegetable riches of the world. Specimens were accordingly procured from every quarter of the globe, and placed under the care of Mr. Aiton, who showed a surprising degree of skill in their arrangement. Under his superintendence a variety of improvements took place in the plan and edifices of Kew Gardens, till they attained an undoubted eminence over every other botanical institution. In 1783, on a vacancy occurring in the superintendence of the pleasure-gardens at Kew, Mr. Aiton received the appointment from George III., but was, at the same time, permitted to retain his more important office. His labours proved that the king's favours were not ill bestowed; for, in 1789, he published an elaborate description of the plants at Kew, under the title *Hortus*

Kewensis, 3 vols. 8vo, with a number of plates. In this production Mr. Aiton gave an account of no fewer than 5600 foreign plants, which had been introduced from time to time into the English gardens; and so highly was the work esteemed, that the whole impression was sold within two years. A second and improved edition was published by his son, William Townsend Aiton, in 1810. After a life of singular activity and usefulness, distinguished moreover by all the domestic virtues, Mr. Aiton died on the 1st of February, 1793, of a scirrhus in the liver, in the sixty-third year of his age. He lies buried in the churchyard at Kew, near the graves of his distinguished friends, Zoffany, Meyer, and Gainsborough. He was succeeded by his son, Mr. William Townsend Aiton, who was no less esteemed by George III. than his father had been, and who for fifty years ably superintended the botanical department at Kew, besides taking charge of the extensive pleasure-grounds, and being employed in the improvement of the other royal gardens. In 1841 he retired from office, when Sir William J. Hooker was appointed director of the botanic gardens. Mr. Aiton died at Kew in 1849, aged eighty-four.

ALES, or **ALESSE**, **ALEXANDER**, a celebrated theologian of the sixteenth century, was born at Edinburgh, April 23, 1500. He is first found in the situation of a canon in the cathedral of St. Andrews, where he distinguished himself by entering into the prevalent controversy of the day against Luther. His zeal for the Roman Catholic religion was staggered by the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton; but it is not probable that his doubts would have been carried further, if he had not suffered persecution for the slight degree of scepticism already manifested. Being obliged to flee from St. Andrews, he retired to Germany, where he became a thorough convert to the Protestant doctrines. The reformation in England induced Ales to go to London, in 1535, where he was highly esteemed by Cramer, Latimer, and Cromwell, who were at that time in favour with the king. Henry regarded him also with favour, and used to call him "his scholar." Upon the fall of Cromwell, he was obliged to return to Germany, where the Elector of Brandenburg appointed him professor of divinity at Frankfort-upon-the-Oder, in 1540. As a reformer Ales did not always maintain the most orthodox doctrines; hence he was obliged, in 1542, to flee from his chair at Frankfort, and betake himself to Leipsic. He spent the remainder of his life in that city, as professor of divinity, and died in 1565. His works are:—1. *De Necessitate et Merito Bonorum Operum, Disputatio Proposita in Celebrata Academia Leipsica, ad 29 Nov. 1580.* 2. *Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis, et in utramque Epistolam ad Timotheum.* 3. *Expositio in Psalmos Davidis.* 4. *De Justificatione, contra Oscandrum.* 5. *De Sancta Trinitate, cum Consultatione Erroris Valentini.* 6. *Responsio ad triginta et duos Articulos Theologorum Lovaniensium.* The fifth in this list is the most favourable specimen of his abilities.

ALEXANDER, **WILLIAM**, an eminent nobleman, statesman, and poet of the reign of James VI. and Charles I. The original rank of this personage was that of a small landed proprietor or laird; but he was elevated, by dint of his various accomplishments, and through the favour of the two sovereigns above-mentioned, to the rank of an earl. His family, which possessed the small estate of Menstrie, near Stirling, is said to have derived the name Alexander from the prenomen of their ancestor, Alexander

Macdonald, a Highlander who had been settled in this property by the Earl of Argyle, whose residence of Castle Campbell is in the neighbourhood. William Alexander is supposed to have first seen the light in 1580. He received from his friends the best education which the time and place could afford, and at a very early age he accompanied the young Earl of Argyle upon his foreign travels, in the capacity of tutor. Previous to this period, when only fifteen years of age, he had been smitten with the charms of some country beauty, "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes;" on his return from the Continent he wrote no fewer than a hundred sonnets, as a ventilation to the fervours of his breast; but all his poetry was in vain, so far as the lady was concerned. She thought of matrimony, while he thought of love, and accordingly, on being solicited by a more aged suitor, in other respects eligible, she did not scruple to accept his hand. The poet took a more sensible way of consoling himself for this disappointment than might have been expected; he married another lady, the daughter and heiress of Sir William Erskine. His century of sonnets was published in London in 1604, under the title of *Aurora, containing the First Fancies of the Author's Youth*, by W. Alexander, of Menstrie. He had early been introduced to royal notice; and when James removed to London, in 1603, the poet did not remain long behind, but soon became a dependant upon the English court. In this situation, however, he did not, like most court poets of that age, employ his pen in the adulation of majesty; his works breathe a very different strain: he descanted on the vanity of grandeur, the value of truth, the abuse of power, and the burden of riches; and his moralizings assumed the strange shape of tragedies—compositions not at all designed for the stage, but intended to embody his sentiments upon such subjects as those we have mentioned. His first tragedy was grounded upon the story of Darius, and appeared at Edinburgh in 1603. He afterwards republished it at London, in 1607, along with similar compositions upon the stories of Alexander, Croesus, and Cæsar, under the title of *Monarchick Tragedies*, by William Alexander, gentleman of the Princes' Privy Chamber. It would thus appear that he had now obtained a place in the household of Prince Henry; to whom he had previously addressed a poem or parænesis, designed to show how the happiness of a sovereign depends upon his choice of worthy councillors. This poem, of which no copy of the original edition is known to exist, except one in the university library at Edinburgh, was, after the death of Henry, addressed to Prince Charles, who then became heir-apparent; an economy in poetical, not to speak of court business which cannot be sufficiently admired. He was, in 1613, appointed one of the gentlemen ushers of the presence to this unfortunate prince.

King James is said to have been a warm admirer of the poems of Alexander, to have honoured him with his conversation, and called him "my philosophical poet." He was now aspiring to the still more honourable character of a divine poet, for in 1614, appeared at Edinburgh his largest and perhaps his most meritorious production, entitled *Doomsday, or the Great Day of Judgment*, which has been several times reprinted.

Hitherto the career of Alexander had been chiefly that of a poet: it was henceforth entirely that of a courtier. In 1614 he was knighted by King James, and appointed to the situation of master of requests. In 1621 the king gave him a grant by his royal deed of the province of Nova Scotia, which as yet had not been colonized. Alexander designed at first to

establish settlers upon this new country, and as an inducement to the purchase of land, it was proposed that the king should confer upon all who paid a hundred and fifty pounds for 6000 acres the honour of a knight baronetcy. Owing to the perplexed politics of the last years of King James, he did not get this scheme carried into effect, but Charles had no sooner acceded than he resolved upon giving it his support. Alexander, in 1625, published a pamphlet, entitled *An Encouragement to Colonies*, the object of which was to state the progress already made, to recommend the scheme to the nation, and to invite adventurers. It is also supposed that he had a hand in *A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England*, and of sundry accidents therein occurring from the year 1607 to this present 1622; together with the state thereof as it now standeth, the general form of Government intended, and the division of the whole territory into Counties, Baronies, &c. King Charles, who probably considered the scheme in a twofold light, as a means of establishing a new colony, and of remunerating an old servant at the expense of others, conferred upon Sir William Alexander the rank of Lieutenant of New Scotland, and founded the necessary order of knights baronets of the same territory. The number of these baronets was not to exceed a hundred and fifty, and it was ordained that the title should be hereditary—that they should take precedence of all ordinary knights and lairds, and of all other gentlemen, except Sir William Alexander, and that they should have place in all his majesty's and his successors' armies, near and about the royal standard for the defence thereof, with other honourable distinctions of precedence, to them, their wives, and heirs. The ceremony of infeftment or seaisine was decreed to take place on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, the earth and stone of which were held, by a fiction, to represent the component particles of certain baronies and lordships on the other side of the Atlantic. But the Nova Scotian scheme, whatever might have been originally contemplated, degenerated at last into a mere means of raising money by the sale of titles; a system too much practised in the English reign of James VI., and which gained, as it deserved, the contempt of all honourable minds. The territory of Nova Scotia afterwards fell into the hands of the French, who affected to believe that they had acquired a right to it by a treaty entered into with the king of Great Britain, in 1632, in which the country of Acadia was ceded to them. In the treaty of peace transacted between the two countries, in 1763, it was successfully asserted by the British government that Nova Scotia was totally distinct from Acadia, and accordingly the territory reverted to Britain, along with Canada. The country, however, having become the property of other individuals during the usurpation of the French, it appears that the Nova Scotia baronets have very slight prospects of ever regaining the lands to which their titles were originally attached.

In 1626 Sir William Alexander was, by the favour of Charles I., made secretary of state for Scotland, an office to which the salary of £100 a year, being that of a good mercantile clerk in the present day, was then attached. In 1630, by the further favour of his sovereign, he was raised to the peerage under the title of Viscount Stirling; and in 1633, at the coronation of King Charles in Holyrood Chapel, he was promoted to the rank of an earl under the same title. He held the office of secretary during fifteen years, and gained the credit of being a moderate statesman in the midst of many violent political scenes. It does not appear, however, that he was a

popular character. Such esteem as he might have gained by his poetry seems to have been lost in consequence of his arts to become rich. A permission which he acquired, probably in his character of lieutenant of Nova Scotia, to coin base money, became a grievance to the community, and procured him much obloquy. He had erected a splendid mansion at Stirling out of his ill-acquired gains, and affixed upon its front his armorial bearings, with the motto "Per mare, per terras." This was parodied, as we are informed, by the sarcastic Scott of Scotstarvet, into "Per metre, per turners," in allusion to the sources of his wealth, the people believing that the royal favour had a reference to his lordship's poetry, while *turners*, or *black farthings*, as they were otherwise called, had been one of the shapes in which this favour was expressed. The house still remains a monument of the taste of the poet.

The Earl of Stirling in 1637 published a complete edition of his poetical works, under the general title of *Recreations with the Muses*. The work contained his four "Monarchick Tragedies," his "Doomsday," the "Parænesis to Prince Henry," and "Jonathan, an Heroick Poem Intended, the first book," the whole revised and very much improved by the author. He died in 1640, leaving three sons and two daughters, whose posterity was supposed to have been completely extinct, till a claimant appeared in 1830, as descended from one of the younger branches of the family, and who assumed the titles of Stirling and Devon. Considered as a poet, Alexander is entitled to considerable praise. "His style is certainly neither pure nor correct, which may perhaps be attributed to his long familiarity with the Scottish language; but his versification is in general much superior to that of his contemporaries, and approaches nearer to the elegance of modern times than could have been expected from one who wrote so much. There are innumerable beauties scattered over the whole of his works, but particularly in his songs and sonnets; the former are a species of irregular odes, in which the sentiment, occasionally partaking of the quaintness of his age, is more frequently new and forcibly expressed. The powers of mind displayed in his 'Doomsday' and 'Parænesis' are very considerable, although we are frequently able to trace the allusions and imagery to the language of holy writ; and he appears to have been less inspired by the sublimity than by the awful importance of his subject to rational beings. A habit of moralizing pervades all his writings; but in the 'Doomsday' he appears deeply impressed with his subject, and more anxious to persuade the heart than to delight the imagination."—*Johnson and Chalmers' English Poets*, edit. 1810, vol. v.

The Earl of Stirling was employed in his latter years in the task of revising the version of the Psalms prepared by King James, which duty was imposed upon him by the royal paraphrast himself. In a letter to his friend Drummond of Hawthornden, 28th of April, 1620, Alexander says, "Brother, I received your last letter, with the psalm you sent, which I think very well done: I had done the same long before it came; but he [King James] prefers his own to all else; though, perchance when you see it, you will think it the worst of the three. No man must meddle with that subject, and therefore I advise you to take no more pains therein." In consideration of the pains which the earl had bestowed upon this subject, Charles I., on the 28th of December, 1627, granted a license to his lordship to print the late king's version of the Psalms exclusively for thirty-one years. The first edition appeared at Oxford in 1631. The king

endeavoured to enforce the use of his father's version alone throughout his dominions; and, if he had been successful, the privilege would have been a source of immense profit to the Earl of Stirling. But the royal wishes were resisted by the Scottish church, and were not very respectfully obeyed anywhere else; and the breaking out of the civil war soon after rendered the privilege entirely useless.¹

ALEXANDER I., surnamed *Acer* or the *Fierce*, King of Scots from 1106 to 1124, was the fifth son of Malcolm III. by his wife Margaret of England. Lord Hailes conjectures that his name was bestowed in honour of Pope Alexander II.; a circumstance worthy of attention, as it was the means of introducing the most common and familiar Christian name in Scotland. The date of Alexander's birth is not known; but as his four elder brothers were all under age in 1093, at the death of their father, he must have been in the bloom of life at his accession to the throne. He succeeded his brother Edgar, January 8, 1106-7, and immediately after married Sybilla, the natural daughter of Henry I. of England, who had married his sister Matilda or Maud. Such an alliance was not then considered dishonourable. Alexander was active in enforcing obedience to his rule, and in suppressing the bands of rebels or robbers with which the northern parts of the kingdom were infested; but the chief events of his reign relate to the efforts made by the English church to assert a supremacy over that of Scotland. These efforts were resisted by the King of Scots with steady perseverance and ultimate success, although the pope countenanced the claims of the English prelates. It is to be presumed that this spirit would have incited the Scottish monarch to maintain the independency of his kingdom had it ever been called in question during his reign. Alexander died, April 27, 1124, after a reign of seventeen years and three months. As he left no issue, he was succeeded by his next and last surviving brother David, so memorable for his bounty to the church. Alexander was also a pious monarch. Aldred, in his genealogy of the English kings, says of him that "he was humble and courteous to the clergy, but, to the rest of his subjects, terrible beyond measure; high-spirited, always endeavouring to compass things beyond his power; not ignorant of letters; zealous in establishing churches, collecting relics, and providing vestments and books for the clergy; liberal even to profusion, and taking delight in the offices of charity to the poor." His donations to the church were very considerable. He made a large grant of lands to the church of St. Andrews, increased the revenue of the monastery of Dunfermline which his parents had founded, established a colony of canons regular at home, and built a monastery on Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth, in gratitude for having been preserved from a tempest on that island.

ALEXANDER II., the only legitimate son of King William, surnamed the *Lion*, was born in 1198. He succeeded his father, December 4, 1214, in his seventeenth year, and was crowned next day at Scone. Alexander II. is characterized by Fordun as a pious, just, and brave king—as the shield of the church, the safeguard of the people, and the friend of the miserable. He espoused the cause of the English barons against King John, which led to mutual depredations between the two sovereigns; but

on the accession of Henry III. to the crown of England, peace was restored; and in 1221 the friendly intercourse of the two nations was established by the marriage of the King of Scotland to Joan, eldest sister of the King of England. This princess died in 1238 without issue; and in the following year Alexander married Mary de Couci, the scion of a French house, which, in its motto, disclaimed royalty, and rested for distinction on its own merits:

Je suis ni roi, ni prince aussi—
Je suis le seigneur de Couci.

During the life of Joan the British monarchs came to no open rupture, their friendly intimacy being only occasionally interrupted by Henry discovering a disposition to revive the claim of homage from the King of Scotland, which had been given up by Richard I., and by Alexander insisting on his claim to the three northern counties of England; but shortly after the death of Joan national jealousies broke out, and in 1244 both princes raised armies and prepared for war. By the mediation, however, of several English barons, hostilities were prevented, and a peace concluded. Much of Alexander's reign was occupied in suppressing insurrections of the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. He died, A.D. 1249, in one of the islands of the Hebrides while engaged in subjecting Angus, the Lord of Argyle, who refused his homage to the Scottish sovereign. He left by his second wife one son, who is the subject of the following article.

ALEXANDER III., born at Roxburgh, September 4, 1241, succeeded his father in the eighth year of his age. He was knighted and crowned only five days after his father's death—a precipitation adopted to prevent the interference of the King of England. When only a year old Alexander had been betrothed to Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry III., a princess of his own age; and in 1251 their nuptials were celebrated at York with great pomp. On the ground of this union Henry interested himself in the affairs of Scotland, and the young prince was a frequent visitor at the court of his father-in-law. The English monarch, taking advantage of Alexander's youth and other circumstances, endeavoured to prevail upon him to do homage for his crown and kingdom of Scotland; but the young king, with a fortitude and prudence beyond his years, and which gave promise of his future decision, resisted the demand, saying that he could not treat of affairs of state without the advice of his parliament. During Alexander's minority the country was divided into factions, and various struggles for ascendancy took place; but the administration was latterly committed to fifteen of the leading chiefs or barons. Alexander had reached the twenty-second year of his age when his kingdom was invaded by one of the most formidable armaments that had ever sailed from Norway. Haco, king of that country, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, freighted with many thousand northern warriors, who carried terror to almost all the shores of Europe, sailed towards Scotland in the summer of 1263, and after making himself master of the Islands of Arran and Bute, arrived in the Bay of Largs, near the mouth of the Clyde, and endeavoured to effect a landing. Here a Scottish army, under Alexander, assembled to resist the invasion; and here, on the 2d of October, after a fierce and bloody contest, the Norwegians were repulsed with great loss. A storm arising completed the dissipation or destruction of their fleet. Haco escaped with difficulty through the strait

¹ The corpse of the Earl of Stirling was deposited in a leaden coffin in the family aisle in the church of Stirling, above ground, and remained entire for upwards of a hundred years.—Paragraph from an old newspaper.

between Skye and the mainland, since called Kyle Hacken, and reaching the Orkneys, died there, as is said, of a broken heart. By this defeat all the islands of the western sea, including that of Man, but excepting those of Orkney and Shetland, submitted to Alexander.

From this period to the death of Alexander, Scotland enjoyed tranquillity, only disturbed by the pretensions of the pope and the encroachments of the clergy, both of which Alexander was successful in resisting. Religious crusades were at this time the rage over Europe, and Scotland did not escape the infection, as many of her bravest barons perished in Palestine. In 1274 Alexander attended the coronation of his brother-in-law, Edward I., at Westminster, and after the custom of the times did homage for the lands which he held of him in England. Six months after this, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, died, leaving one daughter and two sons—Margaret, Alexander, and David. David died unmarried in 1281. Margaret was married in 1282 to Eric, King of Norway, and died in the following year, after giving birth to an infant daughter, who received her own name. Alexander was married in 1283 to the daughter of Guy, Earl of Flanders, who died in the following year without issue. Thus, in the course of a few years, was the unhappy King of Scotland deprived of his wife and all his children—the only remaining descendant of his body being the Maiden of Norway, as she is called in Scottish history—an infant grandchild residing in a foreign land. In 1285 Alexander, to provide against the evils of a disputed succession, at the request of his nobility, married Joletta, daughter of the Count de Dreux; but shortly after his marriage, in riding along a precipitous road, between Burntisland and Kinghorn, his horse fell over a rock, and the unfortunate monarch was killed. This event took place on the 16th of March, 1286, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign.

With Alexander III. terminated a race of kings, who, from the accession of Malcolm Cean-Mohr or Canmore, had distinguished themselves by their activity in the administration of justice, and their courage in maintaining the rights and independence of their country against a powerful, and too often an insidious, foe. Few annals of a rude people, indeed, can present a more remarkable series of patriotic monarchs than those with whom Scotland was blessed from the middle of the eleventh to the close of the thirteenth century, whether we consider their wisdom and impartiality as legislators, their prudence as politicians, or their bravery as warriors; for Malcolm the Maiden, and the terms upon which William the Lion effected his release from captivity, must only be considered as exceptions to the general excellence of their conduct. But with the death of Alexander III. the peace and prosperity of the country was broken up; and much as he was lamented by the people, and gloomy as were their forebodings on his decease, no anticipation could exceed the real calamities in which the country was involved by his unhappy and untimely end.

ALISON, REV. ARCHIBALD, M.A., LL.B. This distinguished writer on "Taste," was born in Edinburgh, A.D. 1757, and was the son of Mr. Andrew Alison, one of the magistrates of that city. When he had completed the usual course of an elementary classical education, he was sent, at the age of fifteen, to the university of Glasgow, where, after the usual curriculum of Latin, Greek, and Logic, he attended the lectures of Professor Reid, at that time in high metaphysical reputation, and formed an intimacy

with Dugald Stewart, which continued to the end of his life. Having been so fortunate as to obtain one of those exhibitions to Balliol College of which the university of Glasgow possesses the patronage, Archibald Alison removed to Oxford, where he completed his course of study, and took the degree of A.M., and afterwards of LL.B. In 1784 he also took orders, and married the eldest daughter of the celebrated Dr. John Gregory of Edinburgh. His first appointment in the church was to the curacy of Brancepath, in the county of Durham. After this, he was appointed to the chapelry of Kenley in Shropshire in 1790, and to the vicarage of Ercall in the same county in 1794, by the Earl of Darlington, to whom the patronage of both livings belonged; and in 1797 he was presented to Roddington by the lord-chancellor. In 1791 also, the small prebend of Yatminster Secunda, in the cathedral of Salisbury, was conferred upon him by Bishop Douglas. So many pluralities have an imposing appearance; but their aggregate revenue amounted to nothing more than £800 per annum. Circumstances soon led to Alison's removal to his native city, having been invited by Sir William Forbes and the vestry of the Episcopal chapel in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, to become senior minister of that charge. He removed to Edinburgh in 1800, and continued to preach in the Cowgate, until the congregation removed from that murky locality to the handsome chapel of St. Paul's, in York Place. In 1831 Alison, now an old man, and subject to severe attacks of pectoral disease, was obliged to desist from his public labours, and confine himself to the private society of his friends, in which the evening of his days was tranquil and happy. The high reputation which he had attained both as a preacher and writer, and his amiable personal qualities, endeared him to the most distinguished literary characters for which Edinburgh was now at the height of its fame; and he was in constant intercourse, among others, with Dugald Stewart, Dr. Gregory, Lord Woodhouselee, Professor Playfair, Dr. Thomas Brown, Sir James Hall, and Thomas Campbell. Besides these, he had been in familiar acquaintanceship with the illustrious of the end of the last century, such as Dr. Adam Smith, Dr. Adam Ferguson, Dr. Robertson, and Dr. Blair. He was indeed the literary Nestor of the day, who chronicled the remembrances of the great and good of a past generation for the instruction of their successors. Another congenial spirit, though in a different walk of intellect, whose society he especially valued, was Mr. Telford, the celebrated engineer; and it was pleasing to witness the zeal of the venerable pair, while Telford unfolded his scientific plans for the improvement of their native Scotland and its fair capital. The death of Archibald Alison occurred in 1839, at the age of eighty-two. By his wife, who died in 1830, he had six children, of whom three survived him, and one of them, Sir Archibald Alison, is known to most of our readers as the author of the *History of Europe from the French Revolution*.

Of the Rev. Archibald Alison's life as an author it is now necessary to speak. His *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste*, the work by which he is best known, was published so early as 1790, but attracted little notice. Not discouraged by the cold reception of a subject which had formed the chief study of his life, Alison, after he had been for some years settled in Edinburgh, republished his *Essays* with considerable additions in 1811. He had now won for himself a more favourable class of readers; and he was so fortunate as to find a eulogist in Francis Jeffrey, then the Aristarchus of critics,

and through the *Edinburgh Review*, at that time the paramount oracle of the literary world. A very powerful and beautiful article forthwith appeared in that periodical upon the long-neglected work; and the consequence was that the *Essays* immediately took their place as the standard of the *Nature and Principles of Taste*. The present generation can well remember how their boyhood and youth were familiarized with it, and how the pulpit and the press did homage to its authority. But time has sobered down this enthusiasm, and Alison is reckoned neither to have invented a new theory (for its leading idea had been distinctly announced by David Hume); nor to have sifted it with the most philosophical analysis, or expressed it in the happiest language. But who shall arrest our fleeting emotions produced by the sublime and the beautiful, and reduce them to such a fixed standard as all shall recognize? Longinus, Burke, Schlegel, and Alison have all successively passed away, while the science of æsthetics is still accumulating its materials for future theorists and fresh legislation. The theory of taste, like that of the weather or the tides, is still the subject of hypothesis and conjecture. Besides his principal work of *Essays on Taste*, which has gone through many editions, both in Britain and America, as well as been translated into French, Mr. Alison published two volumes of sermons, which have also been several times republished; and a "Memoir of Lord Woodhouselee," inserted in the *Transactions of the Edinburgh Royal Society*, 1818. The character of Alison, which is thus given by his son, was borne out through a long and well-spent life:—"No man who held firm and uncompromising opinions on the principles of religion and morals, looked with more indulgence on the failings of others, or passed through the world in more perfect charity and good-will to all men. No man who had lived much in society, could retire with more sincere pleasure at all periods of his life into domestic privacy, and into the solitude of the country. . . . No man who had attained a high reputation as a preacher or an author, was ever more absolutely indifferent to popular applause, as compared with the consciousness of the performance of duty."

ALLAN, DAVID, a painter of great merit, was born at Alloa, February 13th, 1744. He was the son of Mr. David Allan, shore-master at that small port. The mother of Allan, whose maiden name was Gullan, brought him prematurely into the world, and died a few days after his birth. The young painter had so small a mouth that no nurse could be found in the place fitted to give him suck: at length, one being heard of, who lived at the distance of some miles, he was packed up in a basket amidst cotton, and sent off under the charge of a man who carried him on horseback, the journey being rendered additionally dangerous by a deep snow. The horse happened to stumble, the man fell off, and the tiny babe was ejected from the basket into the snow, receiving as he fell a severe cut upon his head. Such were the circumstances under which Mr. David Allan commenced existence. Even after having experienced the tender cares of his nurse, misfortune continued to harass him. In the autumn of 1745, when he must have been about eighteen months old, a battery was erected at Alloa, to defend the passage of the Forth against the army of Prince Charles. While the men were firing the cannon for experiment, the maid intrusted with the charge of young Allan ran across the open space in front, at the moment when they were discharged, and he only escaped death by a hair-breadth.

His genius for designing was first developed by accident. Being confined at home with a burned foot, his father one day said to him, "You idle little rogue, you are kept from school doing nothing! come, here is a bit of chalk, draw something with it upon the floor." He took the chalk, and began to delineate figures of houses, animals, and other familiar objects; in all of which he succeeded so well that the chalk was seldom afterwards out of his hand. When he was about ten years of age, his pedagogue happened to exercise his authority over some of the boys in a rather ludicrous manner: Allan immediately drew a caricature of the transaction upon a slate, and handed it about for the amusement of his companions. The master of the ferule, an old vain conceited person, who used to strut about the school dressed in a tartan night-cap and long tartan gown, got hold of the picture, and right soon detected that he himself was the most conspicuous and the most ridiculous figure. The satire was so keen, and the laugh which it excited sunk so deep, that the object of it was not satisfied till he had made a complaint to old Allan, and had the boy taken from his school. When questioned by his father how he had the effrontery to insult his master, by representing him so ridiculously on his slate, his answer was, "I only made it *like* him, and it was all for fun!"

The father observed the decided genius of his son, and had the good sense to offer it no resistance. At this time the establishment of the Messrs. Foulis' academy of arts at Glasgow was making some noise in the country. Allan, therefore, resolved to apprentice his son to those gentlemen upon the terms given out in their prospectus of the institution. On the 25th of February, 1755, when exactly eleven years of age, the young draughtsman was bound apprentice to the Messrs. Foulis for seven years, to attend their painting academy in the university of Glasgow. In Newhall House there is a sketch in oil, done by him, representing the inside of the academy, with an exact portrait of Robert Foulis in the act of criticizing a large picture, and giving instructions to his principal painter about it.

In the year 1764 some of his performances attracted the notice of Lord Cathcart, whose seat, Shaw Park, was situated in Clackmannanshire near Alloa. Lady Cathcart introduced him to the notice of Lady Frances Erskine, daughter of the insurgent Earl of Mar, and mother of the gentleman to whom the peerage was restored in 1824; as also to Lady Charlotte Erskine, to Mrs. Abercromby of Tullibody, mother of Sir Ralph; and to some other personages of distinction in the neighbourhood of his birth-place. By the associated purses of these kind patrons, Allan was enabled to go to Italy, where he studied with unremitting application for eleven years. During his residence there, Lady Cathcart used to write to him with all the care and affection of a mother. In 1773, while living at Rome, he gained the prize medal given by the academy of St. Luke for the best specimen of historical composition; being the only Scotchman who had ever reached that honour, besides Mr. Gavin Hamilton.

After his return in 1777, Allan resided for about two years in London; but, falling into a bad state of health, he was ordered home to Scotland for a change of air. Soon after his arrival in Edinburgh, he was appointed successor to Runciman (deceased), as master and director of the academy established by the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Improvements, for the purpose of diffusing a knowledge of the principles of the fine arts and elegance of design, in the various manufactures and works which required to be figured and ornamented; a charge for

which he was peculiarly well qualified, by the extensive knowledge he possessed of every branch of the art. He retained the situation till his death.

Allan was much admired for his talents in composition, the truth with which he delineated nature, and the characteristic humour which distinguished his pictures, drawings, and etchings. There are several engravings from his pictures, as, "The Origin of Painting, or the Corinthian Maid Drawing the Shadow of her Lover," and four in aquatinta by Paul Sandby, from drawings made by Allan when at Rome, representing the sports during the carnival. Several of the figures were portraits of persons well known to the English who visited Rome between 1770 and 1780. There is one caricature by Allan, which is well known to Scottish collectors: it represents the interior of a church or meeting-house at Dunfermline, at the moment when an imprudent couple are rebuked by the clergyman. There is a drollery about the whole of this performance that never fails to amuse. The alliance of his genius to that of our national poets, led Allan, in 1788, to publish an edition of the *Gentle Shepherd*, with characteristic drawings. He also published a collection of the most humorous of the old Scottish songs, each illustrated by a characteristic etching. At his death, which happened on the 6th of August, 1796, he left a series of drawings designed for the poems of Burns in an equally graphic and humorous style. There is one property which runs through all the designs of Allan, and by which his productions may be distinguished at the most casual glance: this is a peculiar elegance of form which he always gives to the limbs of his figures—elegance to such a degree, that in many cases it may be pronounced out of nature.

Allan, by his wife, whom he married in 1788, left one son, bearing his own name, and who was sent out as a cadet to India, and one daughter named Barbara. In person, our Scottish Hogarth, as he was called, had nothing attractive. The misfortunes attending his entrance into the world were such as nothing in after-life could repair. "His figure was a bad resemblance of his humorous precursor of the English metropolis. He was under the middle size; of a slender, feeble make, with a long, sharp, lean, white, coarse face, much pitted by the small-pox, and fair hair. His large prominent eyes, of a light colour, were weak, near-sighted, and not very animated. His nose was long and high, his mouth wide, and both ill-shaped. His whole exterior to strangers appeared unengaging, trifling, and mean; and his deportment was timid and obsequious. The prejudices naturally excited by these disadvantages at introduction, were however dispelled on acquaintance; and, as he became easy and pleased, gradually yielded to agreeable sensations; till they insensibly vanished, and at last, were not only overlooked, but, from the effect of contrast, even heightened the attractions by which they were so unexpectedly followed. When in company he esteemed, and which suited his taste, as restraint wore off, his eye imperceptibly became active, bright, and penetrating; his manner and address quick, lively, and interesting—always kind, polite, and respectful; his conversation open and gay, humorous without satire, and playfully replete with benevolence, observation, and anecdote."—*Brown's edition of the Gentle Shepherd*, 1808.

The author who thus forcibly delineates his external appearance, gives the following character of his genius:—"As a painter, at least in his own country, he neither excelled in drawing, composition, colouring, nor effect. Like Hogarth, too, beauty,

grace, and grandeur of individual outline and form, or of style, constitute no part of his merit. He was no Correggio, Raphael, or Michael Angelo. He painted portraits as well as Hogarth, below the middle size; but they are void of all charms of elegance, and of the *claro-obscuro*, and are recommended by nothing but a strong homely resemblance. As an artist and a man of genius, his characteristic talent lay in *expression*, in the imitation of nature with truth and humour, especially in the representation of ludicrous scenes in low life. His eye was ever on the watch for every eccentric figure, every motley group, or ridiculous incident, out of which his pencil or his needle could draw innocent entertainment and mirth."

ALLAN, GEORGE. This poet and professional litterateur, whose life unfortunately was too brief to develop into full maturity the high promise which his early efforts had given, was the youngest son of John Allan, farmer at Paradykes, near Edinburgh. Having adopted the law for his future profession, he became apprentice to a writer to the signet; but either growing weary of dry legal studies, or finding greater attractions in literature, he abandoned the vocation almost as soon as he had added W.S. to his name, and went to London for the purpose of pursuing an adventurous career as an author. There he soon obtained the acquaintance of Allan Cunningham, and Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, who recognized his talents, and encouraged his literary aspirations. But his strength of nerve and soundness of health did not correspond with his ardent enthusiasm, so that in 1829 he was fain to accept an appointment in Jamaica. The climate of the West Indies not suiting him, he returned home in the following year, and soon after obtained the editorship of the *Dumfries Journal*, a respectable newspaper in the Conservative interests. This situation he continued to hold for three years with great popularity and success, when a change in the proprietorship of the newspaper introduced new measures and a new editor; and Allan repaired to Edinburgh, and obtained employment as literary assistant in the office of the Messrs. Chambers. In this situation, while he remained in it, he was comfortable and happy, while his intellectual energies had full swing; and besides contributing many excellent articles to Chambers' *Edinburgh Journal*, he wrote extensively in the columns of the *Scotsman* newspaper. Mr. Allan was also author of a *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, in one octavo volume, which enjoyed large popularity until it, with its other brethren, was swallowed up by the admirable memoir written by Lockhart; and he materially assisted Mr. Peter Macleod in preparing the *Original National Melodies of Scotland*, to which he furnished several contributions.

Although still young, Mr. Allan had already accomplished so much, and established so hopeful a prospect for the future, that in October, 1831, and while only in his 25th year, he ventured on "giving hostages to fortune," by marrying Mrs. Mary Hill, a widow, the eldest daughter of Mr. William Pagan of Curriestanes, and niece of Allan Cunningham. In 1834 also, some of his relatives, through political influence, obtained for him a situation in the stamp-office, which insured him a moderate competence, but without depriving him of opportunity to prosecute his literary occupations. But soon after this promising point was reached, his career was suddenly terminated. His intellectual and poetical ardour had been too much for the frame it tenanted; the delicate nervous organization, which had both animated and enfeebled him,

sank under the too close application of his mind; and he died suddenly at Janefield, near Leith, on the 15th of August, 1835, in the thirtieth year of his age, leaving behind him a name, both as a prose writer and a poet, which few so young are fortunate to establish.

ALLAN, ROBERT. This minor poet, whose merits however deserve commemoration, was, like most of his order, of a humble origin, being the son of a flax-dresser in Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire. He was born in that village on the 4th November, 1774, and was the third of a family of ten children. He followed the occupation of a muslin weaver; but having been born a poet, he relieved his monotonous occupation with poetry, so that many of his best compositions were produced under the regular clicking of his hand-loom. Through his early love of music and talent for song-writing he became acquainted with the poet Tannahill, and lived with him on terms of friendly intimacy. When the *Scottish Minstrel* was published by R. A. Smith, that eminent composer set the contributions of Robert Allan to music; and in 1820 several of Allan's songs were published in the *Harp of Renfrewshire*, where they attracted considerable notice. His popularity as a writer of songs was now so well established, that his friends thought the time had arrived when his reputation as a poet might be confirmed, and the poverty of his lot amended, by a separate publication of his own. Accordingly, a collection of his poems, revised by the editorial care of Robert Burns Hardy, teacher of elocution in Glasgow, was published by subscription in 1836; and—unmeritedly, as we think—proved a failure. This sufficed to deter him from any such attempt in future.

In the meantime, although depressed by poverty, Robert Allan had married, and was the father of a numerous family, all of whom were married except his youngest son, a portrait-painter of great promise, who had emigrated to the United States. Embittered by the neglect with which his poetry had been treated, and sick of his native country because it was not governed according to his own political theories, our poet, now in his sixty-seventh year, resolved to leave Scotland for ever, and spend the rest of his days with his youthful Benjamin in America. Greatly against the wish of his friends, he sailed to New York; but the fatigues of the voyage were too much for him, and he died in that city on the 1st of June, 1841, only six days after landing.

ALLAN, SIR WILLIAM, R.A., President of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting. This distinguished painter was born at Edinburgh, in the year 1782, and was the son of William Allan, who held the humble office of macer in the Court of Session. Notwithstanding the circumstances of his birth, he was destined, like others of the same grade in Scotland, to undergo a classical education, before his future path in life was selected. Accordingly, he was sent to the high-school of Edinburgh, and placed under the preceptorship of Mr. William Nicol, whose memory will descend to posterity more for the "peck o' maud" which he brewed to supply one memorable sitting where Burns was the laureate, than for all his classical attainments, respectable though they were. The future artist, however, was a poor Latin scholar, though Nicol was a stern and able teacher. In fact, the boy already felt nature strong within him, so that he was sketching the objects around him with whatever instrument came to hand, while his class-fellows were occupied with the commentaries of Cæsar or the longs and shorts of

Ovid. So keen was this artistic tendency, that the forms and floor of the class-room were frequently chalked with his juvenile efforts, while their excellence pointed out the offender who had thus transgressed against academic rule. Another luxury in which he indulged, was to linger near a group of boys playing at marbles; and while studying their attitudes and the expression of their countenances, he neither thought of the class hour that had elapsed, nor the punishment that awaited his remissness. After striving against the bent, Mr. Nicol saw that he could not transform his pupil into a lover of Latin and Greek; but his pupil had long been of the same opinion. He felt within himself not only his natural tendency, but a vague conception of the eminence to which it would lead him; and his usual reply to paternal remonstrance was, "Father, in spite of all this spending of money in learning Latin, I will be a painter." A painter accordingly it was consented that he should be, but his noviciate in the profession was sufficiently humble: he was bound apprentice to a coach-builder in Leith Walk, to paint the armorial bearings on the panels of carriages. But Hogarth himself had a less promising commencement. William Allan, although a stripling not more than thirteen years of age, soon gave such indications of pictorial excellence, that he was employed in the delicate task of painting certain anatomical preparations at Surgeons' Square Hall. At the commencement of his labours there, he was locked up by mistake at night in the room where he had been occupied all day, and was thus compelled to spend the hours of darkness amidst the skeletons and mangled relics of the dead. The hideous effects upon the imagination of a timid susceptible boy in such a charnel-house; the sights he saw by the glimmer of the moon through the crevices of the window-shutters, and the still more terrible phantasms which his fancy conjured up, formed such a night of horror as no artist but Fuseli could have relished. Allan himself was wont at a late stage in life, and amidst the literary circles of Edinburgh, to detail the particulars of this ghastly bivouac with a force of description and amount of merriment that never failed to set the hearers in a roar. It was making Yorick's skull to speak anew, for the mirth of the present generation.

The high promise of excellence which the coach-panel painting of William Allan afforded, so won upon his employer, that, through the influence of the latter, he was entered in the Trustees' Academy, where he was a pupil for several years; and it is worthy of remark that Wilkie entered this school at the same period with Allan, sat on the same form, and copied from the same models and drawings. This circumstance, independently of their mutual enthusiasm for the art in which they were afterwards so distinguished, ripened an affection between them which no jealous rivalry could subsequently disturb. Their friendship continued unabated till the close of Wilkie's life; and Allan was wont, while training his scholars, to refer to his illustrious fellow-pupil, as their best model and example. After he had spent several years in the lessons of the Trustees' Academy, where he had a faithful and efficient teacher in Mr. Graham, of whose instructions he always spoke with gratitude and respect, Allan went to London, and was admitted to the school of the Royal Academy. On commencing active life, however, he soon experienced the difficulties with which the fine arts, as a profession, have to contend in the great metropolis of merchandise: his superiority was not felt with that readiness which his youthful enthusiasm had anticipated, and the demands upon his

pencil were so few as would soon have been insufficient to furnish him with a mere subsistence. Like his countrymen so situated, he resolved to try the experiment elsewhere, and find or make a home wherever his talents could be best appreciated. The place he selected for trial was Russia, a country still imperfectly known in general society, and where the fine arts seemed to have little chance of a cordial reception, amidst the recent and as yet imperfect civilization of the people. The boldness of his choice was also fully matched by scantiness of means for its execution; for he knew nothing of the Russian language, was slenderly provided with money, and had only one or two letters of introduction to some of his countrymen in St. Petersburg.

Thus inadequately equipped, the artist-adventurer threw himself into a career which was ultimately to lead to fame and fortune. Even the commencement was attended with a startling omen; for the ship in which he embarked for Riga was tossed about by adverse winds, and at length driven almost a wreck into Memel. Thus, contrary to his purpose, Allan found himself the temporary inhabitant of a sea-port town in Prussia, in the midst of a people to whose tongue he was a stranger, and with pecuniary resources which a few days would exhaust. Still, however, his stout heart triumphed over the difficulty. Having settled himself at an inn, he commenced in due form the occupation of portrait painter, and had for his first sitter the Danish consul, to whom he had been introduced by the captain of the vessel that brought him to Memel. Other sitters followed; and having thus recruited his exhausted purse, he resumed his original purpose of travelling to Russia, which he did by land, passing, on his way to St. Petersburg, through a considerable part of the Russian army, which was at that time on its march to the field of Austerlitz. At St. Petersburg he found an effectual patron in his countryman, Sir Alexander Crichton, physician to the imperial family, to whom he was warmly recommended by Colonel Crichton, the physician's brother, one of his early patrons in Scotland, and by Sir Alexander he was introduced to an extensive and fashionable circle of society, where his artistic talents were appreciated, and his opportunities for their improvement furthered. To accomplish that improvement, indeed, was so strongly the desire of his ardent enthusiastic mind, that neither the motives of personal comfort and safety, nor the attractive society of the Russian capital, could withhold him from a course of adventurous self-denying travel. He therefore repaired to the Ukraine, where he resided for several years, studying the wild scenery of the steppes, and the still wilder costume and manners of its inhabitants, with a fearless and observant eye. He also made occasional journeys to Turkey and Tartary, as well as to the remote dependencies of the Russian empire, dwelling in the hut of the barbarian serf, or the tent of the wandering nomade, as well as the palace of the boyar and the emir; and amidst the picturesque tribes of the east and north, with whom he thus freely fraternized, he enjoyed a daily intercourse with those whom his less adventurous brethren at home are contented to delineate from the narratives of the traveller or the waking dreams of the studio. The large collection which Allan made of the dresses, armour, weapons, and utensils of the various communities among whom he sojourned, and the life-like ease and fidelity of form, feature, and costume, by which the figures of his principal paintings are distinguished, attest how carefully and how completely he had identified himself with Russian, Turk, and Pole, with Cossack, Circassian, and Bashkir. It is much to be regretted

that he kept no journal of the many stirring scenes he witnessed, and the strange adventures he underwent in this novel pilgrimage in quest of the sublime and the beautiful. That they were pregnant with interest and instruction, and worthy of a permanent record, was well evinced by the delight with which his hearers were wont to listen to his conversational narratives, when he happened—which was but rarely—to allude to the events of his travels. He appears also to have become an especial favourite with those rude children of the mountain and the desert among whom he sojourned, and whose language, dress, and manners he adopted, so that he is still remembered by the old among them as an adopted son or brother, while in Poland the usual name by which he is distinguished is *le Raphael Ecossais*—the Scottish Raphael.

After this romantic apprenticeship, in which he established for himself a high reputation as a painter among foreigners, while he was still unknown at home, Allan resolved, in 1812, to return to his native land. But the invasion of Russia by Napoleon obliged him to postpone his purpose; and in addition to the large stock of ideas which he had already accumulated for future delineation, he was compelled to witness, and treasure up remembrances of, the worst effects of war upon its grandest scale—bloodshed, conflagration, and famine maddening every human passion and feeling to the uttermost. On the restoration of peace in 1814, Allan returned to Edinburgh after a ten years' absence, and commenced in earnest the work for which he had undergone so singular a training. His first effort, which was finished in 1815, and exhibited in Somerset House, was his well-known painting of the "Circassian Captives;" and after this followed the "Tartar Banditti," "Haslan Gherai crossing the Kuban," "A Jewish Wedding in Poland," and "Prisoners conveyed to Siberia by Cossacks." But, notwithstanding the now highly established reputation of these and other productions, which he exhibited in his native city, along with the costumes and weapons of the countries by which his paintings were illustrated, a home reputation was very hard to establish: his countrymen, with their proverbial caution, were slow to perceive the excellences that addressed them in such an unwonted form, and refused to sympathize, at first sight, with Poles, Tartars, and Circassians. It was well, therefore, for Allan that his labours had already been prized in Russia, so that he had not been allowed to return home empty-handed. He persevered with the same boldness that had carried him onward through the encampments of the Calmucks or the defiles of the Caucasus; and to all the remonstrances of his relations, who advised him to leave such unprofitable work and betake himself to portraits, by which he would gain both fame and money, his invariable answer was, "I will be a historical painter." His perseverance was at last rewarded. Sir Walter Scott, John Lockhart, and John Wilson, with others, who were able to appreciate the artist's merits, combined to purchase the "Circassian Captives" at a price adequate to its value; and having done this, the individual possession of the painting was decided among them by lot, in consequence of which it became the property of the Earl of Wemyss. "Haslan Gherai" and the "Siberian Exiles" also found a munificent purchaser in the Grand Duke Nicholas, late Emperor of Russia, when he visited the Scottish capital. The tide had thus changed; and it bore him on to fortune, not only in pecuniary matters, but to what he had still more at heart—the establishment of his reputation as a Scottish painter

of history. Although they are so well known, the following list of his principal productions may here be fitly introduced:—

THE SLAVE MARKET AT CONSTANTINOPLE—purchased by Alexander Hill, Esq., and now the property of Miss Davidson of Durievale, Fife.

JOHN KNOX ADMONISHING MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.—This is the well-known scene described by the Reformer himself, in which the beautiful queen, irritated by his bold sentiments about the limited power of sovereigns, and the liberty of their subjects, burst into tears.

THE ORPHAN, a scene at Abbotsford, in the interior of Sir Walter Scott's breakfast-room.

THE MEETING OF DAVID DEANS WITH HIS DAUGHTER JEANIE AT ROSENEATH. In the tale of the *Heart of Mid-Lothian*, Sir Walter Scott, after describing the dress, look, and attitude of the stern old father, adds, "So happily did they assort together, that, should I ever again see my friends Wilkie or Allan, I will try to borrow or steal from them a sketch of this very scene." This was a fair challenge, which Allan gladly accepted, and the picture of the meeting at Roseneath was the result.

THE REGENT MURRAY SHOT BY HAMILTON OF BOTHWELLHAUGH.—In this great event of Scottish history, the painter, instead of confining himself to the strict historical record, has adopted the poetical description of Sir Walter Scott in his ballad of *Cadwou*. This gave the artist an opportunity of introducing several personages who were not present at the scene, such as John Knox and the Earl of Morton.

THE MURDER OF DAVID RIZZIO.

THE FAIR MAID OF PERTH.—The scene is that in the glover's house, when Henry of the Wynd was suddenly awoke on Valentine's morn by the bashful salute of the fair object of his affections, according to the established custom of the festival.

THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS.—The central and chief object in this painting is the death of Colonel Gardiner, amidst the small handful of English infantry whom he joined when his cavalry had deserted him.

THE ETRICK SHEPHERD'S BIRTHDAY.—In this painting, the portraits of the principal friends of the artist and poet are introduced within the interior of Hogg's house at Eltrive, after a day spent in trouting and rambling among the mountains.

THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP SHARPE.

A PRESS-GANG.—The terrible and heart-rending fidelity and power of this delineation have always placed it in the foremost rank of Allan's artistic productions. A young man, the son of a fisherman, has just returned from a long voyage in a merchant ship, and been welcomed by his parents, relatives, and mistress: the triumphant feast is prepared, and the happiness of the party has reached its height, when a press-gang suddenly rushes in, and the sailor-boy is within their grasp, and about to be carried off. The agony of the parents; the fruitless attempt of the mother to bribe the leader of the gang; the stupor of the aged grandfather and grandmother, with whom this seems to be the last, as well as the most crushing affliction which a long-spent and now worn-out life could have in store for them—and saddest of all, the half-dressed maiden who has hurried to welcome her lover's return, but only to lose him, and who has fallen into an insensibility that might be mistaken for death—compose a group of misery which art has seldom equalled, and perhaps never surpassed.

These are but a few of Allan's many productions, which were prized by competent judges as master-

pieces of historical painting, and the greater part of which have been familiarized to the public at large through the medium of engraving. His labours, however, were more than once interrupted from ill health; and at last, a complaint in the eyes suspended his exertions for several years, and threatened to end in total blindness. By medical advice he went to Italy; and after sojourning a winter at Rome, and spending a short time in Naples, he visited Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Greece, and returned with recruited health to his beloved studio in Edinburgh. He became once more a traveller in 1834, being desirous of visiting the romantic and historical scenery of Spain. His journey on this occasion extended into Western Barbary, and would have been still further lengthened, but for a sudden necessity of returning home, after which he continued to produce many of his best paintings. A desire also to paint the battle of Waterloo led him several times to France and Belgium, that he might collect sufficient materials in costume, scenery, and incident, and study accurately the field of conflict.

The result was a magnificent view of this great combat of nations, which, at the exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1843, was purchased by the Duke of Wellington, who testified his approbation of its truth and accuracy. Allan had now done enough for fame and fortune, both as artist and traveller; but in 1844 he again grasped his pilgrim's staff for a journey into the far north. He visited Russia, and there produced his painting of "Peter the Great teaching his subjects the art of Ship-building;" which, after being exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1845, was purchased by the Emperor of Russia, for the winter palace of St. Petersburg. In consequence of the success of his first painting of Waterloo, he resolved on producing a second; and, as the former was delineated as viewed from the French side of the action, the latter was from the British. Independently also of the stirring nature of the subject, his personal as well as patriotic feelings were engaged in this fresh effort, for it was intended for the competition of Westminster Hall in 1846. Great, however, as were its merits, it was unsuccessful. It was afterwards purchased by the Junior United Service Club in London, of whose splendid rooms it now forms a conspicuous ornament. The public honours which had already rewarded him, might indeed sufficiently console him under this disappointment; for in 1826 he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy, and in 1835 an academician. Four years later, on the death of Watson, he was unanimously preferred to the office of president of the Royal Scottish Academy; and in 1842, after having been appointed her majesty's limner for Scotland on the death of Wilkie, he received the honour of knighthood. He was now also the venerable father of Scottish painting, and could look around him with pleasure upon a race of promising artists whose genius his example and labours had kindled in a department which, as yet, his countrymen had almost wholly neglected.

The last professional labour in which Sir William Allan was engaged was the "Battle of Bannockburn," into the difficult and complicated details of which he entered with all the inspiration and vigour of his best days. The period of action selected was the critical moment when the English, daunted by the discomfiture of their bowmen, the overthrow of their splendid cavalry among the concealed pits, and the appearance of what seemed a fresh Scottish army descending from the Gillie's Hill, gave way on every side, and were pressed and borne down by the resistless effort of the four Scottish bodies, now united

into one, with the heroic Bruce at their head. But this painting, to which he clung to the last, and touched and retouched with a dying hand, he did not live to finish. He died at his house in Great King Street, Edinburgh, on February 23, 1850. As a painter, Sir William Allan will long be gratefully remembered in the annals of Scottish art, for the impulse which he gave to historical composition. For this department he was eminently fitted; for his excellence in painting did not so much consist in character and colour, as in his admirable power in telling a story and his general skill in composition, by which each of his productions is a striking poetical narrative. Sir Walter Scott, a congenial spirit, who highly prized and affectionately loved him, was wont to speak of him under the familiar endearing name of "Willie Allan."

ALSTON, CHARLES, M.D., an eminent botanist, was born in 1683, in Lanarkshire, and spent his early years at Hamilton Palace, under the patronage of the Duchess of Hamilton. Her grace wished him to study the law, but he preferred botany and medicine, and accordingly, in 1716, set out for Leyden, where those sciences were at that time taught by the illustrious Boerhaave. Here he found a great number of young Scotsmen engaged in the same pursuit, and all inspired with an uncommon degree of enthusiasm in their studies, which they had caught from their master. Alston, after taking his degree as doctor of physic, returned to his native country, and began to practise in Edinburgh. He obtained the sinecure office of king's botanist, through the influence of the Duke of Hamilton, heritable keeper of Holyrood House, to which the garden was attached. This garden he enriched by large collections which he had made in Holland, where botanical science was then more highly cultivated than in any other country in Europe. In 1720, notwithstanding that a botanical class was taught in the college by a professor of eminence named Preston, he began a course of lectures in the king's garden. Preston at length waxing old, Alston was, in 1738, chosen to succeed him, as professor of botany and materia medica united. He was exceedingly laborious in his duties as a professor, giving a course on botany every summer, and one on materia medica every winter; and never sparing any pains which he thought could be conducive to the progress of his pupils. The celebrated Dr. Fothergill, in his character of Dr. Russell, bears ample testimony to the assiduity of Dr. Alston, who had been his master; and describes in glowing language the benefit which those who attended him had the means of reaping, his caution in speculation, and how laborious he was in experiment. For the assistance of his pupils, he published, about 1740, a list of the official plants cultivated in the Edinburgh medical garden. Of Linnæus's system, which was first promulgated in 1736, Dr. Alston, like many other philosophers of his day, was a steady opponent. He published a paper against it, on the sexes of plants, in the first volume of *Physical and Literary Essays*, a miscellany which was commenced at Edinburgh in 1751. The controversy which took place at that period amongst naturalists has now lost all its interest, seeing that the method of Linnæus, after serving a useful purpose, has been superseded by the natural system, to the foundation of which Linnæus in no small degree contributed, but which it was left to Jussieu and De Candolle to mature. Dr. Alston also contributed some articles to an Edinburgh miscellany entitled *Medical Essays*; the most important is one on opium. In 1753 he published an introduction to Dr. Patrick Blair's

Index Materia Medica, a work which resembled his own index in a considerable degree. This introduction was a separate work, and was entitled *Tyrocinium Botanicum Edinburgense*. Dr. Alston, as the contemporary of the first Monro, and professor of a kindred branch of science, was by no means unworthy of either his time or his place. He must be considered as one of those who have contributed to the exaltation of the college of Edinburgh as a school of medical science. He died on the 22d of November, 1760, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

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ANDERSON, ADAM, author of the largest British compilation upon commercial history, was a native of Scotland, born about the year 1692. Having removed to London, he was for forty years a clerk in the South Sea House, and at length was appointed chief clerk of the stock and new annuities in that establishment, in which situation he continued till his death. He was appointed one of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, by charter dated June 9th, 5 Geo. II. He was also one of the court of assistants of the Scots corporation in London. In 1762 he published his work entitled *A Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce, from the earliest accounts to the present time; containing a history of the large commercial interests of the British Empire, &c.*, London, 2 vols. folio. The elaborate character of this work says much for the industry of the author. It was subsequently improved in a new edition by David Macpherson, 4 vols. quarto; and a manual abridgment of the work may still be considered a want in our literature. Mr. Anderson died soon after he had given it to the world, January 10th, 1765, at the age of seventy-three.

ANDERSON, ALEXANDER, a very eminent mathematician, born at Aberdeen, near the close of the sixteenth century. How or where he acquired his mathematical education is not known; he probably studied *belles-lettres* and philosophy in his native university. He comes into notice at Paris, early in the seventeenth century, as a private teacher or professor of mathematics. In that city, between the years 1612 and 1619, he published or edited various geometrical and algebraical tracts, which are conspicuous for their ingenuity and elegance. It is doubtful whether he was ever acquainted with the famous Vieta, master of requests at Paris, who died in 1603; but his pure taste and skill in mathematical investigation pointed him out to the executors of that illustrious man—who had found leisure, in the intervals of a laborious profession, to cultivate and extend the ancient geometry, and by adopting a system of general symbols, to lay the foundation, and begin the superstructure of algebraical science—as the person most proper for revising and publishing his valuable manuscripts. Anderson, however, did not confine himself to the duty of a mere editor; he enriched the text with learned comments, and gave neat demonstrations of those propositions which had been left imperfect. He afterwards produced a specimen of the application of geometrical analysis, which is distinguished by its clearness and classic elegance.

The works of this eminent person amount to six thin quarto volumes, now very scarce. These are—
1. *Supplementum Apollonii Redivivi: sive analysis problematis hactenus desiderati ad Apollonii Pergæi doctrinam πρι νεωροσ Μαθηματικῶν Ghetaldo Patritio Regusino hujusque non ita pridem institutam*, &c.: Paris, 1612, 4to. This tract refers to the problem of inclinations, by which, in certain cases, the appli-

cation of the curve called the *conchoid* is superseded.

2. *Απολογία: Pro Zeteticis Apolloniani problematis a se jam pridem edito in supplemento Apollonii Redivivi.* Being an addition to the former work: Paris, 1615, 4to. 3. The edition of the works of Vieta: Paris, 1615, 4to. 4. *Ad Angularum Sectionem Analytica Theoremata καθολικώτερα*, &c.: Paris, 1615, 4to. 5. *Vindicia Archimedis*, &c.: Paris, 1616, 4to. 6. *Alexandri Andersoni Scoti Exercitationum Mathematicarum Decas Prima*, &c.: Paris, 1619, 4to. All these pieces of this excellent geometrical are replete with the finest specimens of pure geometrical exercises that have ever perhaps been produced by any authors, ancient or modern. Besides these, literary history is not aware of any other publications by Anderson, though probably there may have been others. Indeed, from the last piece it fully appears that he had at least written, if not published, another, viz. *A Treatise on the Mensuration of Solids*, perhaps with a reference to gauging; as in several problems, where he critically examines the treatise of Kepler on cask-gauging, he often refers to his own work on stereometry.

The subject of this memoir was cousin-german to Mr. David Anderson, of Finshaugh, a gentleman who also possessed a singular turn for mathematical knowledge, and who could apply his acquirements to so many useful purposes that he was popularly known at Aberdeen by the name of Davie Do-a'-things. He acquired prodigious local fame by removing a large rock which had formerly obstructed the entrance to the harbour of Aberdeen. Mathematical genius seems to have been in some degree inherent in the whole family; for, through a daughter of Mr. David Anderson, it reached the celebrated James Gregory, inventor of the reflecting telescope, who was the son of that lady, and is said to have received from her the elements of mathematical knowledge. From the same lady was descended the late Dr. Reid of Glasgow, who was not less eminent for his acquaintance with the mathematics than for his metaphysical writings.

ANDERSON, CHRISTOPHER. This excellent divine, whose whole life was an uninterrupted career of conscientious painstaking activity and usefulness, was born in the West Bow, Edinburgh, on the 19th of February, 1782. Being intended for business, he was entered as junior clerk in a friendly insurance office; but at the early age of seventeen, having joined the religious body called Independents, and two years afterwards that of the English Baptists, he relinquished his profitable clerkship that he might devote himself to the ministerial office over that small community in Edinburgh who held his own religious doctrines. For this purpose he underwent a hasty course of study in the university of Edinburgh, which he completed with almost equal speed at the Baptist colleges of Olney and Bristol, where a twelvemonth's study of theology was alternated with the practice of preaching as an itinerating missionary; and having in this way qualified himself for the work he originally contemplated, he returned to Edinburgh and devoted himself to the little community that had waited his arrival. His commencement in the Scottish metropolis, where learned and eloquent ministers are so abundant and so highly prized, was as unpromising as his educational training: his usual audience in the small chapel he had hired for the occasion consisted of from fifty to seventy hearers, while the regular members of his flock amounted to fourteen or fifteen persons, and his call to be their minister exhibited the signatures of not more than thirteen names. So small a beginning, however, is no measure of the capacity

of dissenterism under the guidance of a popular preacher; and his congregation increased until the small chapel could not hold them, so that they were obliged to remove to a larger. And while thus successful, his labours were not confined to his own particular locality. He itinerated as an occasional missionary over several parts of the United Kingdom, bestowing not only his labours but his money in the establishment of a home mission in the Highlands; and in 1810 he originated the Edinburgh Bible Society, an institution that combined the clergy of Scotland of almost every denomination into one body of religious action.

The Rev. Christopher Anderson had now become a man of considerable note in Edinburgh; and it speaks much for his diligence and zeal that, notwithstanding his scanty education, he had been able to make way among the learned and accomplished, and become a leader among them in the field of Christian enterprise. But his natural capacities were excellent, while his course of action seemed the fittest school for maturing and improving them. Thus successful as a minister, it was natural that such a man should attempt the work of authorship; and for this an occasion was soon presented. During his itinerating missionary tours Ireland had fallen within his range; and from the experience which he acquired of that country during a considerable sojourn there in 1814, he was induced to publish *A Memorial in behalf of the Native Irish, with a view to their Improvement in Moral and Religious Knowledge through the medium of their own Language*. At first it was only a small pamphlet, but he afterwards expanded it into a duodecimo volume. Another such attempt was occasioned by his laying before the Edinburgh Bible Society, in 1819, a MS. entitled *A Memorial respecting the Diffusion of the Scriptures, particularly in the Celtic or Iberian Dialects*. His statements on this subject were judged so important that the society requested him to publish them; and on complying with their desire, the effect of this production was to increase the exertions for the diffusion of Irish and Gaelic Bibles beyond all former example. This work he afterwards enlarged under the title of *The Native Irish and their Descendants*. But besides thus directing the public attention to the religious wants of Ireland and the Highlands, Mr. Anderson's authorship was called to a subject of domestic and personal interest. His beloved wife had died: his family of two sons and three daughters had also passed successively away; and these afflictions, by which he was left alone in the world, had brought on not merely the appearance, but also the infirmities, of a premature old age. It was during these heavy successive calamities, and before the grave had finally closed upon every member of the family, that he sat down to console himself by the labours of his pen, and produced *The Domestic Constitution; or the Family Circle the Source and Test of National Stability*.

But the chief literary production of Mr. Anderson was *The Annals of the English Bible*; and, like his earlier attempts in authorship, it originated in accident, and was expanded by after-reflection. At the third centenary of Coverdale's translation of the Bible in 1835 he preached a sermon on the subject; and as he had bestowed much attention on it, his facts were so new and his views so important to many of his audience, that they requested him to publish the discourse. It was accordingly published under the title of *The English Scriptures, their first Reception and Effects, including Memorials of Tyndale, Frith, Coverdale, and Rogers*. The production was so favourably received by the public that he was re-

quested to reproduce it in a more ample form; and on assenting, he soon found that the task would require the study not merely of weeks but of years. Undismayed, however, by such a prospect, he addressed himself to the task; and from the years 1837 to 1845 his researches were prosecuted in the library of the British Museum, the Bodleian at Oxford, the university library and others at Cambridge, the Baptist Museum at Bristol, besides numerous private sources, from all of which he culled such information as filled several bulky volumes of note-books. But when the *Annals of the Bible* was published the public curiosity had abated, or been directed into new channels; and even those who felt most interest in the subject were dismayed at the voluminous dimensions in which it was presented to their notice. So far therefore as immediate success was concerned, the work was a literary failure; and no occasion has since occurred to revive it into popularity. But it is not the less a valuable production, from which, as from a storehouse, the theologian can at once get those necessary materials which he would be compelled to seek over a wide and difficult field of investigation. After a life of such active usefulness as missionary, minister, founder and secretary of religious associations, correspondent with foreign missions, and author, the Rev. Christopher Anderson died at Edinburgh on the 18th of February, 1852, within a single day of completing the seventieth year of his age.

ANDERSON, JAMES, an eminent antiquary, was the son of the Rev. Patrick Anderson, who had been ejected for nonconformity at the Restoration, and who afterwards suffered imprisonment in the Bass for preaching in a conventicle at Edinburgh. The subject of this memoir was born in Edinburgh, August 5th, 1662, and in 1677 is found studying philosophy in the university of that city, where, after finishing a scholastic education, he obtained the degree of Master of Arts on the 27th of May, 1680. He chose the law for his profession, and, after serving an apprenticeship under Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, was admitted a member of the society of writers to the signet in 1691. In this branch of the legal profession the study of written antiquities in some measure forces itself upon the practitioner; and it appears that Anderson, though a diligent and able man of business, became in time too fond of the accessory employment to care much for the principal. A circumstance which occurred in 1704 decided his fate by tempting him into the field of antiquarian controversy. The question of the union of the two countries was then very keenly agitated—on the one side with much jealous assertion of the national independence—and on the other, with not only a contempt for the boasts of the Scots, but a revival of the old claims of England for a superiority or paramountcy over their country. A lawyer named Attwood in 1704 published a pamphlet in which all the exploded pretensions of Edward I. were brought prominently into view, and a direct dominion in the crown of England asserted over that of Scotland. For this work, Mr. Anderson, though altogether unknown to Mr. Attwood, was cited as an evidence and eye-witness to vouch some of the most important original charters and grants by the kings of Scotland, which Attwood maintained were in favour of the point he laboured to establish. Mr. Anderson, in consequence of such an appeal, thought himself bound in duty to his country to publish what he knew of the matter, and to vindicate some of the best of the Scottish kings, who were accused by Attwood of a base and voluntary surrender of their sovereignty. Accordingly, in 1705 he published *An Essay, showing that the Crown*

of Scotland is Imperial and Independent, Edinburgh, 8vo, which was so acceptable to his country, that, besides a reward, thanks were voted to him by parliament, to be delivered by the lord-chancellor, in presence of her majesty's high commissioner and the estates, at the same time that Attwood's book, like others of the same nature, was ordered to be burned at the cross of Edinburgh by the hands of the common hangman. Mr. Anderson's publication is now of little value, except for the charters attached to it in the shape of an appendix.

This affair was the crisis of Anderson's fate in life. He had, in the course of his researches for the essay, collected a large mass of national papers: the study of charters was just then beginning to be appreciated by antiquaries; the enthusiasm of the nation was favourable, for the moment, to any undertaking which would show the ancient respectability of its separate system of government. Under all these circumstances Anderson found it easy to secure the patronage of the Scottish estates towards a design for engraving and publishing a series of fac-similes of the royal charters previous to the reign of James I., and of seals, medals, and coins, from the earliest to the present time. In November, 1706, he had a parliamentary grant of £300 towards this object. He then proceeded vigorously with the work, and in March, 1707, had not only expended the £300 granted by parliament, but £590 besides, which he had drawn from his own funds. A committee reported the facts; and the estates, while they approved of his conduct, recommended to the queen to bestow upon him an additional contribution of £1050 sterling. Another parliamentary act of grace—and one of the very last proceedings of the Scottish estates—was to recommend him to the queen "as a person meriting her gracious favour, in conferring any office or trust upon him, as her majesty, in her royal wisdom, shall think fit."

Quite intoxicated with this success, Anderson now gave up his profession, and, resolving to devote himself entirely to the national service as an antiquary, removed to London, in order to superintend the progress of his work. The event only added another proof to what is already abundantly clear—that scarcely any prospects in the precarious fields of literature ought to tempt a man altogether to resign a professional means of subsistence. The money voted by the expiring parliament is said to have never been paid;—the British senate perhaps considering itself not the proper heir of the Scottish estates. Apparently in lieu of money, he was favoured, in 1715, with the appointment of post-master-general for Scotland; but of this he was deprived in little more than two years. What progress he now made with his great work is not very clearly known. He is found in 1718 advertising that those who might wish to encourage it "could see specimens at his house, above the post-office in Edinburgh." As the expense of engraving must have borne hard upon his diminished resources, he would appear to have digressed for some years into an employment of a kindred nature, attended with greater facilities of publication. In 1727 he published the two first volumes of his well-known *Collections relating to the History of Mary, Queen of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 4to, which was speedily completed by the addition of two other volumes. This work contains a large mass of valuable original documents connected with the Marian controversy; but George Chalmers, who went over the same ground, insinuates that there is too much reason to suspect his honesty as a transcriber. If the prejudices of the two men are fairly balanced against the reputations which they respectively bear

as antiquaries, we must acknowledge that the charge may not be altogether groundless.

Anderson died in 1728 of a stroke of apoplexy, leaving his great work unfinished. The plates were sold in 1729 by auction at £530, and it was not till 1737 that the work appeared, under the title of *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ The-saurus*, the whole being under the care of the celebrated Thomas Ruddiman, who added a most elaborate preface.

ANDERSON, JAMES, D.D., author of a large and useful work, entitled *Royal Genealogies*, was the brother of Adam Anderson, author of the *Commercial History*. He was for many years minister of the Scots Presbyterian church in Swallow Street, Piccadilly, and was well known among the people of that persuasion in London by the nickname of "Bishop Anderson." He was a learned but imprudent man, and lost a considerable part of his property by rash speculations in the South Sea scheme. His great work as an author was *Royal Genealogies, or the Genealogical Tables of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, from Adam (1) to these Times*, London, folio, 1732. The compilation of this huge work, in which he was aided by many eminent personages, whose families entered into its plan, cost him, according to his own account, the labour of seven years. It is certainly the completest work of the kind in existence, though with no pretensions to discrimination. The author says very frankly in his preface, that "he has avoided all terms and expressions that may give offence to any nation or family, to any person or party; having nothing to do with the national controversies of historians, nor with the ecclesiastical and religious debates of theologians, nor with the politics of statesmen, nor with the private jangles of the critics in a work of this kind, but only with facts and plain truth: so that he has let every nation enjoy its own faith; and if any find fault, he hopes they will readily excuse him, not having designed to offend them, and is willing to make satisfaction if he lives to publish a second edition." Dr. Anderson also wrote *The Constitutions of the Free Masons*, being the chaplain of that body in London. The dates of this worthy man's birth and death are not ascertained. He lived in a house opposite to St. James's Church, Piccadilly.

ANDERSON, JAMES, an agricultural and miscellaneous writer of great merit, was the son of a farmer at Hermiston, in the county of Mid-Lothian, where he was born in the year 1739. His father dying when he was very young, he was educated by his guardian to occupy the farm, which accordingly he began to manage at the early age of fifteen. It may be supposed that he could not have been intrusted with so important a charge if he had not already manifested symptoms of superior character and intellect; much less, without such qualifications, could he have discharged it, as he is said to have done, with approbation. In reading some agricultural works, to qualify himself for his duties, he had observed that it would be of advantage to study chemistry: he accordingly attended the lectures given in the university of Edinburgh by Dr. Cullen, who, although surprised that one so young should have formed this resolution, had soon reason to admire his pupil's laudable curiosity and good sense, and liberally afforded him every encouragement. To chemistry he added the study of certain collateral branches of science; so that, when he entered upon his farm, he was not only able to keep up with his more aged and experienced neighbours, but to adopt a number of improvements, which

were speedily found to be of a most profitable nature. Among his improvements was the introduction of the small two-horse plough, which since then has so completely banished the lumbering engine formerly drawn by a string of cattle. Nor did the necessary business of his farm preclude all advancement in knowledge. He still prosecuted his studies, and contrived to amass an immense stock of information upon almost all subjects.

His first attempts in literature appeared in "Essays on Planting," in Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine* for 1771. In 1777, having previously removed to a large farm in Aberdeenshire, he published these essays in a separate volume. In 1776 appeared his *Essay on Chimneys*, in which the principle afterwards acted on in the patent Bath stove was first explained. In the same year with his volume on *Planting* appeared various pamphlets connected with rural economy, all of which were more or less calculated to gratify the increasing desire of his countrymen for scientific knowledge upon such familiar subjects. The fame of these works procured him a very extensive acquaintance with persons of eminence, who wished to profit by the remarks of so able a practical farmer; and in 1780 the university of Aberdeen acknowledged his merit by conferring upon him the degree of LL.D.

Anderson had been married in 1768; and a desire of educating a very numerous family, and enjoying literary society, induced him, in 1783, to remove to Edinburgh, leaving the management of his farm to persons properly qualified. A tract which he had written on the subject of the fisheries, though not printed, attracted the attention of the government, and he was requested, in 1784 to undertake a tour of the western coast of Scotland, for the purpose of obtaining information on this important subject. He performed the task to the high satisfaction of his employers, who, however, never offered him any remuneration. The result of his labours appeared in 1785 as *An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland; being the substance of a Report to the Lords of the Treasury*.

Passing over some minor works of Dr. Anderson, we must make honourable mention of a literary and scientific miscellany which he commenced in 1791, under the title of *The Bee*. This work was published in weekly numbers at sixpence, and, by its delightful intermixture of useful information with lighter matters of the *belles-lettres*, was eminently calculated for the improvement of the young. It was occasionally embellished with portraits, views, and draughts of scientific objects—in, it is true, a very homely style, but still not much inferior to the taste of the age. The work ran from the 22d of December, 1790, to the 21st of January, 1794, when it was at length reluctantly abandoned, because such a large proportion of the subscribers were remiss in their payments as to induce an absolute loss to the conductor. The cessation of such a meritorious little publication was the more to be regretted, as Anderson had only been able, towards its close, to bring the assistance of his numerous and distant correspondents into full play. The numbers published form eighteen volumes duodecimo, and throughout the whole of that space, we believe there does not occur one morally reprehensible line.

Among other papers in *The Bee* was a series of essays on the political progress of Britain. Though only written in what would now be considered a liberal strain, they appeared in the eyes of the sheriff as calculated to have an injurious tendency at that inflamed period; and the learned doctor was accordingly summoned to give up the name of the author. This Anderson refused, from peculiar notions as to

literary secrecy; he desired to be himself considered as the author. After a second and a third application, he still refused; and when the printers were sent for, and similarly interrogated, he charged them, in the face of the magistrates, to preserve his secret. All this was the more singular, as his own principles were known to be eminently loyal. Respect for his talents and character induced the magistrates to let the matter drop. The real author, a worthless person named Callender, being afterwards about to quit his country for America, waited upon the authorities, and insinuated that the papers were written by Lord Gardenstone, a man to whom he owed many obligations. Immediately on hearing of this infamous conduct, Anderson came forward, and refuted the charge by avowing Callender himself to be the real author. The whole of this affair reflects great credit upon the character of Dr. Anderson.

About the year 1797, this ingenious person removed with his family to London, where he undertook various works connected with his favourite study of agriculture. For several years he wrote the articles on this subject in the *Monthly Review*; and from 1799 to 1802 he conducted a separate miscellany, under the title of *Recreations in Agriculture*. From the last-mentioned date, he devoted himself almost entirely to the relaxation which advanced years and severe studies had rendered necessary, and particularly to the cultivation of his garden, which became a miniature of all his past labours. In 1801 he married a second wife, who survived him. He died on the 15th of October, 1808, at the age of sixty-nine.

In his younger days, Dr. Anderson was remarkably handsome in his person, of middle stature, and robust make; but the overstrained exertion of his mental powers afterwards shook his constitution, and hurried him into old age. Of his abilities, his works exhibit so many proofs that they may be appealed to with perfect confidence. Although a voluminous writer, there is no subject connected with his favourite pursuit on which he has not thrown new light. But his knowledge was not confined to one science. He exhibited, to give only one instance, very considerable powers of research, when, in 1773, he published, in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, an article under the head "Monsoon." In this he clearly predicted the result of Captain Cook's first voyage; namely, that there did not exist, nor ever would be found, any continent or large island in the southern hemisphere except New Holland alone; and this was completely verified on Captain Cook's return seven months afterwards. Upon the whole, though the name of Dr. Anderson is associated with no scientific or literary triumphs of great splendour, his exertions, by their eminent and uniform usefulness, have given him very considerable claims to respect. A minute specification of his works is to be found in the *Scots Magazine* for 1809.

ANDERSON, JOHN, M.A. An eminent Presbyterian clergyman of last century, grandfather of Professor Anderson, the subject of the next article. Of his early history very little is known, except that he received a university education, and took his degree in arts. He was afterwards preceptor to the great John, Duke of Argyle, and he mentions in his *Letters upon the Overtures concerning Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries*, that he had resided in Edinburgh for twenty-five years in early life. He seems also to have taught a school, and he is upbraided by "Curat Calder" with having been "an old pedantic dominie, teaching *hæc dat a.*" It was not, however, till after his settlement as minister of Dumbarton, that he

became known as an author. The earliest of his productions that has been discovered is entitled *A Dialogue between a Curat and a Countryman concerning the English Service, or Common-Prayer Book of England*, which was printed in quarto at Glasgow, about 1710. The question relative to the form of prayer used in Scotland immediately after the Reformation, was at this time keenly canvassed by the Scottish Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and the clergy of the former persuasion had very shortly before introduced the liturgy into their church service. (Carstares' *State Papers*.) Mr., afterwards Bishop, Sage endeavoured, in his *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined*, to show that the English liturgy had been used in Scotland for at least seven years after the establishment of the Protestant religion. In this he was opposed by Mr. Anderson, who adduced many arguments to prove that it was not the English liturgy that is spoken of by the Scottish historians, but that used by the English church at Geneva. Soon afterwards Anderson published a *Second Dialogue* (dated 1711), in which, says he, "there is hardly anything of importance which is not said in the very words of the writers of the other side," and in which South, Beveridge, Hammond, and Burnet are the curates whose sentiments are opposed. *A Letter from a Countryman to a Curat* followed the dialogues, and received several answers, of which we shall only mention one, written by Robert Calder, an Episcopalian clergyman, the friend of Dr. Archibald Pitcairn, and printed in his *Miscellany Numbers relating to the Controversies about the Book of Common Prayer, &c.*, folio, 1713. To this attack Anderson replied in a pamphlet entitled *Curat Calder Whipt*. He soon after published *A Sermon preached in the Church of Ayr at the Opening of the Synod, on Tuesday the 1st of April, 1712*, printed at the desire of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr (quarto, price sixpence); and in 1714 the work by which he is best known appeared. It has for its title, *A Defence of the Church Government, Faith, Worship, and Spirit of the Presbyterians, in answer to a Book entitled An Apology for Mr. Thomas Rhind, &c.*, 4to, and is dedicated to Archibald, Earl ofIslay. About the beginning of the year 1717, Anderson informs us, "The people of Glasgow were pleased to move that I should be called to be one of the ministers of that place" (*Letter to Stewart of Pardovan*, p. 1), but the proceedings relative to this transaction strikingly illustrate the truth of Wodrow's remark in a letter to Dr. Cotton Mather.¹ "We are biting and devouring one another," says the venerable historian, "and like to be consumed one of another." After a course of opposition and debate with which it is unnecessary to trouble the reader, Mr. Anderson was at length settled in Glasgow in 1720, although it appears from M'Ure's *History* that the North-west Church, to which he was appointed, was not founded till 1721, nor finished for "a year or two thereafter." Mr. Anderson did not long survive his call to Glasgow,—the date of his death has not been ascertained, but his successor was appointed in 1723. His controversial writings are full of valuable historical information, and show him to have been thoroughly versed in theological literature, but it cannot be too much regretted that he so far indulged in intemperate language. We have not alluded to some of his smaller pamphlets, which refer merely to subjects of a temporary or local nature.

Upon the family tombstone, erected by the will of Professor Anderson, over the grave of his grand-

¹ *Wodrow's History*, new edition, vol. i. p. xxv.

father, upon the front of the North-west Church, Glasgow, was inscribed the following memorial of Mr. Anderson:—"Near this place ly the remains of the Rev. John Anderson, who was preceptor to the famous John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, and minister of the gospel in Dumbarton in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and in this church in the year 1720. He was the author of *The Defence of the Church-government, Faith, Worship, and Spirit of the Presbyterians*, and of several other ecclesiastical and political tracts. As a pious minister and an eloquent preacher, a defender of civil and religious liberty, and a man of wit and learning, he was much esteemed; he lived in the reign of Charles II., James II., William III., Anne, and George I. Such times, and such a man, forget not, reader, while thy country, liberty, and religion are dear to thee."

ANDERSON, JOHN, F.R.S., professor of natural philosophy in the university of Glasgow, and founder of the eminently useful institution bearing his name in that city, was born in the parish of Roseneath, in Dumbartonshire, in the year 1726. He was the eldest son of the Rev. James Anderson, minister of Roseneath, who was, in his turn, the eldest son of the Rev. John Anderson, preceptor to John, Duke of Argyle, afterwards minister of the gospel at Dumbarton, and of whom a notice is given in the preceding article. The subject of this memoir, having the misfortune to lose his father in early life, was educated by his aunt Mrs. Turner, widow of one of the ministers of the High Church of Stirling. While residing at this town, where he received the rudiments of learning, he appeared as an officer in the burgher corps raised in February, 1746, to defend it against the forces of the young Chevalier. His conduct on this occasion was worthy of his distinguished ancestor, from whose example he appears to have derived that attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty which marked his character through life. The carbine and other arms which he carried on the walls of Stirling are preserved in the museum connected with his institution at Glasgow. He received the more advanced part of his education at the college of Glasgow, where, in 1756, he was appointed professor of oriental languages, being then in the thirtieth year of his age.

It was not in this sphere that Mr. Anderson was destined to shine with greatest lustre. His mind had a decided bent towards the exact sciences, and to the illustration of the arts with which they are connected. His translation, therefore, to the chair of natural philosophy, which took place in 1760, was highly agreeable to him, and also most fortunate for the world. While he took an early opportunity, after this event, to fulfil an important private duty, by repaying his aunt for the expenses of his education, he entered upon the business of his class with an enthusiastic ardour of application, which we may safely pronounce to have been without example in any Scottish university. Not contented with the ordinary duty of delivering a course of lectures—though he performed that duty in a manner alone sufficient to obtain distinction—he was indefatigable in studying and exemplifying the application of science to mechanical practice; visiting, for this purpose, the workshops of artisans in the town, and receiving, in return for the scientific doctrine which he had to communicate, a full equivalent of experimental knowledge. The most estimable characteristic of Professor Anderson, was a liberal and diffusive benevolence in regard to the instruction of his race. Under the inspiration of a feeling, which was in that age more rare, and therefore more meritorious, than

it is at present, he instituted, in addition to his usual class, which was strictly mathematical, one for the working-classes and others whose pursuits did not enable them to conform to the prescribed routine of academical study, illustrating his precepts by experiments, so as to render it in the highest degree attractive. He continued to teach this *anti-loga* class, as he called it, twice every week, during the session, to the end of his life; and it would not be easy to estimate the amount of good which he thus rendered to his fellow-creatures. As an instance of the liberal good sense by which he was governed in his eminently useful scheme, it is related that a mechanic having complained to his assistant, that he had scarcely time, after leaving his work, to change his dress before coming to the class, and having suggested the propriety of the operatives being allowed to attend without such change, Mr. Anderson at once acceded to it. His was a mind too strongly bent on mere usefulness to regard empty form. Yet, as a lecturer, he is allowed to have himself exhibited a surpassing elegance of manner. His style was easy and graceful, his command of language unlimited, and the skill and success with which his manifold experiments were performed could not be surpassed. He excited the interest and attracted the attention of his pupils, by the numerous and appropriate anecdotes with which he illustrated and enlivened his lectures. Enthusiastic in his profession, his whole ambition and happiness consisted in the dissemination of useful knowledge; and nothing afforded him purer pleasure than hearing that any of his pupils had distinguished themselves in the world. The only distinct work which he published in connection with his favourite science, was a valuable one, entitled *Institutes of Physics*, which appeared in 1786, and went through five editions during the next ten years.

At the commencement of those political changes in France which ended in such unhappy results, Mr. Anderson, from his ardent and liberal character, was among those who sympathized with the proceedings of the emancipated people. Previous to that period, he had invented a species of gun, the recoil of which was stopped by the condensation of common air within the body of the carriage. Having in vain endeavoured to attract the attention of the British government to this invention, he went to Paris, in 1791, carrying with him a model, which he presented to the national convention. The governing party in France at once perceived the benefit which would be derived from this invention, and ordered Mr. Anderson's model to be hung up in their hall, with the following inscription over it—"THE GIFT OF SCIENCE TO LIBERTY." Whilst he was in France, he got a six-pounder made from his model, with which he made numerous experiments in the neighbourhood of Paris, at which the famous Paul Jones, amongst others, was present; and who gave his decided approbation of the gun, as likely to prove highly useful in landing troops from boats, or firing from the round tops or poops of ships of war. Mr. Anderson, at this period, took a keen interest in the transactions which passed before his eyes. He was present when Louis XVI. was brought back from Varennes; and on the 14th of July, on the top of the altar of liberty, and in the presence of half a million of Frenchmen, he sang *Te Deum* with the Bishop of Paris, when the king took the oath to the constitution, amen being said to the ceremony by the discharge of 500 pieces of artillery. As the Emperor of Germany had drawn a military cordon around the frontiers of France, to prevent the introduction of French newspapers into

Germany, he suggested the expedient of making small balloons of paper, varnished with boiled oil, and filled with inflammable air, to which newspapers and manifestoes might be tied. This was accordingly practised, and when the wind was favourable for Germany, they were sent off, and descending in that country, were, with their appendages, picked up by the people. They carried a small flag or streamer, inscribed with a motto, of which the following is a translation:—

"O'er hills and dales, and lines of hostile troops, I float majestic,
Bearing the laws of God and Nature to oppressed men,
And bidding them with arms their rights maintain."

Mr. Anderson died, January 13th, 1796, in the seventieth year of his age, and the forty-first of his professorship, directing by his will, dated May 7th, 1795, that the whole of his effects, of every kind, should be devoted to the establishment of an educational institution in Glasgow, to be denominated *Anderson's University*, for the use of the unacademical classes; so that, even while he was consigned to the silent dust, he might still, by means of his honourably acquired wealth, prove of service to those whom he had benefited so much, during his own life, by personal exertion. His will was carried into effect on the 9th of June following, by the magistrates granting a charter of incorporation to the proposed institution. According to the design of the founder, there were to be four colleges—for arts, medicine, law, and theology—besides an initiatory school. Each college was to consist of nine professors, the senior professor being the president or dean. As the funds, however, were inadequate to the plan, it was at first commenced with only a single course of lectures on natural philosophy and chemistry, by Dr. Thomas Garnett, well known for his numerous scientific and medical works, and also for his *Tour through the Highlands and part of the Western Isles of Scotland*. This course was attended for the first year by nearly 1000 persons of both sexes. In 1798 a professor of mathematics and geography was appointed. The splendid apparatus and library of the founder, which were valued at £3000, added greatly to the advantages of the infant institution. In 1799 Dr. Garnett, being appointed professor in the Royal Institution at London, was succeeded by the eminent Dr. Birbeck, who, in addition to the branches taught by his predecessor, introduced a familiar system of philosophical and mechanical information to 500 operative mechanics, free of all expense, thus giving rise to mechanics' institutions. The Andersonian Institution was placed, by the will of the founder, under the inspection and control of the lord-provost, and many other honourable persons, as ordinary visitors, and under the more immediate superintendence of eighty-one trustees, who are elected by ballot, and remain in office for life. Since the first establishment of the *university*, as it may very properly be called, it has gradually been extended nearer and nearer to the original design of the founder. There are now fifteen professors, who deliver lectures on surgery, institutes of medicine, chemistry, practical chemistry, midwifery, practice of medicine, anatomy, materia medica, pharmacy and dietetics, medical jurisprudence and police, mathematics, natural philosophy, botany, logic, geography, modern languages, English literature, drawing and painting, &c. The institution now possesses handsome and commodious buildings, which belong to the corporation, and, among other additions to its means of cultivating and illustrating science, is an extensive museum of natural history

and antiquities. *Anderson's University* must be considered a wonderful example of the amount of good which one man, of no very great material resources, may do for his kind. The private fortune of one professor in the original college of Glasgow has here been found sufficient to produce a new fount of learning, not unworthy to rank with the old, and of very great practical utility to the public.

A posthumous work of Professor Anderson, entitled *Observations on Roman Antiquities between the Forth and Clyde*, appeared in 1804.

ANDERSON, ROBERT, M.D., the biographer of Smollett and Johnson, was born on 7th of January, 1750, and was the son of a feuar in the rural village of Carnwath in Lanarkshire. He received the earlier part of his education in his native place, and in the adjacent village of Liberton; was subsequently placed under the tuition of Mr. Robert Thomson, master of the grammar-school of Lanark; and finally studied in the university of Edinburgh, where he commenced attendance upon the divinity class, with the view of becoming a clergyman. He took the degree of M.D. at St. Andrews in 1778. In his early years, when pursuing his studies at Carnwath, he could find but one congenial mind in the whole of that rural district; this was an unfortunate youth, named James Græme, the son of a neighbour, who, after exhibiting considerable powers as a poet, died in his twenty-second year, and whose reliques were afterwards included by Dr. Anderson, more perhaps through the influence of friendship than deliberate taste, in his edition of the *British Poets*. Dr. Anderson first entered into practice as surgeon to the dispensary of Bamborough Castle in Northumberland; he afterwards removed to Alnwick, where he married Miss Gray, daughter of Mr. John Gray, a relation of the noble family of that name. The declining state of his wife's health, which rendered a change of air necessary, induced him, in 1784, to remove to Edinburgh, where he ever afterwards resided. He had here the misfortune to lose his amiable partner, who sank under a consumption, leaving him with three infant daughters. Dr. Anderson having secured a small independence, practised no more after this period, but engaged in such literary avocations as he felt to be agreeable to his taste, and became the centre of an agreeable coterie, in which the talents of many a youth of genius were for the first time brought into notice. About the year 1793 he began to prepare his edition of the *British Poets*, which forms thirteen volumes, large octavo, and appeared between the years 1795 and 1807. To the works of each poet is prefixed a biographical memoir by Dr. Anderson. In 1793 he married for his second wife Miss Dale, daughter of Mr. David Dale, schoolmaster in East Lothian. A collection of the works of Smollett, by Dr. Anderson, with a memoir prefixed, has gone through eight editions. To the last edition is affixed a highly characteristic likeness of the editor. The memoir has been published repeatedly in a distinct shape, and is a very respectable production. Dr. Anderson also published a *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, with *Critical Observations on his Works*, which has passed through several editions. For several years before the end of the eighteenth century, Dr. Anderson was editor of the *Edinburgh Magazine*, a rival of the *Scots Magazine*, more varied and lively in its details, and which afforded him an opportunity of bringing forward the productions of his young friends. This work commenced in the year 1784, and at the end of 1803 was incorporated with the *Scots Magazine*: it was much indebted to its proprietor, James Sibbald,

editor of the *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, to Lord Hailes, and other eminent literary characters. Among the publications which Dr. Anderson gave to the world, must be included his edition of the *Works of John Moore, M.D., with Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, Edinburgh, 1820, 7 vols. 8vo; and an edition of the poems of Robert Blair, Edinburgh, 1826, 12mo. The great incident of Dr. Anderson's literary life was his connection with the commencement of the career of Thomas Campbell. When Campbell first visited Edinburgh in 1797, being then in his twentieth year, he gained the friendship of Dr. Anderson, who, on being shown a copy of elegiac verses, written by him two years before, when an obscure tutor in Mull, predicted his great success as a poet. It was through Dr. Anderson, in 1798, that Campbell was introduced to the circle of his distinguished literary associates in Edinburgh; and he it was who encouraged him by his friendly advice, and assisted him by his critical acumen, in the publication of his celebrated poem, the *Pleasures of Hope*, for the high character of which he had, previously to its appearance, pledged his word to the public. In acknowledgment of his friendship, the grateful poet dedicated his work to Dr. Anderson. During the later years of his life, this venerable author, though he indulged as much as ever in literary society, gave no work to the public.

As a literary critic, Dr. Anderson was distinguished by a warm sensibility to the beauties of poetry, and by extreme candour. His character as a man was marked by perfect probity in all his dealings, and unshaken constancy in friendship. His manner was lively and bustling; and from his long-continued acquaintance with the literary world, he possessed an unrivalled fund of that species of gossip and anecdote which gives so much pleasure in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

Dr. Anderson died of dropsy in the chest, February 20, 1830, in his eighty-first year.

ANDERSON, Rev. T. G. TORRY. This clerical poet, the son of the Rev. Patrick Torry, D.D., titular Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, was born at Peterhead on the 9th of July, 1805. Having been taught the elements of learning at the parish school of Peterhead, he afterwards became a student in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and the university of Edinburgh. He was admitted into holy orders in 1827, as minister of St. John's Episcopal church, Portobello; afterwards became assistant in St. George's Episcopal chapel, Edinburgh; and finally was transferred to the ministerial charge of St. Paul's Episcopal church, Dundee. This charge he was obliged to resign in 1855, in consequence of bad health; and after this period he resided on his estate of Fawside, Kincardineshire, to which he had succeeded in 1850, in consequence of the death of Dr. Young, his maternal uncle. Mr. Anderson died at Aberdeen on the 20th of June, 1856. He was three times married, and left at his death a widow and six children. Although he diligently fulfilled the duties of his sacred office, Mr. Anderson was better known by his songs than his sermons, some of which attained a wide popularity, especially those entitled "The Araby Maid," "The Maiden's Vow," and "I love the Sea," the music as well as the words of these last two songs being his own composition. It was a union of the musical and poetical in the same mind, which, however common among the poets of the classical, and minstrels of the mediæval ages, is very seldom found among the bards and song-makers of our own day,

and is therefore the more worthy of notice and commendation. Mr. Anderson was also an extensive contributor to *Poetical Illustrations of the Achievements of the Duke of Wellington and his Companions in Arms*, published in 1852.

ANDERSON, WALTER, D.D. The era of this gentleman's birth is unknown; he died at an advanced age, July, 1800, after having been minister of the parish of Chirnside for fifty years. He is a remarkable specimen of that class of authors who, without the least power of entertaining or instructing their fellow-creatures, yet persist in writing and publishing books, which nobody ever reads, and still, like the man crazed by the lottery, expect that the next, and the next, and the next will be attended with success. Perhaps Anderson's *caecoes the scribendi* received its first impulse from the following ludicrous circumstance. His parish comprehending the house of Ninewells, he was often entertained there, in company with the brother of the proprietor—the celebrated David Hume. The conversation having turned one day on the success of Mr. Hume as an author, Anderson said, "Mr. David, I dare say other people might write books too; but you clever fellows have taken up all the good subjects. When I look about me, I cannot find one unoccupied." Hume, who liked a joke upon an unsuspecting clergyman, said, "What would you think, Mr. Anderson, of a history of Cræsus, King of Lydia?—that has never yet been written." Mr. Anderson was delighted with the idea, and, in short, "upon that hint he wrote." In 1755 was published the *History of Cræsus, King of Lydia*, in four parts; containing Observations on the ancient notion of Destiny or Dreams, on the origin and credit of the Oracles, and the Principles upon which their Oracles were defended against any attack. What is perhaps the best part of the jest, the work was honoured with a most serio-burlesque notice in the first *Edinburgh Review*, then just started by Hume, Smith, Carlyle, and other wits—the article being written, we have no doubt, by the very man who incited the unhappy author to his task.

The *History of Cræsus* was also the subject of a critique in the second number of the *Critical Review*, which had then been just started in London by Smollett. The article in the latter periodical bears such evident marks of the pen of the distinguished editor, and refers to such an extraordinary work, that we shall make no apology for the following extracts.

After remarking that the volume has been chiefly compiled from the episodes of Herodotus, that it exhibits a miserable flatness of style, and that all the facts scattered throughout its 235 pages might have been related in three or four, the critic proceeds to say—"We are apt to believe that this is the first essay of some young historian, who has been more intent upon forming his style and displaying his learning, than careful in digesting his plan and combining his materials; the subject is too meagre to afford nourishment to the fancy or understanding; and one might as well attempt to build a first-rate man-of-war from the wreck of a fishing-boat, as to compose a regular history from such a scanty parcel of detached observations. The compiler has been aware of this deficiency, and has filled up his blank paper with unnecessary argument, and a legion of eternal truths, by way of illustration. What could be more unnecessary, for example, than a detail of reasons for doubting the divinity or demoniacism of the ancient oracles? Who believes, at this time of day, that they were either inspired by the deity or influenced by the devil? What can be more super-

fluous than a minute commentary and investigation of the absurdities in the plea of the priestess, when she was taxed with falsehood and equivocation? But we beg the author's pardon; he wrote for readers that dwell beyond the Tweed, who have not yet renounced all commerce with those familiar spirits, which are so totally discarded from this part of the island. There is still a race of soothsayers in the Highlands, derived, if we may believe some curious antiquaries, from the Druids and Bards, that were set apart for the worship of Apollo. The author of the history now before us may, for aught we know, be one of these venerable seers; though we rather take him to be a Presbyterian teacher, who has been used to expound apothegms that need no explanation."

The *History of Cræsus, King of Lydia*, one of the most curious productions recognized in the history of literary mania, is now extremely rare—not by any means from the absorbing appreciation of the public, but rather apparently from the very limited extent of its first circulation.

The worthy author, though perhaps daunted a little by the reception of his first attempt, in time recovered the full tone of his literary ambition; and he next attempted a work of much larger compass, which appeared in 1769, in two quarto volumes, under the title of the *History of France during the Reigns of Francis II. and Charles IX.*, to which is prefixed a review of the General History of the Monarchy from its origin to that period. The success of this work was much like that of its predecessor; yet in 1775 the author published a continuation in one volume, under the title, *The History of France, from the commencement of the reign of Henry III., and the rise of the Catholic League, to the peace of Worms and the establishment of the famous Edict of Nantes in the reign of Henry IV.* In 1783 appeared two further volumes, embracing the history from the commencement of the reign of Louis XIII. to the general peace of Munster. But these continuous efforts were not drawn forth by the encouragement of the public; they were solely owing to the desperate *cacoethes* of the worthy writer, which would take no hint from the world—no refusal from fame. It is said that he was solely enabled to support the expense of his unrequited labour by a set of houses belonging to himself in Dunse (too appropriate locality!), one of which was sold for every successive quarto, till at last something like a street of good habitable tenements in that thriving town was converted into a row of unreadable volumes in his library. "Dr. Anderson," says the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "displays none of the essential qualities of historic writing, no research into the secret springs of action, no discrimination of character, and no industry in accumulating and examining authorities. Even as a compiler he is guided only by one set of materials which he found in the French writers, and may therefore be consulted by the English reader, as a collection of their opinions, while he is highly censurable in not having recourse to original papers and documents respecting the affairs of his own country. His style is uniformly tame, and defaced by colloquial barbarisms."

In a literary history of this deplorable character, it is gratifying to find that one effort was at length judged worthy of some praise. This was a work subsequent to the above, entitled *The Philosophy of Ancient Greece investigated, in its origin and progress, to the era of its greatest celebrity, in the Ionian, Italian, and Athenian Schools, with remarks on the delineated system of their founders.* His principle in this work, according to the authority just quoted, appears to have been "to supply the deficiencies in Mr. Stanley's work, and to give place to remarks upon the mean-

ing employed by the most eminent Grecian philosophers, in support of their physical, theological, and moral systems; and to give a fuller and more connected display of their theories and arguments, and to relieve the frigidity of their bare details by interspersing observations." In this work he displays much learning, and is in general both accurate and perspicuous, although he is still deficient in the graces of style. Perhaps it would have been more successful had it not appeared at the same time with Dr. Enfield's excellent abridgment of Brucker's *History of Philosophy*.

One of the last attempts of Dr. Anderson was a pamphlet against the principles of the French Revolution. This being not only written in his usual heavy style, but adverse to the popular sentiments, met with so little sale that it could scarcely be said to have been ever published. However the doctor was not discouraged; adopting rather the maxim, "*contra audentior ito*," he wrote a ponderous addition or appendix to the work, which he brought with him to Edinburgh, in order to put it to the press. Calling first upon his friend Principal Robertson, he related the whole design, which, as might be expected, elicited the mirthful surprise of the venerable historian. "Really," said Dr. Robertson, "this is the maddest of all your schemes—what! a small pamphlet is found heavy, and you propose to lighten it by making it ten times heavier! Never was such madness heard of!" "Why, why," answered Dr. Anderson, "did you never see a kite raised by boys?" "I have," answered the principal. "Then, you must have remarked that, when you try to raise the kite by itself, there is no getting it up: but only add a long string of papers to its tail, and up it goes like a laverock!" The reverend principal was completely overcome by this argument, which scarcely left him breath to reply, so heartily did he laugh at the ingenuity of the resolute author. However, we believe, he eventually dissuaded Dr. Anderson from his design.

ANDERSON, WILLIAM. This poet and miscellaneous writer was born in the end of December, 1805. He originally studied for the law, but instead of entering the profession of a lawyer, he made the dangerous choice of authorship, and adhered to it for the rest of his life. It was unfortunate that this choice was made at so early a period, as his excellent natural talents were not directed by a literary education or extensive reading, by which he might have won both distinction and success. Having thrown himself into the tide with all the generous enthusiasm of youth, he was borne along in its whirl, and in the career that awaited him it was much that he was enabled to keep his head above water, and educate his family for a life of respectability and comfort. As a literary adventurer thus circumstanced, he was everything by turns—editor or sub-editor of newspapers, publishers' literary assistant, compiler or author of histories and biographies, or occasionally publishing a work at his own risk; while his sphere of operation in these different capacities was sometimes London, sometimes Edinburgh, and occasionally the provincial towns of England and Scotland. Like many in a similar situation, he had no independent choice either of locality for his residence or subject for his pen, and in both cases was drifted to and fro by the requirements of the press or the engagement of his publisher. But bravely he fought out this battle of life from youth to old age; and even when his body was racked out of form by an excruciating malady that had wasted him for years, and when his mind was embittered by ever-recurring disappointment, he was still industrious, still

ready for a fresh attempt in authorship, and still hopeful of the result. Even those who knew nothing of him save his indomitable perseverance, wondered that it could still make head against such adverse circumstances. Visited at last by heart disease, the inevitable consequence of a body so distorted by rheumatism, he had nevertheless gone to London by sea, when he died suddenly on the 2d of August, 1866, being a few days after his arrival there, and was buried in the cemetery of Highgate.

The last and also the largest and best work written by Mr. Anderson, and the one through which his name will longest survive, is that called *The Scottish Nation*, published by the Messrs. Fullarton, Edinburgh, in three large volumes imperial 8vo. It is not only a biographical record of eminent Scotsmen, but a history of the Scottish clans and distinguished families, and contains a mass of valuable information, which the author was employed many years in collecting. In all his multifarious prose writings, although most of them were written for the day and upon the spur of urgency, Mr. Anderson's style was always distinguished by its elegance and correctness, its clearness and force. Under happier circumstances, it was evident from these that he might have held a distinguished place in authorship. In conversation his wit was remarkable, whether telling a story or making an observation, and it assumed every variety of character from the light and comic to the caustic and severe. Poetry, however, had been the chief object from the beginning of Mr. Anderson's literary affections, and he only abandoned it with reluctance, when the experience of years showed him that it was an unprofitable resource, except to those who had leisure and talent to reach the loftier summits of Parnassus. His chief poetical publications were a small volume of short poems and songs written in early life—among which are some of high merit, so that they have been published in some of our best popular collections; and *Landscape Lyrics*, written in matured life, and which he always regarded as the best of his poetical productions.

ARBUTHNOT, ALEXANDER, an eminent divine of the reign of James VI., son of the laird of Arbuthnot, was born in the year 1538. Having studied languages and philosophy in the university of Aberdeen, and civil law under the famous Cujacius at Bourges in France, he took ecclesiastical orders, and became in his own country a zealous supporter of the Reformation. The period of his entrance into public life was 1563, when Queen Mary was in possession of the kingdom. His eminent abilities and acquirements pointed him out, young as he was, as a leading man in the church, and accordingly he took a prominent part in several General Assemblies. In that of 1568 he was appointed by his brethren to examine a work entitled *The Fall of the Roman Church*, which was objected to because it styled the king the head of the church. The result of his deliberations was an order to Bassandynne, the printer, not to print any more books till he had expunged this passage, and also taken away a lewd song which he had published at the end of an edition of the Psalms. The assembly also ordered that henceforth no book should be published till licensed by their commission. "Thus," it has been remarked, "the reformed clergy, who owed their emancipation to the right of private judgment, with strange inconsistency obstructed the progress of free inquiry by taking upon themselves the regulation of the press."

Arbuthnot was soon after appointed minister of

the parishes of Arbuthnot and Logie-Buchan, and in 1569 he became principal of the university of Aberdeen. He was a member of the General Assembly held at St. Andrews in 1572, in which strenuous opposition was made to a scheme of church-government called the *Book of Policy*, which was invented by certain statesmen, at the head of whom was the Regent Morton, to restore the old titles of the church, and by means of titular incumbents, retain all the temporalities among themselves. In the General Assemblies held at Edinburgh in 1573 and 1577, Arbuthnot was chosen moderator; and he appears to have been constantly employed, on the part of the church, in the commission for conducting the troublesome and tedious contest with the regency concerning the plan of ecclesiastical government to be adopted in Scotland. This commission, under the name of the Congregation, at length absorbed so much power, that the assembly was left little to do but to approve its resolutions. The part which Arbuthnot took in these affairs gave offence to James VI., and the offence was increased by the publication of Buchanan's *History*, of which Arbuthnot was the editor. It was therefore resolved to restrain him by an oppressive act of arbitrary power; and a royal order was issued, forbidding him to absent himself from his college at Aberdeen. The clergy, who saw that the design of this order was to deprive them of the benefit of Arbuthnot's services, remonstrated: the king, however, remained inflexible, and the clergy submitted. This persecution probably affected Arbuthnot's health and spirits; for the next year, 1583, he fell into a gradual decline and died. Arbuthnot appears to have possessed much good sense and moderation, and to have been well qualified for public business. His knowledge was various and extensive; he was a patron of learning; and at the same time that he was active in promoting the interests of the reformed church, he contributed to the revival of a taste for literature in Scotland. The only prose production which he has left, is a learned and elegant Latin work, entitled *Orationes de Origine et Dignitate Juris* [Orations on the Origin and Dignity of the Law], which was printed in 4to at Edinburgh in 1572. For some specimens of vernacular poetry, supposed to be his composition, we may refer to Irving's *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, and M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*. His character has received a lasting eulogy, in the shape of an epitaph, from the pen of his friend Melville. See *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, ii. p. 120.

ARBUTHNOT, JOHN, M.D., one of the constellation of wits in the reign of Queen Anne, and the most learned man of the whole body, was the son of a Scottish clergyman, who bore a near relationship to the noble family of this name and title. He was born at Arbuthnot in Kincardineshire, soon after the Restoration, and received his education at the university of Aberdeen, where he took the degree of M.D. The father of Arbuthnot was one of those members of the Church of Scotland who, not being able to comply with the Presbyterian system introduced at the Revolution, were obliged to resign their charges. He retired to a small estate, which he possessed by inheritance; while his sons, finding their prospects blighted in their own country, were under the necessity of going abroad to seek their fortune. John carried his Jacobitism, his talents, and his knowledge of physic to London, where he at first subsisted as a teacher of mathematics. His first literary effort bore a reference to this science: it was an *Examination of Dr. Wood-*

ward's Account of the Deluge, a work which had been published in 1695, and which, in Dr. Arbuthnot's estimation, was irreconcilable with just philosophical reasoning upon mathematical principles. This publication, which appeared in 1697, laid the foundation of the author's literary reputation, which not long after received a large and deserved increase by his *Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning*. The favour which he acquired by these publications, as well as by his agreeable manners and learned conversation, by degrees introduced him into practice as a physician. Being at Epsom when Prince George of Denmark was suddenly taken ill, he was called in, and had the good fortune to effect a cure. The prince immediately became his patron, and in 1709 he was appointed fourth physician in ordinary to the queen (Prince George's royal consort), in which situation he continued till her majesty's death in 1714. In 1704 Dr. Arbuthnot had been elected a member of the Royal Society, in consequence of his communicating to that body a most ingenious paper on the equality of the numbers of the sexes; a fact which he proved by tables of births from 1629, and from which he deduced the reasonable inference that polygamy is a violation of the laws of nature. In 1710 he was elected a member of the Royal College of Physicians.

This was the happy period of Dr. Arbuthnot's life. Tory principles and Tory ministers were now triumphant; he enjoyed a high reputation, a lucrative practice, and a most honourable preferment; he also lived in constant intercourse with a set of literary men, almost the greatest who had ever flourished in England, and all of whom were of his own way of thinking in regard to politics. This circle included Pope, Swift, Gay, and Prior. In 1714 he engaged with Pope and Swift in a design to write a satire on the abuse of human learning in every branch, which was to have been executed in the humorous manner of Cervantes, the original inventor of this species of satire, under the history of feigned adventures. But the prosecution of this design was prevented by the queen's death, which lost Arbuthnot his situation, and proved a death-blow to all the political friends of the associated wits. In the dejection which befell them, they never went farther than an essay, chiefly written by Arbuthnot, under the title of the *First Book of the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*. "Polite letters," says Warburton in his edition of Pope's works, "never lost more than in the defeat of this scheme, in the execution of which, each of this illustrious triumvirate would have found exercise for his own particular talents; besides constant employment for those which they all had in common. Dr. Arbuthnot was skilled in everything which related to science; Mr. Pope was a master in the fine arts; and Dr. Swift excelled in a knowledge of the world. Wit they had in equal measure; and this so large, that no age perhaps ever produced three men to whom nature had more bountifully bestowed it, or art had brought it to higher perfection." We are told by the same writer that the *Travels of Gulliver* and the *Memoirs of a Parish Clerk* were at first intended as a branch of the *Memoirs of Scriblerus*. In opposition to what Warburton says of the design, we may present what Johnson says of the execution. "These memoirs," says the doctor, in his life of Pope, "extend only to the first part of a work projected in concert by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot. Their purpose was to censure the abuses of learning by a fictitious life of an infatuated scholar. They were dispersed; the design never was completed: and Warburton laments its miscarriage, as an event very disastrous to polite letters.

If the whole may be estimated by this specimen, which seems to be the production of Arbuthnot, with a few touches by Pope, the want of more will not be much lamented; for the follies which the writer ridicules are so little practised, that they are not known; nor can the satire be understood but by the learned. He raises phantoms of absurdity, and then drives them away. He cures diseases that were never felt. For this reason, this joint production of three great writers has never attained any notice from mankind." With the opinion of Dr. Johnson we entirely coincide, so far as the *Scriblerus* is concerned; but we think that Arbuthnot was unfortunate in the part of the design which he selected, and that, in satirising more palpable follies, he might have been more successful. The success of Swift, in ridiculing mankind in general in his *Gulliver*, is surely a sufficient reason, if no other existed, for the lamentation of Warburton.

At the death of the queen, when it pleased the new government to change all the attendants of the court, the immortal suffered with the mortal; Arbuthnot, displaced from his apartments at St. James', took a house in Dover street, remarking philosophically to Swift that he "hoped still to be able to keep a little habitation warm in town." His circumstances were never so prosperous or agreeable after this period. With the world at large, success makes merit—the want of it the reverse; and it is perhaps impossible for human nature to think so highly of a man who has been improperly deprived of some external mark of distinction and honour, as of him who wears it without so much desert. The wit, left to his own resources, and with a rising family to support, seems to have now lived in some little embarrassment.

In 1717 Arbuthnot, along with Pope, gave assistance to Gay, in a farce entitled "Three Hours after Marriage," which, strange to say, was condemned the first night. A rival wit wrote upon this subject:—

"Such were the wags who boldly did adventure
To club a farce by tripartite indenture;
But let them share their dividend of praise,
And wear their own fool's cap instead of bays."

In 1722 Dr. Arbuthnot found it necessary for his health to indulge in a visit to Bath. He was accompanied on this occasion by a brother who was a banker at Paris, and whose extraordinary character called forth the following striking description from Pope: "The spirit of philanthropy, so long dead to our world, seems revived in him: he is a philosopher all fire; so warmly, nay so wildly, in the right, that he forces all others about him to be so too, and draws them into his own vortex. He is a star that looks as if it were all on fire, but is all benignity, all gentle and beneficial influence. If there be other men in the world that would serve a friend, yet he is the only one, I believe, that could make even an enemy serve a friend." About this time, the doctor thus described himself in a letter to Swift: "As for your humble servant, with a great stone in his right kidney, and a family of men and women to provide for, he is as cheerful in public affairs as ever."

Arbuthnot, in 1723, was chosen second censor of the Royal College of Physicians; in 1727 he was made an Elect, and had the honour to pronounce the Harveian oration for the year. In 1727 also appeared his great and learned work, entitled *Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights, and Measures, explained and exemplified in several Dissertations*. He continued to practise physic with good reputation, and diverted his leisure hours by writing papers of wit and humour. Among these may be mentioned one,

which appeared in 1731, in the shape of an epitaph upon the infamous Colonel Charteris, and which we shall present in this place as perhaps the most favourable specimen of Dr. Arbuthnot's peculiar vein of talent:—

"Here continueth to rot the body of Francis Charteris, who, with an inflexible constancy, and inimitable uniformity of life, persisted, in spite of age and infirmities, in the practice of every human vice; excepting prodigality and hypocrisy; his insatiable avarice exempted him from the first, his matchless impudence from the second. Nor was he more singular in the undeviating pravity of his manners, than successful in accumulating wealth; for, without trade or profession, without trust of public money, and without bribe-worthy service, he acquired, or more properly created, a ministerial estate. He was the only person of his time who could cheat with the mask of honesty, retain his primeval meanness when possessed of ten thousand a year, and, having daily deserved the gibbet for what he did, was at last condemned to it for what he could not do.—Oh! indignant reader! Think not his life useless to mankind! Providence connived at his execrable designs, to give to after-ages a conspicuous proof and example of how small estimation is exorbitant wealth in the sight of God, by his bestowing it on the most unworthy of all mortals."¹

Arbuthnot, about this time, wrote a very entertaining paper on the *Alterations or Scolding of the Ancients*. In 1732 he contributed towards detecting and punishing the scandalous frauds and abuses that had been carried on under the specious name of *The Charitable Corporation*. In the same year he published his *Treatise on the Nature and Choice of Aliments*, which was followed, in 1733, by his *Essay on the Effects of Air on Human Bodies*. He is thought to have been led to these subjects by the consideration of his own case—an asthma, which, gradually increasing with his years, became at length desperate and incurable. A little before his last publication, he had met with a severe domestic affliction in the loss of his son Charles, "whose life," he says in a letter to Swift, "if it had so pleased God, he would willingly have redeemed with his own." He now retired in a state of great debility to Hampstead; from whence, in a letter to Pope, July 17th, 1734, he gives the following philosophic, and we may add, touching, account of his condition:—

"I have little doubt of your concern for me, nor of that of the lady you mention. I have nothing to repay my friends with at present, but prayers and good wishes. I have the satisfaction to find that I am as officiously served by my friends, as he that

has thousands to leave in legacies; besides the assurance of their sincerity. God Almighty has made my distress as easy as a thing of that nature can be. I have found some relief, at least sometimes, from the air of this place. My nights are bad, but many poor creatures have worse."

In a letter about the same time to Swift, he says he came to Hampstead, not for life, but for ease. That he had gained in a slight degree from riding; but he was "not in circumstances to live an idle country life;" and he expected a return of the disorder in full force on his return in winter to London. He adds, "I am at present in the case of a man that was almost in harbour, but was again blown back to sea; who has a reasonable hope of going to a good place, and an absolute certainty of leaving a very bad one. Not that I have any particular disgust at the world, for I have as great comfort in my own family, and from the kindness of my friends, as any man; but the world in the main displeaseth me; and I have too true a presentiment of calamities that are like to befall my country. However, if I should have the happiness to see you before I die, you will find that I enjoy the comforts of life with my usual cheerfulness. . . . My family give you their love and service. The great loss I sustained in one of them gave me my first shock; and the trouble I have with the rest, to bring them to a good temper, to bear the loss of a father who loves them, and whom they love, is really a most sensible affliction to me. I am afraid, my dear friend, we shall never see one another more in this world. I shall, to the last moment, preserve my love and esteem for you, being well assured that you will never leave the paths of virtue and honour for all that is in the world. This world is not worth the least deviation from that way," &c. In such a strain did this truly good man discourse of his own certain and immediate death, which accordingly took place, February, 1735, in his house, Cork Street, Burlington Gardens, to which he had returned from Hampstead at the approach of winter.

Arbuthnot's character was given by his friend Swift in one dash: "He has more wit than we all have, and more humanity than wit." "Arbuthnot," says Dr. Johnson in his life of Pope, "was a man of great comprehension, skilful in his profession, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient literature, and able to animate his mass of knowledge by a bright and active imagination; a scholar with great brilliancy of wit; a wit who, in the crowd of life, retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal." Lord Orrery has thus entered more minutely into his character: "Although he was justly celebrated for wit and learning, there was an excellence in his character more amiable than all his other qualifications, I mean the excellence of his heart. He has shown himself equal to any of his contemporaries in wit and vivacity, and he was superior to most men in acts of humanity and benevolence. His very sarcasms are the satirical strokes of good nature: they are like slaps in the face given in jest, the effects of which may raise blushes, but no blackness will appear after the blow. He laughs as jovially as an attendant upon Bacchus, but continues as sober and considerate as a disciple of Socrates."

The wit, to which Swift's was only allowed the second place, was accompanied by a guileless heart, and the most perfect simplicity of character. It is related of its possessor, that he used to write a humorous account of almost every remarkable event which fell under his observation, in a folio book, which lay in his parlour; but so careless was he about his writings after he was done with them, that,

¹ This paragon of wickedness, who was a native of Scotland, is thus described by Pope, but we believe, as in the epitaph itself, with much exaggeration. "Francis Charteris, a man infamous for all vices. When he was an ensign in the army, he was drummed out of the regiment for a cheat; he was banished Brussels, and turned out of Ghent, on the same account. After a hundred tricks at the gaming-tables, he took to lending of money at exorbitant interest, and on great penalties, accumulating premium, interest, and capital into a new capital, and seizing to a minute when the payment became due; in a word, by a constant attention to the vices, wants, and follies of mankind, he acquired an immense fortune. . . . He was twice condemned for rapes and pardoned, but the last time not without imprisonment in Newgate, and large confiscations. He died in Scotland in 1731, aged sixty-two. The populace, at his funeral, raised a great riot, almost tore the body out of the coffin, and cast dead dogs, &c., into the grave along with it." We may add that the mourners had to defend themselves from the mob with their swords. (See *Traditions of Edinburgh*.) One remarkable feature of Charteris's character is not generally known: though a bully and a coward, he had his fighting days; he would suffer himself to be kicked for refusing a challenge one day, and the next would accept another and kill his man.

while he was writing towards one end of this work, he would permit his children to tear out the leaves from the other, for their paper kites. This carelessness has prevented many of the works of Dr. Arbuthnot from being preserved, and no correct list has ever been given. A publication in two volumes, 8vo, at Glasgow, in 1751, professing to be his *Miscellaneous Works*, was said by his son to consist chiefly of the compositions of other people. He was so much in the habit of writing occasional pieces anonymously, that many fugitive articles were erroneously attributed to him: he was at first supposed to be the author of *Robinson Crusoe*. He scarcely ever spoke of his writings, or seemed to take the least interest in them. He was also somewhat indolent. Swift said of him, that he seemed at first sight to have no fault, but that he could not walk. Besides this, he had too much simplicity and worth to profit by the expedients of life: in Swift's words,

"He knew his art, but not his trade."

Swift also must be considered as insinuating a certain levity of feeling, with all his goodness, when he says, in anticipation of his own death,

"Poor Pope will grieve a month, and Gay
A week, and Arbuthnot a day!"

though the habitual cheerfulness of his disposition may have been all that the poet had in his eye. The only other work ascertained as Arbuthnot's, besides those mentioned, is the celebrated *History of John Bull*, a political allegory, which has had many imitations, but no equal. He also attempted poetry, though without any particular effort. A philosophical poem, of his composition, entitled "ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΤΤΟΝ" [Know Yourself], is printed in Dodsley's *Miscellanies*. He left a son, George, who was an executor in Pope's will, and who died in the enjoyment of a lucrative situation in the exchequer office towards the end of the last century; and a daughter, Anne, who was honoured with a legacy by Pope. His second son, Charles, who died before himself, had been educated in Christ Church College, Oxford, and entered into holy orders.

ARGYLE. See CAMPELL.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN, M.D., author of the well-known poem entitled *The Art of Preserving Health*, was born, about 1709, in the parish of Castleton, Roxburghshire, where his father and brother were successively ministers. He might almost be styled a poet by right of birthplace, for the parish of Castleton is simply the region of Liddesdale, so renowned for its heroic lays, the records of deeds performed by the Border reivers, among whom the family of the poet bore a distinguished rank. The rude and predatory character of this district had, however, passed away before the commencement of the eighteenth century; and young Armstrong, though his lullabies were no doubt those fine old ballads which have since been published by Sir Walter Scott, seems to have drawn from them but little of his inspiration. It was as yet the fashion to look upon legendary verses as only fit for nurses and children; and nothing was thought worthy of the term poetry, unless it were presented in trim artificial language, after the manner of some distinguished classic writer. It is therefore by no means surprising that Armstrong, though born and cradled in a land full of beautiful traditional poetry, looked upon it all, after he had become an educated man, as only Doric trash, and found his Tempe in the bowers of Twickenham instead of the lonely heaths of Liddesdale.

Being educated for the medical profession at the university of Edinburgh, under the elder Monro, Armstrong, in 1732, took his degree as M.D. with much reputation, the subject of his treatise being *Tubes Purulenta*. He had ere this period addicted himself to the composition of verses. We are informed that, to relieve the tedium of a winter spent in "a wild romantic country"—probably Liddesdale—he wrote what he intended for an imitation of Shakspeare, but which turned out to resemble rather the poem of *Winter*, then just published by Thomson. The bard of the *Seasons*, hearing of this composition, which so strangely and so accidentally resembled his own, procured a sight of it by means of a mutual friend, and, being much pleased with it, brought it under the notice of Mr. David Mallet, Mr. Aaron Hill, and Dr. Young, all of whom joined with him in thinking it a work of genius. Mallet even requested the consent of the author to its publication, and undertook that duty, though he afterwards gave up the design.

Armstrong was probably led by this flattering circumstance to try his fortune in London, where his countrymen Thomson and Mallet had already gained literary distinction. In 1735 he is found publishing, in that capital, a humorous attack upon empirics, in the manner of Lucian, entitled *An Essay for Abridging the Study of Physic*, to which is added, A Dialogue betwixt Hygeia, Mercury, and Pluto, relating to the Practice of Physic, as it is managed by a certain illustrious Society; and an epistle from Ubsbeck the Persian to Joshua Ward, Esq. The essay, besides its sarcastic remarks on quacks and quackery, contains many allusions to the neglect of medical education among the practising apothecaries; but the author had exhausted his wit in it, and the dialogue and epistle are consequently flat and insipid. In 1737 he published a serious professional piece, styled *A Synopsis of the History and Cure of the Venereal Disease*, 8vo, inscribed in an ingenious dedication to Dr. Alexander Stuart, as to "a person who had an indisputable right to judge severely of the performance presented to him." He probably designed the work as an introduction to practice in this branch of the medical profession; but it was unfortunately followed by his poem entitled *The Economy of Love*, which, though said to have been designed as merely a burlesque upon certain didactic writers, was justly condemned for its warm and alluring pictures, and its tendency to inflame the passions of youth. It appears by one of the "cases of literary property," that Andrew Millar, the bookseller, paid fifty pounds for the copyright of this poem; a sum ill-gained, for the work greatly diminished the reputation of the author. After it had passed through many editions, he published one, in 1768, in which the youthful luxuries that had given offence to better minds were carefully pruned. But the offence had been already perpetrated, and it was too late to undo it.

In 1744 Dr. Armstrong made some amends for this indiscretion, by publishing *The Art of Preserving Health*, a didactic poem in blank verse, extending through four books, each of which contains a particular branch of the subject. This very meritorious work raised his reputation to a height which his subsequent efforts scarcely sustained. It is written in a taste which would not now be considered very pure or elegant; but yet, when the subject and the age are considered, there is amazingly little to be condemned. Dr. Warton has justly remarked the refined terms in which the poet, at the end of his third book, has described an English plague of the fifteenth century, entitled "the sweating sickness."

"There is a classical correctness and closeness of style in this poem," says Dr. Warton, "that are truly admirable, and the subject is raised and adorned by numberless poetical images." Dr. Mackenzie, in his *History of Health*, bestowed similar praises on this poem, which was indeed everywhere read and admired.

In 1741 Armstrong solicited the patronage of Dr. Birch, to be appointed physician to the fleet then about to sail for the West Indies; but he does not seem to have obtained the object of his desire. In 1746, when established in reputation by his *Art of Preserving Health*, he was appointed one of the physicians to the hospital for lame and sick soldiers behind Buckingham House. In 1751 he published his poem on *Benevolence*, in folio, a production which seems to have come from the heart, and contains sentiments which could have been expressed with equal ardour only by one who felt them. His *Taste, an Epistle to a Young Critic*, 1753, 4to, is a lively and spirited imitation of Pope, and the first production in which Armstrong began to view men and manners with a splenetic eye. His next work was less meritorious. It was entitled *Sketches or Essays on Various Subjects*, and appeared under the fictitious name of Lancelot Temple, Esq. The critical examiners of Dr. Armstrong's merits allow to this work the credit of exhibiting much humour and knowledge of the world, but find it deformed by a perpetual flow of affectation, a struggle to say smart things, and, above all, a disgusting repetition of vulgar oaths and exclamations—forms of expression to which the poet, it seems, was also much addicted in conversation. In some of these sketches, Armstrong is said to have had assistance from the notorious John Wilkes, with whom he lived in habits of intimacy; but it is certain that the contributions of this gentleman cannot have been great, as the work is much inferior to the literary style of the demagogue of Aylesbury, who, whatever might be his moral failings, is allowed to have had a chaste classical taste, and a pure vein of humour.

Armstrong had sufficient professional interest in 1760 to obtain the appointment of physician to the army in Germany. From that country he wrote *Day, a Poem*, addressed as an epistle to John Wilkes, Esq. This lively piece, which professes to embody an account of all the proper indulgences, moral and physical, of twenty-four hours, was, it is said, published in an imperfect shape, by some clandestine editor. It was never added to the collected works of Dr. Armstrong till Dr. Anderson admitted it into his edition of the *British Poets*. After the peace of 1763, Dr. Armstrong returned to London, and resumed his practice, but with no eager desire of increasing the moderate competency he now enjoyed. He continued after this period rather to amuse than to exert himself in literary productions, chiefly spending his time in the society of men of wit and taste like himself. In 1771 he made a tour into France and Italy, in company with the celebrated Fuseli, who survived him for nearly fifty years, and always spoke highly of Dr. Armstrong's amiable character. In Italy he took a tender farewell of his friend Smollett, to whom he was much attached, and who died soon after. On returning home he published an account of his travels, under the name of *Lancelot Temple*.

The latter years of Dr. Armstrong's life were embittered by one of those quarrels which, arising between persons formerly much attached, are at once the most venomous and the most productive of uneasiness to the parties. In his poem of *Day*, he had asked, among other things,

"What crazy scribbler reigns the present wit?"

which the poet Churchill very properly took to himself, and resented in the following passage in his poem of *The Journey* :—

"Let them with Armstrong, taking leave of sense,
Read musty lectures on *Benevolence*;
Or con the pages of his gaping *Day*.¹
Where all his former fame was thrown away,
And the vain stiffness of a lettered Scot;
Let them with Armstrong pass the term of light,
But not one hour of darkness; when the night
Suspends this mortal coil, when memory wakes,
When for our past misdoings conscience takes
A deep revenge, when by reflection led
She draws his curtains, and looks comfort dead,
Let every muse be gone; in vain he turns,
And tries to pray for sleep; an Etna burns,
A more than Etna in his coward breast,
And guilt, with vengeance armed, forbids to rest;
Though soft as plumage from young Zephyr's wing,
His couch seems hard, and no relief can bring;
Ingratitude hath planted daggers there,
No good man can deserve, no brave man bear."

We have no hesitation in saying that this severe satire was not justified either by the offence which called it forth or by the circumstances on which it was founded. Wilkes, the associate of Churchill, had lent money to Armstrong on some occasion of peculiar distress. When the attacks of Wilkes upon Scotland led to animosities between the two friends, it was not to be expected that the recollection of a former obligation was necessarily to tie up the natural feelings of Dr. Armstrong, and induce him to submit rather to the certain charge of meanness of spirit, than the possible imputation of ingratitude. Neither could Wilkes have fairly expected that the natural course of the quarrel was to be stayed by such a submission on the part of his former friend. It would have been equally mean for the obliged party to have tendered, and for the obliging party to have accepted, such a submission. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Dr. Armstrong, in giving way to resentment against Wilkes, was chargeable, properly, with no blame except that of giving way to resentment; and if it is to be supposed, from the character of the poet in respect of irritability, that the resentment would have taken place whether there had been a debt of kindness standing undischarged between the parties or not, we cannot really see how this contingent circumstance can enhance his offence.

There is unfortunately too great reason to suppose, that if the obligation tended to increase the blame of either party, it was that of Wilkes, who, from almost incontestable evidence, appears to have made a most ungenerous use of the advantage he had acquired over his former friend. Not only must he bear a portion of the guilt of Churchill's satire, which could have only been written as a transcript of his feelings, and with his sanction, but he stands almost certainly guilty of a still more direct and scurrilous attack upon Dr. Armstrong, which appeared in a much more insidious form. This was a series of articles in the well-known *Public Advertiser*, commencing with a letter signed *Dies*, which appeared to proceed from an enemy of the patriot, but, in the opinion of Dr. Armstrong, was written by the patriot himself.

Armstrong died at his house in Russel Street, Covent Garden, September 7, 1779, in consequence of an accidental contusion in his thigh, received while getting into a carriage. He was found, to the surprise of the world, to have saved the sum of £2000 out of his moderate income, which for many

¹ This poem was full of large hiatus supplied by asterisks.

years had consisted of nothing more than his half-pay.

Dr. Armstrong was much beloved and respected by his friends for his gentle and amiable dispositions, as well as his extensive knowledge and abilities; but a kind of morbid sensibility preyed upon his temper, and a languid listlessness too frequently interrupted his intellectual efforts. With Thomson's *Castle of Indolence* he is appropriately connected, both as a figure in the piece and as a contributor to the verse. The following is his portraiture:—

With him was sometimes joined in silent walk
(Profoundly silent—for they never spoke),
One shyer still, who quite detested talk;
Oft stung by spleen, at once away he broke,
To groves of pine, and broad o'ershadowing oak,
There, inly thrilled, he wandered all alone,
And on himself his pensive fury wroke:
He never uttered word, save, when first shone
The glittering star of eve—"Thank heaven! the day is done!"

His contributions consist of four stanzas descriptive of the diseases to which the votaries of indolence finally become martyrs.

The rank of Dr. Armstrong as a poet is fixed by his *Art of Preserving Health*, which is allowed to be among the best didactic poems in the language. It is true this species of poetry was never considered among the highest, nor has it been able to retain its place among the tastes of a modern and more refined age. Armstrong, however, in having improved upon a mode of composition fashionable in his own time, must still be allowed considerable praise. "His style," according to the judgment of Dr. Aikin, "is distinguished by its simplicity—by a free use of words which owe their strength to their plainness—by the rejection of ambitious ornaments, and a near approach to common phraseology. His sentences are generally short and easy; his sense clear and obvious. The full extent of his conceptions is taken in at the first glance; and there are no lofty mysteries to be unravelled by a repeated perusal. What keeps his language from being prosaic, is the vigour of his sentiments. He thinks boldly, feels strongly, and therefore expresses himself poetically. When the subject sinks, his style sinks with it; but he has for the most part excluded topics incapable either of vivid description or of the oratory of sentiment. He had from nature a musical ear, whence his lines are scarcely ever harsh, though apparently without much study to render them smooth. On the whole, it may not be too much to assert, that no writer in blank verse can be found more free from stiffness and affectation, more energetic without harshness, and more dignified without formality."

ARNOT, HUGO, a historical and antiquarian writer of the eighteenth century, was the son of a merchant and ship-proprietor at Leith, where he was born, December 8th, 1749. His name originally was Pollock, which he changed in early life for Arnot, on falling heir, through his mother, to the estate of Balcormo in Fife. As "Hugo Arnot of Balcormo, Esq.," he is entered as a member of the Faculty of Advocates, December 5, 1772, when just about to complete his twenty-third year. Previous to this period he had had the misfortune to lose his father. Another evil which befell him in early life was a settled asthma, the result of a severe cold which he caught in his fifteenth year. As this disorder was always aggravated by exertion of any kind, it became a serious obstruction to his progress at the bar: some of his pleadings, nevertheless, were much admired, and obtained for him the applause of the bench. Perhaps it was this interruption of his pro-

fessional career which caused him to turn his attention to literature. In 1779 appeared his *History of Edinburgh*, 1 vol. 4to, a work of much research, and greatly superior in a literary point of view to the generality of local works. The style of the historical part is elegant and epigrammatic, with a vein of causticity highly characteristic of the author. From this elaborate work the author is said to have only realized a few pounds of profit; a piratical impression, at less than half the price, was published almost simultaneously at Dublin, and, being shipped over to Scotland in great quantities, completely threw the author's edition out of the market. *A bookseller's second edition*, as it is called, appeared after the author's death, being simply the remainder of the former stock, embellished with plates, and enlarged by some additions from the pen of the publisher, Mr. Creech. Another edition was published in 8vo, in 1817.

Mr. Arnot seems to have now lived on terms of literary equality with those distinguished literary and professional characters who were his fellow-townsmen and contemporaries. He did not, however, for some years, publish any other considerable or acknowledged work. He devoted his mind chiefly to local subjects, and sent forth numerous pamphlets and newspaper essays, which had a considerable effect in accelerating or promoting the erection of various public works. The exertions of a man of his public spirit and enlarged mind, at a time when the capital of Scotland was undergoing such a thorough renovation and improvement, must have been of material service to the community, both of that and of all succeeding ages. Such they were acknowledged to be by the magistrates, who bestowed upon him the freedom of the city. We are told that Mr. Arnot, by means of his influence in local matters, was able to retard the erection of the *South Bridge of Edinburgh* for ten years—not that he objected to such an obvious improvement on its own account, but only in so far as the magistrates could devise no other method for defraying the expense than by a tax upon carters; a mode of liquidating it which Mr. Arnot thought grossly oppressive, as it fell in the first place upon the poor. He also was the means of preventing for several years the formation of the present splendid road between Edinburgh and Leith, on account of the proposed plan (which was afterwards unhappily carried into effect) of defraying the expense by a toll; being convinced, from what he knew of local authorities, that, if such an exaction were once established, it would always, on some pretext or other, be kept up.

In 1785 Mr. Arnot published *A Collection of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland, with Historical and Critical Remarks*, 1 vol. 4to; a work of perhaps even greater research than his *History of Edinburgh*, and written in the same acutely metaphysical and epigrammatic style. In the front of this volume appears a large list of subscribers, embracing almost all the eminent and considerable persons in Scotland, with many of those in England, and testifying of course to the literary and personal respectability of Mr. Arnot. This work appeared without a publisher's name, probably for some reason connected with the following circumstance. Owing perhaps to the unwillingness of the author to allow a sufficient profit to the booksellers, the whole body of that trade in Edinburgh refused to let the subscription papers and prospectuses hang in their shops; for which reason the author announced, by means of an advertisement in the newspapers, that these articles might be seen in the coffee-houses. Mr. Arnot received the sum of six hundred pounds for the copies

sold of this work, from which he would have to pay the expenses of printing a thin quarto: it thus happened that what was rather the least laborious of his two works was the most profitable.

Mr. Arnot only survived the publication of his *Criminal Trials* about a twelvemonth. The asthma had ever since his fifteenth year been making rapid advances upon him, and his person was now reduced almost to a shadow. While still young, he carried all the marks of age, and accordingly the traditionary recollections of the historian of Edinburgh always point to a man in the extreme of life. Perhaps nothing could indicate more expressively the miserable state to which Mr. Arnot was reduced by this disease, than his own half-ludicrous, half-pathetic exclamation, on being annoyed by the bawling of a man selling sand on the streets: "The rascal!" cried the unfortunate invalid, "he spends as much breath in a minute as would serve me for a month!" Among the portraits and caricatures of the well-known John Kay may be found several faithful, though somewhat exaggerated, memorials of the emaciated person of Hugo Arnot. As a natural constitutional result of this disease, he was exceedingly nervous, and liable to be discomposed by the slightest annoyances: on the other hand, he possessed such ardour and intrepidity of mind, that in youth he once rode on a spirited horse to the end of the pier of Leith, while the waves were dashing over it and every beholder expected to see him washed immediately into the sea! On another occasion, having excited some hostility by a political pamphlet, and being summoned by an anonymous foe to appear at a particular hour in a lonely part of the King's Park, in order to fight, he went and waited four hours on the spot, thus perilling his life in what might have been the ambushade of a deadly enemy. By means of the same fortitude of character he beheld the gradual approach of death with all the calmness of a Stoic philosopher. The magistrates of Leith had acknowledged some of his public services by the ominous compliment of a piece of ground in their churchyard; and it was the recreation of the last weeks of Mr. Arnot's life to go every day to observe the progress made by the workmen in preparing this place for his own reception. It is related that he even expressed considerable anxiety lest his demise should take place before the melancholy work should be completed. He died November 20th, 1786, when on the point of completing his thirty-seventh year; that age so fatal to men of genius that it may almost be styled their climacteric. He was interred in the tomb fitted up by himself at South Leith.

Besides his historical and local works, he had published, in 1777, a fanciful metaphysical treatise, entitled *Nothing*, which was originally a paper read before a well-known debating-club styled the Speculative Society; being probably suggested to him by the poem of the Earl of Rochester on the equally impalpable subject of *Silence*. If any disagreeable reflection can rest on Mr. Arnot's memory for the free scope he has given to his mind in this little essay—a freedom sanctioned, if not excused, by the taste of the age—he must be held to have made all the amends in his power by the propriety of his deportment in later life; when he entered heartily and regularly into the observances of the Scottish Episcopal communion, to which he originally belonged. If Mr. Arnot was anything decidedly in politics, he was a Jacobite, to which party he belonged by descent and by religion, and also perhaps by virtue of his own peculiar turn of mind. In modern politics he was quite independent, judging all men and all measures by no other standard than

their respective merits. In his professional character he was animated by a chivalrous sentiment of honour worthy of all admiration. He was so little of a casuist, that he would never undertake a case unless he were perfectly self-satisfied as to its justice and legality. He had often occasion to refuse employment which fell beneath his own standard of honesty, though it might have been profitable, and attended by not the slightest shade of disgrace. On a case being once brought before him, of the merits of which he had an exceedingly bad opinion, he said to the intending litigant, in a serious manner, "Pray, what do you suppose me to be?" "Why," answered the client, "I understand you to be a lawyer." "I thought, sir," said Arnot sternly, "you took me for a scoundrel." The litigant, though he perhaps thought that the major included the minor proposition, withdrew abashed. Mr. Arnot left eight children, all very young; and the talent of the family appears to have revived in a new generation, viz. in the person of his grandson, Dr. David Boswell Reid, whose *Elements of Chemistry* has taken its place amongst the most useful treatises on the science, and who was selected by government, on account of his practical skill, to plan and superintend the ventilation of the new houses of parliament, in the prosecution of which object he for several years conducted the most costly and prolonged, if not the most successful, experiment of the kind ever made.

AYTON, SIR ROBERT, an eminent poet at the court of James VI., was a younger son of Andrew Ayton of Kinaldie, in Fife, and was born in the year 1570. From the registers of St. Andrews university, it appears that he was incorporated or enrolled as a student in St. Leonard's College, December 3, 1584, and took his master's degree, after the usual course of study, in the year 1588. Subsequently to this, he resided for some time in France; whence, in 1603, he addressed an elegant panegyric in Latin verse to King James, on his accession to the crown of England, which was printed at Paris the same year; and this panegyric had no doubt some influence in securing to the author the favour of that monarch, by whom he was successively appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and private secretary to his queen, Anne of Denmark, besides receiving the honour of knighthood. He was, at a later period of his life, honoured with the appointment of secretary to Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I. It is recorded on Ayton's funeral monument, as a distinction, that he had been sent to Germany as ambassador to the emperor, with a work published by King James, which is supposed to have been his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*. If this conjecture be correct, it must have been in 1609, when his majesty acknowledged a work published anonymously three years before, and inscribed it to all the crowned heads of Europe. During Ayton's residence abroad, as well as at the court of England, he lived in intimacy with and secured the esteem of the most eminent persons of the day. "He was acquainted," says Aubrey, "with all the wits of his time in England; he was a great acquaintance of Mr. Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, whom Mr. Hobbes told me he made use of, together with Ben Jonson, for an Aristarchus, when he made his epistle dedicatory for his translation of Thucydides." To this information we may add, as a proof of this respect on the part of Ben Jonson, that in his conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden, he said, "Sir Robert Ayton loved him (Jonson) dearly."

Sir Robert Ayton died at London, in March, 1637-8, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He lies

buried in the south aisle of the choir of Westminster Abbey, at the corner of King Henry V.'s Chapel, under a handsome monument of black marble, erected by his nephew, David Aytoun of Kinaldie; having his bust in brass gilt, which has been preserved, while that of Henry, the hero of Agincourt (said to have been of a more precious metal), has long since disappeared. The following is a copy of the inscription:

M. S.

Clarissimi omnigenaq. virtute et eruditione, præsertim
Poeti ornatissimi equitis, Domini Roberti Aitoni, ex antiqua
et illustri gente Aitona, ad Castrum Kinnadinum apud Scotos,
oriundi, qui a Serenissimo R. Jacobo in Cubicula Interiora
admissus, in Germaniam ad Imperatorem, Imperiæ, Principes
cum libello Regio, Regiæ authoritatibus vindicæ, Legatus, ac
primum Annæ, demum Mariæ, serenissimis Britanniarum
Reginis ab epistolis, consiliis et libellis supplicibus, nec non
Xenodochio S^{us} Catharinæ præfectus. Anima Creatoris
reddita, hic depositis mortalibus exuviis secundum Redemp-
toris adventum expectat.

Carolus linguens, repetit Parentem
Et valecens Mariæ revisit
Annæ et Aulæ decus, alto Olympi
Mutat Honore.

Hoc devoti gratiæ animi
Testimonium optimo Patruo
Jo. Aitonis M L P.

Obiit Cælebs in Regio Albaula

Non sine maximo Honore omnium

Luctu et Mœrore, Ætat. suæ LXXVIII.

Salut. Humane M.DCXXXVIII.

MUSARUM DECUS HIC, PATRIÆQ. AULÆQ. DOMIQUE
ET FORIS EXEMPLAR SED NON IMITABILE HONESTI.

The poems of Sir Robert Aytoun, for the first time published together in the *Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club* (from which we derive these particulars of the poet's life), are few in number, but of great merit. He composed no Scottish poems, at least none that have come down to our times. He wrote in English, and was, indeed, one of the first of our countrymen who composed in that language with any degree of elegance or purity. It is unfortunate that the most of his poems are complimentary verses to the illustrious individuals with whom he was acquainted, and of course characterized only by a strain of conceited and extravagant flattery. Those, however, upon general topics, are conceived in a refined and tender strain of fancy, that reminds us more of the fairy strains of Herrick than anything else. John Aubrey remarks, "that Sir Robert was one of the best poets of his time," and adds the more important testimony that "Mr. John Dryden has seen verses of his, *some of the best of that age*, printed with some other verses." According to Dempster, Aytoun was also a writer of verses in Greek and French, as well as in English and Latin. Several of his Latin poems are preserved in the work called *Delitia Poetarum Scotorum*, which was printed in his lifetime (1637) at Amsterdam.

AYTOUN, WILLIAM EDMONDSTOUNE. This recent poet, essayist, popular lecturer, and professor, who in each attained to considerable distinction, was born in June, 1813. His father was a writer to the signet, and was descended from an old and respectable family in Fifehire. The future professor was first educated at the Edinburgh Academy, where he was noted among his young compeers as an apt scholar; and afterwards at the university of Edinburgh, where he went through the usual curriculum. In this transit young Aytoun became the pupil of John Wilson, professor of moral philosophy, in whom he found a kindred spirit, and of whom he subsequently became the son-in-law and literary collaborator; and in this class he distinguished himself at the early age of eighteen by his prize poem entitled *Judith*. After finishing his course at college, Aytoun completed his studies in Germany, the liter-

ature of which country had afterwards considerable influence on the spirit of his own writings. On his return to Edinburgh he passed as a writer to the signet, but not finding this a congenial occupation, he turned to the Scottish bar, to which he obtained admission in 1840. As an advocate, however, he had little opportunity of being distinguished as an eloquent pleader, being chiefly employed as counsel in criminal cases. His fame was chiefly confined to the outer or parliament-house, where he was noted as one of the wits of the day, and an eminent member of that light-hearted talented party of lawyers who were the successors of the "stove school." But such talents as his could not be confined to impromptu sayings, and satisfied with the applause they created; and he produced for the principal magazines contributions, both in prose and verse, which indicated a writer of no mean powers. While a contributor to *Tait's Magazine*, he also, in conjunction with his friend Theodore Martin, commenced the *Bon Gualtier Ballads*, the best collection of that kind of poetry extant.

The literary talents of Aytoun, which were now generally recognized, obtained him, in 1839, a welcome admission among the contributors to *Blackwood's Magazine*; and in this distinguished periodical he soon found rivals to quicken his powers, as well as a sphere for their best exertions. It was there also that from time to time he published those stirring national odes which he afterwards gave to the world in a collective form, under the title of *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*. Like most young men of ardent feelings and literary acquirements, he at the commencement of life had entertained liberal sentiments in politics, which he afterwards saw fit to change; and this change, as is usually the case, was into a farther extreme on the opposite side than if he had been born and bred a Tory. The effects of this conversion are apparent in his *Lays*, where cavalier devotedness in loyalty is as absolute as it is enthusiastic, and the conclusive unanswerable argument of which is, "Thus saith the king." Such Jacobitism, however, in the nineteenth century is so rare, and withal so harmless, that its extravagance may be pardoned on account of its singularity and its disinterestedness. But still more ardent than his Jacobitism was his enthusiastic Caledonian patriotism, that delighted to dwell upon the ancient remembrances of his country, and which made him conspicuous as the champion of a party that lived for a brief period, and whose great demand was the redress of Scottish grievances. But the poetic element of his *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers* is animated and inspired by either feeling, so that while *The Heart of Bruce*, and *Edinburgh after Flodden*, are lyrics ennobled by the purest national devotedness, his *Burial March of Dundee*, and *Charles Edward at Versailles*, are all the more poetical from the fervour of the Jacobite spirit by which they are characterized. But it was not merely by his poetry that Aytoun became one of the most distinguished writers in *Blackwood*. His essays, dissertations, and tales in that magazine were equally popular; and few of its mirth-inspiring stories can compete with his *Glenmutchkin Railway*, or *How I became a Yeoman*. How assiduously and exclusively his literary exertions were devoted to this periodical may be understood from the fact that, between the year 1839, when he first appeared in its pages, until 1865, the year of his death, he contributed more than 120 articles upon a great diversity of subjects, but all of them distinguished by some particular excellence.

While Aytoun was thus establishing a high literary reputation through a medium generally thought so

precarious and evanescent as that of magazine writing, the chair of rhetoric and *belles-lettres* in the university of Edinburgh became vacant, and to this professorship he was appointed in 1845. It was a great change in the literary life of one who had hitherto frolicked over the whole field of intellect, and regulated his choice of subjects by the mood of the passing hour. A systematic course of lectures was to be delivered; but this was not all—he must train young tyros to accurate thought and correct graceful composition, and bear with those blunders that set the teeth of a refined critic on edge. He must subject his pupils to daily oral examination, and revise their themes and essays pen in hand and with a patience all-enduring. But on the other hand, every department of his course was already familiar to his mind; in training the youthful intellect he could remember how his own had been matured; and while leading them by the same way, he could enjoy the luxury of living over again, and seeing himself reproduced anew in the pupils who walked in his steps. His assiduity, his patience, and his sympathy as a teacher, and the popularity and success with which they were crowned, very soon appeared. A chair which had hitherto been little regarded, became one of the most popular in the university; and his class-room, which at first comprised about thirty students, was at the close of his life attended by a hundred and fifty.

The other particulars of Aytoun's life may be briefly enumerated. In 1849 he married Jane, the youngest daughter of Professor Wilson, who died ten years after. In 1852, on account of the services he had rendered as a writer to their party, Lord Derby and his friends acknowledged their obligation by appointing him sheriff and vice-admiral of Orkney and Shetland; and the duties of these offices he carefully fulfilled, spending for the purpose a considerable portion of each summer in these islands. After four years of widowhood, he, in December,

1863, married Miss Kinnear, a near relative of his friends, the Balfours of Trennabie, in Orkney. As yet in the prime of life, a large amount of happiness was thought to be still in store for him: but in the winter of 1864 he sickened, his constitution was gradually undermined, and he died on the 4th of August, 1865.

During such varied activity of a literary life, and so prolific in its various productions, much that Mr. Aytoun wrote was upon subjects of political interest for the day, and therefore they have quietly dropped, or are dropping, out of notice. His tales, however, will always be appreciated as veritable pictures of human nature, and will show how high a place he would have occupied if he had devoted himself to this kind of literature. But it is as a poet that he will be best remembered, and his *Lays* and touching songs will be quoted when his political dissertations are forgot. While he lived, not the least of his literary distinctions arose from being supposed the editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, and that in this office he succeeded his father-in-law, Professor John Wilson. But that both suppositions were entirely unfounded has been declared by official authority in the following intimation:—"It was erroneously supposed in some quarters that Mr. Aytoun occupied the position of editor of this magazine. Indeed, it seems difficult to persuade our friends at a distance of what is well known to those nearer at hand, that the proprietors of this magazine have never, since its commencement, now nearly half a century ago, devolved upon others the powers or responsibilities of an editor. To this system, perhaps, they owe it that the magazine has preserved a uniform consistency of aim and purpose; and that, while warm in its advocacy of great views and principles, it has avoided those petty partizanships and predilections from which it is so difficult for an ordinary editor to keep free."¹

B.

BAIKIE, WILLIAM BALFOUR, M.D., R.N. The field of African exploration, although the most difficult and deadly, has always been the favourite choice of Scottish travellers. And whence this peculiarity? It perhaps arises from the national character, which only becomes more resolute from opposition, and which scorns to succumb as long as there are dangers to surmount or difficulties to be overcome. Although almost every new path of African discovery contains the grave of some unfortunate Scottish explorer who died mid-way, the lonely hillock only animates some successor to accomplish what the other has left undone, instead of compelling him to pause and turn back. Among these martyrs of African discovery, the list for the present terminates with the name of Dr. William Balfour Baikie.

This lamented traveller was the son of Captain John Baikie, R.N., and was born at Kirkwall, Orkney, 1820. After an education at the grammar-school of his native town, he went to Edinburgh, studied medicine, and highly distinguished himself in the medical classes of the university. Having obtained the degree of M.D. he entered the royal navy as assistant-surgeon in March 15, 1848, and in this capacity served for some time in the *Volage*, a surveying vessel in the Mediterranean. But it was

in 1855 that he was introduced to his proper vocation, by being sent out on board the *Pleiad* steamer as an accredited envoy of the British government, for the purpose of opening up the trade of the Niger, forming a trading settlement in the interior of Africa, and thus bringing the various Niger expeditions to a practical conclusion. It was while thus employed that the iron steamer *Day Spring* was lost in going through some of the rapids of the river; but this disaster, instead of discouraging Dr. Baikie, only made him more active and self-reliant. Having saved all he could from the wreck, he took up his abode with the wild African tribes, and followed out his duties as a government commissioner by exploring the country in every direction, and entering into binding engagements with the African chiefs and their people in relation to their traffic with the British. But while thus employed as a pioneer of commerce and civilization, and collecting vocabularies of the native languages for the purpose of facilitating the intercourse of Europeans with the natives, his supplies from home were exhausted, his horses died, and he soon found himself as bare and helpless as the most impoverished of our African travellers. Yet still zealous to prosecute his work,

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine* for September, 1865.



MISS ELIZABETH GARDNER
1840

and another vessel, the *Sunbeam*, being sent to his relief, he settled at Lukoja, near the junction of the Chadda with the Niger. The account of it, given by Dr. Baikie in September, 1861, invests it with considerable mercantile importance. "The King of Nupe, the most powerful next to the Sultan of Sokoto, being desirous of seeing a market for European produce here, entered into relations with us, and undertook to open various roads for the passage of caravans, traders, and canoes to this place, which promise has been faithfully performed; I, on my part, giving him to understand that it was the desire of her majesty's government to have a trading station here. . . . I have started a regular market here, and have established the recognition of Sunday as a non-trading day, and the exclusion of slaves from our market. Already traders come to us from Kabbi, Kano, and other parts of Hausa; and we hope, ere long, to see regular caravans with ivory and other produce. The step I am taking is not lightly adopted. After a prolonged absence from England, to stay another season here without any Europeans, with only a faint prospect of speedy communication, and after all my experience of hunger and difficulty last year, is by no means an inviting prospect. But what I look to are the securing for England a commanding position in Central Africa, and the necessity of making a commencement."

The most serious difficulty which Dr. Baikie had encountered arose from the precarious character of his official position. In consequence of the loss of the *Pleiad* and other disasters, the foreign office in 1860 recalled the expedition to the Niger; but his unaided attempts had been so successful, and he had brought over so many African chiefs to his views by promises of British co-operation, that our government cancelled the recall, and ordered the expedition to be continued. Baikie was therefore enabled to continue the good work which he had commenced at his settlement of Lukoja; and after having seen it securely established, he craved leave of absence in October, 1863. The wish he expressed was to see his aged father, from whom he had been absent seven years. In June, 1864, the foreign office assented, in the hope that in the following year he would return to his African settlement; and Dr. Baikie, eager to revisit his native home, arrived at Lagos in October. Had he immediately embarked for England as he had at first intended, and as he announced to his expecting friends at home, his safety might have been insured. But the labour of arranging his African preparations occupied so much time, that the favourable opportunity was lost. Arriving at Sierra Leone, that place so fatal to European constitutions, he was attacked with illness which in two short days ended his adventurous career.

Such is the brief narrative of one whose travels and exertions in Africa would of themselves suffice to fill a whole volume of interesting biography. But it was not in action alone that his energies were expended. His earnest studies in a climate so enervating and exhausting, his extensive geographical and physiological observations, his contributions to scientific societies, and his copious correspondence, would of themselves furnish an amount of knowledge about the people, climate, and productions of the interior of Africa as would vastly enrich the storehouse of our African research. Nor were his labours less abundant in the African languages, so that his vocabularies of the Hausa, Pulo, and Fulfulde tongues comprise each of them between three and four thousand words. Out of so large a collection of manuscripts, and where there is so much excellence from which

to choose, we hope that a publication will be given as an enduring monument of the sterling worth of Dr. Baikie. This good work indeed is already in progress, his numerous journals descriptive of his travels and researches, now in the foreign office, having been placed in the hands of Dr. Kirk, the accomplished African traveller, for revision and arrangement. The printed communications of Dr. Baikie are comprised in the following short list:—*Despatches from — of the Niger Expedition relative to the Trade of that River, and to the Eligibility of Central Africa as a future Cotton-field.* Map. Folio, 1862. (Blue Book.)—*Report on the Geographical Position of the Countries in the neighbourhood of the Niger, &c.* Map. Folio, 1862.—*Observations on the Hausa and Fulfulde Languages.* Privately printed, 8vo, 1862.—*Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwedra and Binue* (commonly known as the Niger and Tsada), in 1854: 8vo, 1856.

BAILLIE, JOANNA, authoress of *Plays on the Passions*, and various other dramatic works and poems, was born on September 11, 1762, in the manse of Bothwell in Lanarkshire. Her father, Dr. James Baillie, the minister of that parish, and subsequently professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, sprang from a family allied to that of the celebrated Principal Robert Baillie, and likewise to that of the Baillies of Jerviswood, memorable in the history of Scotland. All these lines were derived from the ancient stem of the Baillies of Lamington. Her mother, also, was one of a race well known in Scottish heraldry, for she was descended from the Hunters of Hunterston, and was the sister of William and John Hunter, both renowned in the annals of science. The children, by the marriage of Dr. James Baillie with Miss Hunter, were Agnes; Matthew, afterwards the eminent physician; and Joanna, a twin—the other child being still-born.

The early youth of Joanna Baillie was passed among the romantic scenes of Bothwell, where every element existed to awaken the fancy of the poet; but when she had attained her sixth year the family removed to Hamilton, to the collegiate church of which place her father had been appointed minister. During her childhood Joanna Baillie was not remarkable for acquirement, yet, nevertheless, showed much originality and quickness of intellect. She made verses before she could read, and soon manifested dramatic talent. She took every opportunity of arranging among her young companions theatrical performances, in which her power of sustaining characters was remarkable, and she frequently wrote the dialogue herself. She was also conspicuous for fearlessness of disposition, which in after-years displayed itself in moral courage—a virtue often prominent in her conduct. Notwithstanding the decided tendency of her mind, she did not become an author till at a later period than is usual with those who are subject to the strong impulses of genius. In 1778 her father died; and in 1784, his widow, with her daughters, having lived for some years at Long Calderwood, near Hamilton, proceeded to London to reside with her son, who had there entered on his medical career, and who, upon the death of his uncle, Dr. William Hunter, had become possessed of the house in Great Windmill Street which the latter had built and inhabited.

It was in this abode that Joanna Baillie, in 1790, first resolved upon publishing, and the result was a small volume of miscellaneous poems, to which she did not affix her name. These evinced considerable talent, but not the power she afterwards manifested. In 1798 she gave to the world, also anonymously,

her first volume of dramas, in which the true bent of her genius was fully seen. This was entitled *A Series of Plays, in which it is attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind, each Passion being the subject of a Tragedy and a Comedy*, and these were accompanied by an introductory discourse of some length, in which dramatic composition was discussed, in which, also, many original views were announced, together with the peculiar system she proposed to adopt. Rich though the period was in poetry, this work made a great impression, and a new edition of it was soon required. The writer was sought for among the most gifted personages of the day, and the illustrious Scott, with others then equally appreciated, was suspected as the author. The praise bestowed upon *Basil and De Montfort* encouraged the authoress, and in 1802, she published another volume of plays on the *Passions*. Although much objection was made to the opinions she had enunciated in the preface to her first dramas, and though the criticism from an influential quarter was severe, she adhered to her purpose, and continued to write on the same plan which she had at first evolved; for, in 1812, she sent forth another volume of plays on the *Passions*, and in 1836, three more volumes of plays, containing some in prosecution of her primary design, which she thus completed, and some on miscellaneous subjects. Besides those above-mentioned, during the long period of her career she published various other dramas, and all her writings in this form exhibit great originality, power, and knowledge of human nature. Her works also are rich in imagery, and a pure and energetic strain of poetry pervades them. For the great effects she produced she was little indebted to study, of which her pages bear few indications. The characters she portrayed, the stories on which her plays were founded, and the management of them, proceeded almost entirely from her own invention. She was the authoress, also, of some poems, as well as songs, of high merit, among which may be especially mentioned those well-known favourite Scottish ones entitled "The bride, she is winsome and bonnie," and "It fell on a morning when we were thrang;" and the lyrical compositions scattered through her dramas are distinguished by their freshness and beauty. Some of her plays were represented on the stage, but without much success. Passion in them is forcibly and faithfully delineated, but without those startling and effective situations calculated to obtain theatrical triumph. Unmarried, and dwelling out of London, she had not those opportunities of frequenting the theatre which are necessary for the production of compositions popular in representation. It must be remembered, also, that female delicacy places a limit not only to the exuberance of passion, but also to the choice of subjects, which interfered both with the force and variety of her plays.

After Joanna Baillie had left Scotland, in 1784, she did not return to her native land except for occasional visits. Upon the marriage of her brother, in 1791, with Miss Denman, the sister of the Lord Chief-justice Denman, Joanna Baillie, with her mother and sister, passed some years at Colchester, but subsequently settled at Hampstead, near London, where she resided for more than half a century. Her mother died in 1806, and her sole companion during the remainder of her life was her sister, whose character, virtues, and claims upon the affections of the poetess are beautifully commemorated by her in an address to Miss Agnes Baillie on her birth-day. The means of Joanna Baillie were sufficient for every comfort, and enabled her to see many of the most distinguished individuals

the great metropolis contained, who, attracted by her high reputation, her perfect simplicity of manners, and the talent and shrewdness of her conversation, resorted freely to her home. Sir Walter Scott was one of her warmest friends and most ardent admirers, as many passages in his writings declare. Joanna Baillie was under the middle size, but not diminutive, and her form was slender. Her countenance indicated high talent, worth, and decision. Her life was characterized by the purest morality. Her principles were sustained by a strong and abiding sense of religion, while her great genius, and the engrossing pursuits of composition, never interfered with her active benevolence or the daily duties of life. She died in her house, in Hampstead, on the 23d day of February, 1851.

BAILLIE, MATTHEW, M.D., a distinguished modern physician and anatomist, was the son of the Rev. James Baillie, D.D., professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow. He was born October 27, 1761, in the manse of Shotts, of which parish his father was then minister. The father of Dr. Matthew Baillie was supposed to be descended from the family of Baillie of Jerviswood, so noted in the history of Scottish freedom; his mother was a sister of the two celebrated anatomists, Dr. William and Mr. John Hunter; and one of his two sisters was Miss Joanna Baillie, the well-known and amiable authoress of *Plays on the Passions*. After receiving the rudiments of his education under his father's immediate superintendence, he began his academical course in 1773, in the university of Glasgow, where he distinguished himself so highly as to be transferred, in 1778, upon Snell's foundation, to Baliol College, Oxford. Here, when he had attained the proper standing, he took his degrees in arts and physic. In 1780, while still keeping his terms at Oxford, he commenced his anatomical studies at London, under the care of his uncles. He had the great advantage of residing with Dr. William Hunter, and, when he became sufficiently advanced in his studies, of being employed to make the necessary preparations for the lectures, to conduct the demonstrations, and to superintend the operations of the students. On the death of Dr. Hunter, March, 1783, he was found qualified to become the successor of that great man, in conjunction with Mr. Cruickshank, who had previously been employed as Dr. Hunter's assistant. His uncle appointed him by will to have the use of his splendid collection of anatomical preparations, so long as he should continue an anatomical lecturer, after which it was to be transferred to Glasgow College. Dr. Baillie began to lecture in 1784, and soon acquired the highest reputation as an anatomical teacher. He was himself indefatigable in the business of forming preparations, adding, it is said, no fewer than eleven hundred articles to his uncle's museum. He possessed the valuable talent of making an abstruse and difficult subject plain; his prelections were remarkable for that lucid order and clearness of expression which proceed from a perfect conception of the subject; and he never permitted any vanity of display to turn him from his great object of conveying information in the simplest and most intelligible way, and so as to become useful to his pupils. The distinctness of his elocution was also much admired, notwithstanding that he never could altogether shake off the accent of his native country. In 1795 Dr. Baillie embodied the knowledge he possessed through his own observations and those of his uncle in a small but most valuable work, entitled *The Morbid Anatomy of some of the most important Parts of the Human Body*, which was immediately translated

into French and German, and extended his name to every land where medical science was cultivated. The publication of this little treatise was, indeed, an era in the history of medical knowledge in this country. It combined all the information formerly scattered through the writings of Bonetus, Lieutaud, and Montagni, besides the immense store of observations made by the ingenious author. The knowledge of the changes produced on the human frame by disease had previously been very imperfect; but it was now so completely elucidated that, with the assistance of this little volume, any person previously acquainted with morbid symptoms, but unacquainted with the disease, could, upon an examination after death, understand the whole malady. Perhaps no production of the period ever had so much influence on the study of medicine, or contributed so much to correct unfounded speculations upon the nature of disease, to excite a spirit of observation, and to lead the attention of the student to fact and experience. Along with all its excellencies, it was delightful to observe the extreme modesty and total absence of pretension with which the author, in the fulness of his immense knowledge, ushered it into the world.

In 1787 Dr. Baillie had been elected physician to St. George's Hospital, a situation which afforded him many of those opportunities of observation upon which the success of his work on *Morbid Anatomy* was founded. In 1789, having taken his degree of M.D. at Oxford, he was admitted a candidate at the College of Physicians, and in the following year had the full privileges of fellowship conferred upon him. About the same time he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, to which he had contributed two essays. He served the office of censor in the Royal College of Physicians, in 1792 and 1797, and that of commissioner under the act of parliament for the inspection and licensing of mad-houses in 1794 and 1795.

In 1799 Dr. Baillie relinquished the business of an anatomical lecturer, and in 1800 resigned his duties as physician to St. George's Hospital. Partly by the influence of his fame as an anatomist, and partly through the disinterested recommendations of several members of his own profession, he found himself gradually tempted into the less agreeable business of a general physician. He was always resorted to when more than ordinary scientific precision was required. About the year 1801, when he had attained the mature age of forty, he had become completely absorbed in practice. As a physician, he possessed, in an eminent degree, a facility in distinguishing diseases—one of the most important qualifications in the practice of medicine, as a want of accuracy in discriminating symptomatic from primary affections leads to the most serious errors; whilst it may be said that, when a disease is once distinctly characterized, and the peculiarities of the case defined, the cure is half performed. Habits of attentive observation had enabled Dr. Baillie to know, with great accuracy, the precise extent of the powers of medicine; indeed, there was no class of cases more likely to fall under his observation than those in which they had been abused, younger practitioners being apt to carry a particular system of treatment beyond its proper limits; Dr. Baillie's readiness, therefore, in seeing this abuse, rendered his opinions, in many cases, of great value. Yet he was always scrupulously anxious, through the natural benignity of his disposition, to use his knowledge with a delicate regard to the interests of those juniors whose procedure he was called upon to amend. He managed, indeed, this part of his practice with so much delicacy that he was held in the utmost affec-

tion and esteem by the younger branches of the profession.

Dr. Baillie was remarkable for forming his judgment of any case before him from his own observations exclusively; carefully guarding himself against any prepossessions from the opinions suggested by others. When he visited a patient, he observed him accurately, he listened to him attentively, he put a few pointed questions—and his opinion was formed. Beneath a most natural and unassuming manner, which was the same on all occasions, was concealed an almost intuitive power of perceiving the state of his patient. His mind was always quietly, but eagerly, directed to an investigation of the symptoms; and he had so distinct and systematic a mode of putting questions, that the answers of his patients often presented a connected view of the whole case. On such occasions, he avoided technical and learned phrases; he affected none of that sentimental tenderness which is sometimes assumed by a physician with a view to recommend himself to his patient; but he expressed what he had to say in the simplest and plainest terms; with some pleasantry if the occasion admitted of it, and with gravity and gentleness if they were required; and he left his patient either encouraged or tranquillized, persuaded that the opinion he had received was sound and honest, whether it was unfavourable or not, and that his physician merited his confidence. In delivering or writing his opinions he was equally remarkable for unaffected simplicity. His language was sometimes so plain, that his patients have been able to repeat to their other medical attendants every word which he had uttered. In consultation he gave his opinion concisely, and with a few grounds; those grounds being chiefly facts, rather than arguments, so that little room was left for dispute. If any difference or difficulty arose, his example pointed out the way of removing it, by an appeal to other facts, and by a neglect of speculative reasoning.

In every relation and situation of private life Dr. Baillie was equally to be admired; and it must be added, that the same liberal and just ideas which, on all occasions, guided his conduct as an individual, ruled him in his many public duties: he never countenanced any measures which had the appearance of oppression or hostility towards the members of his profession. Men seldom act, collectively, with the same honour and integrity as they would do individually; and a member of a public body requires an unusual share of moral courage, who opposes those measures of his associates which he may not himself approve of; but if there was one qualification more than another which gave Dr. Baillie the public confidence he enjoyed, and raised him to the zenith of professional distinction, it was his inflexible integrity.

In 1799 Dr. Baillie commenced the publication of *A Series of Engravings to illustrate some Parts of Morbid Anatomy*, in successive fasciculi, which were completed in 1802. The drawings for this splendid work were done by Mr. Clift, the conservator of the Hunterian Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and they were creditable at once to the taste and liberality of Dr. Baillie, and to the state of art in that day. Dr. Baillie afterwards published *An Anatomical Description of the Gravid Uterus*; and throughout the whole course of his professional life, he contributed largely to the transactions and medical collections of the time. When he was at the height of his popularity, he enjoyed a higher income than any preceding physician, and which was only inferior to the sum received by one particular contemporary. In one of his busiest years, when he had scarcely

time to take a single meal, it is said to have reached £10,000. He was admitted to have the greatest consultation business of his time; and it was known that he was applied to for medical advice from many distant quarters of the world. From his arduous, and to his mind often irksome, duties, he enjoyed no relaxation for many years, till at length he began to indulge in an annual retirement of a few months to the country. On one of the first of these occasions he paid a visit to the land of his birth, which, during an absence of thirty years, spent in busy and distracting pursuits, he had never ceased to regard with the most tender feelings. The love of country was, indeed, a prominent feature in his character; and he was prepared on this occasion to realize many enjoyments which he had previously contemplated with enthusiasm, in the prospect of once more beholding the land and friends of his youth. The result was far different from his expectations. He found most of his early companions either scattered over the world, in search, as he himself had been, of fortune, or else forgotten in untimely graves; of those who survived, many were removed beyond his sympathies by that total alteration of feeling which a difference of worldly circumstances so invariably effects in the hearts of early friends, on the side of the depressed party as well as the elevated.

Dr. Baillie was introduced to the favourable notice of the royal family, in consequence of his treatment of the Duke of Gloucester. Being subsequently joined in consultation with the king's physicians upon his majesty's own unhappy case, he came more prominently than ever into public view, as in some measure the principal director of the royal treatment. The political responsibility of this situation was so very weighty, that, if Dr. Baillie had been a man of less firmness of nerve, he could scarcely have maintained himself under it. Such, however, was the public confidence in his inflexible integrity, that, amidst the hopes and fears which for a long time agitated the nation on the subject of the king's health, the opinion of Dr. Baillie ever regulated that of the public. On the first vacancy, which occurred in 1810, he was appointed one of the physicians to the king, with the offer of a baronetcy, which, however, his good sense and unassuming disposition induced him to decline.

Dr. Baillie at length sunk under the weight of his practice, notwithstanding that for several years he had taken every possible expedient to shift off his duties to the care of younger aspirants. At the last quarterly meeting of the College of Physicians before his death, when there was a full assemblage of members, in the midst of the affairs for the consideration of which they were called together, Dr. Baillie entered the room, emaciated, hectic, and with all the symptoms of approaching dissolution. Such was the effect of his sudden and unexpected appearance, that the public business was suspended, and every one present instantly and spontaneously rose, and remained standing until Dr. Baillie had taken his seat; the incident, though trivial, evinces the affectionate reverence with which he was regarded. Besides the natural claim he had upon this body, from his unapproached anatomical and medical skill, and the extraordinary benignity and worth of his character, he had entitled himself to its peculiar gratitude by leaving to it the whole of his valuable collection of preparations, together with the sum of £600 to keep it in order. Dr. Baillie died on the 23d of September, 1823.

Dr. Baillie had married, 5th May, 1791, Miss Sophia Denman, second daughter of Dr. Denman of London, a distinguished physician, and sister of

Mr., subsequently Lord Denman and Lord High-chancellor of England. By her he left one son, to whom he bequeathed his estate of Dantisbourne, in Gloucestershire; and one daughter. The sums and effects destined by his will, many of which were given to medical institutions and public charities, were sworn in the prerogative court at less than £80,000.

Dr. Baillie is thus characterized in the *Annual Obituary* for 1824:—"He seemed to have an innate goodness of heart, a secret sympathy with the virtuous, and to rejoice in their honourable and dignified conduct, as in a thing in which he had a personal interest, and as if he felt that his own character was raised by it as well as human nature ennobled. He censured warmly what he disapproved, from a strong attachment to what is right, not to display his superiority to others, or to give vent to any asperity of temper; at the same time he was indulgent to failings, his kindness to others leading him on many occasions to overlook what was due to himself; and even in his last illness he paid gratuitous professional visits which were above his strength, and was in danger of suddenly exhausting himself by exertions for others. His liberal disposition was well known to all acquainted with public subscriptions; the great extent to which it showed itself in private benefactions is known only to those who were nearly connected with him, and perhaps was fully known only to himself."

BAILLIE, ROBERT, one of the most eminent, and perhaps the most moderate, of all the Scottish Presbyterian clergy during the time of the civil war, was born at Glasgow in 1599. His father, Thomas Baillie, citizen, was descended from the Baillies of Lamington; his mother, Helen Gibson, was of the family of Gibson of Durie, both of which stocks are distinguished in Presbyterian history. Having studied divinity in his native university, Mr. Baillie in 1622 received episcopal orders from Archbishop Law of Glasgow, and became tutor to the son of the Earl of Eglintoun, by whom he was presented to the parish church of Kilwinning. In 1626 he was admitted a regent at the college of Glasgow, and, on taking his chair, delivered an inaugural oration *De Mente Agente*. About this period he appears to have prosecuted the study of the oriental languages, in which he is allowed to have attained no mean proficiency. For some years he lived in terms of the strictest intimacy with the noble and pious family of Eglintoun, as also with his ordinary, Archbishop Law, with whom he kept up an epistolary correspondence. Baillie was not only educated and ordained as an Episcopalian; but he had imbibed from Principal Cameron of Glasgow the doctrine of passive resistance. He appears, however, to have been brought over to opposite views during the interval between 1630 and 1636, which he employed in discussing with his fellow-clergymen the doctrines of Arminianism, and the new ecclesiastical regulations introduced into the Scottish church by Archbishop Laud. Hence, in the year 1636, being desired by Archbishop Law to preach at Edinburgh in favour of the canon and service-books, he positively refused, writing, however, a respectful apology to his lordship. Endearred to the resisting party by this conduct, he was chosen to represent the presbytery of Irvine in the General Assembly of 1638, by which the royal power was braved in the name of the whole nation, and Episcopacy formally dissolved. In this meeting Baillie is said to have behaved with great moderation; a term, however, which must be understood as only comparative, for the expressions used in his

letter regarding the matters condemned are not what would now be considered moderate.

In the ensuing year, when it was found necessary to vindicate the proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly with the sword, Baillie entered heartily into the views of his countrymen. He accompanied the army to Dunse Law, in the capacity of preacher to the Earl of Eglington's regiment; and he it was who has handed down the well-known description of that extraordinary camp. "It would have done you good," he remarks in one of his letters, "to have cast your eyes athort our brave and rich hills, as oft as I did with great contentment and joy; for I was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who came late with Lord Eglington. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broadsword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power most cheerfully" (*Letters*, vol. i. p. 174). He afterwards states, "Our soldiers grew in experience of arms, in courage, and favour daily. Every one encouraged another. The sight of their nobles and their beloved pastors daily raised their hearts. The good sermons and prayers, morning and evening, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remonstrance very frequent of the goodness of their cause; of their conduct hitherto by a hand clearly divine; also Leslie's skill, and prudence, and fortune, made them as resolute for battle as could be wished. We were feared that emulation among our nobles might have done harm when they should be met in the field; but such was the wisdom and authority of that old, little, crooked soldier, that all, with an incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been great Solymán. Had you lent your ear in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading the Scripture, ye would have been refreshed. True, there was swearing, and cursing, and brawling, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved; but we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these misorders; for all of any fashion did regret, and all promised to do their best endeavours for helping all abuses. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all that time since I came from home, till my head was again homeward; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return." This expedition ended in a treaty between the Scottish leaders and their sovereign, in terms of which hostilities ceased for a few months. On the renewal of the insurrectionary war next year, Baillie accompanied the Scottish army on its march into England, and became the chronicler of its transactions. Towards the end of the year 1640 he was selected by the Scottish leaders as a proper person to go to London, along with other commissioners, to prepare charges against Archbishop Laud for his innovations upon the Scottish church, which were alleged to have been the origin of the war. He had, in April, before the expedition, published a pamphlet entitled *Ladensium Avrokaraxpous: the Canterburian's Self-conjiction; or an Evident Demonstration of the Avowed Arminianisme, Poperie, and Tyrannie of that Faction, by their own Confessions*, which perhaps pointed him out as fit to take a lead in the prosecutions of the great Antichrist of Scottish Presbytery.

Of this and almost all the other proceedings of his public life he has left a minute account in his letters and journals, which are preserved entire in the archives of the Church of Scotland, and in the university of Glasgow, and of which excerpts were published in 2 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1775. They were afterwards published in their entire form by the Bannatyne Club, in 3 vols. 4to, in 1841. These reliques of Mr. Baillie form valuable materials of history.

Not long after his return to his native country, in 1642, he was appointed joint-professor of divinity at Glasgow, along with Mr. David Dickson, an equally distinguished, but less moderate, divine. It affords some proof of the estimation in which he was now held, that he had the choice of this appointment in all the four universities of Scotland. He performed his duties from this period till the Restoration, and at the same time attended all the General Assemblies as a member, except during an interval in 1643-6, when he was absent as a delegate to the Westminster assembly of divines. In this latter capacity he conducted himself in an unobtrusive manner, but fully concurred in the principles and views of the more prominent men. It is observable from his letters that, with the pardonable earnestness of his age and party, he looked upon toleration as a thing fatal to religion, and strenuously asserted the divine right of the Presbyterian church to be established in complete ascendancy and power as a substitute for the Church of England. From 1646 to 1649 he discharged his ordinary duties as a theological teacher without taking a leading part in public affairs. But in the latter year he was chosen by the church as the fittest person to carry its homage to King Charles II. at the Hague, and to invite that youthful monarch to assume the government in Scotland, under the limitations and stipulations of the covenant. This duty he executed with a degree of dignity and propriety which could have been expected from no member of his church but one, who, like him, had spent several years in conducting high diplomatic affairs in England. Indeed, Mr. Baillie appears in every transaction of his life to have been an accomplished man of the world, and yet retaining, along with habits of expediency, the most perfect sincerity in his religious views. When the necessary introduction of the malignants into the king's service caused a strong division in the church in 1651, Baillie, as might have been expected from his character and former history, sided with the yielding or Resolutionist party, and soon became its principal leader. On this account he and many other sincere men were charged by the Protesting and less worldly party with a declension from the high principles of the covenant, a charge to which he, at least, certainly was not liable. After the Restoration, though made principal of his college through court patronage, he scrupulously refused to accept a bishopric, and did not hesitate to express his dissatisfaction with the re-introduction of Episcopacy. His health now declining, he was visited by the new-made archbishop, to whom he thus freely expressed himself: "Mr. Andrew," said he, "I will not now call you my lord. King Charles would have made me one of these lords; but I do not find in the New Testament that Christ has any lords in his house." He considered this form of religion and ecclesiastical government as "inconsistent with Scripture, contrary to pure and primitive antiquity, and diametrically opposed to the true interest of the country." He died, July, 1662, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Mr. Baillie, besides his *Letters and Journals*, and a variety of controversial pamphlets, suitable to the spirit of the times, was the author of a respectable

and learned work, entitled *Opus Historicum et Chronologicum*, which was published in folio at Amsterdam. He was a man of extensive learning—understood no fewer than thirteen languages, among which were Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, and Ethiopic—and wrote Latin with almost Augustine elegance. He left a large family: one of his daughters becoming the wife of Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, was, by a strange chance, the ancestress of Miss Clementina Walkinshaw, well known from her connection with the history of Prince Charles Stuart—and also grandmother to the celebrated Henry Home, better known under the judicial designation of Lord Kames.

BAILLIE, ROBERT, of Jerviswood, an eminent patriot of the reign of Charles II., was the son of George Baillie, of St. John's Kirk in Lanarkshire, cadet of the ancient family of Baillie of Lamington, who appears to have purchased the estate of Jerviswood, also in Lanarkshire, in the reign of Charles I., from a family of the name of Livingstone. It is stated by the Jacobite, Robert Mylne, in the publication called *Fountainhall's Notes*, that the first circumstance which alienated the mind of Robert Baillie from the government was his marrying a daughter of Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warristoun, who, having borne a conspicuous part in the civil war from the beginning, was executed after the Restoration. Whatever be the truth of this allegation, Baillie appears before the year 1676 to have been otherwise allied to the nonconformist party.

The incident which first brought him forward into view as a subject of persecution was one of those interferences in behalf of natural justice, where all sense of consequences is overborne by the exigency of the occasion. During the misgovernment of the Duke of Lauderdale, a wretched profligate of the name of Carstairs had bargained with Archbishop Sharpe to undertake the business of an informer upon an uncommonly large scale, having a troop of other informers under him, and enjoying a certain reward for each individual whom he could detect at the conventicles, besides a share of the fines imposed upon them. It may be supposed that an individual who could permit himself to enter upon a profession of this kind would not be very scrupulous as to the guilt of the persons whom he sought to make his prey. He accordingly appears to have, at least in one noted instance, pounced upon an individual who was perfectly innocent. This was the Rev. Mr. Kirkton, a nonconformist minister it is true, but one who had been cautious to keep strictly within the verge of the law. Kirkton was the brother-in-law of Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood by his marriage to the sister of that gentleman; and he is eminent in Scottish literary history for a memoir of the church during his own times, which was of great service in manuscript to the historian Wodrow, and was at length published in 1817. One day in June, 1676, as Mr. Kirkton was walking along the High Street of Edinburgh, Carstairs, whose person he did not know, accosted him in a very civil manner, and expressed a desire to speak with him in private. Mr. Kirkton, suspecting no evil, followed Carstairs to a very mean-looking house, near the common prison. Carstairs, who had no warrant to apprehend or detain Mr. Kirkton, went out to get one, locking the door upon his victim.¹ The unfortunate clergyman then perceived that he was in some danger, and prevailed upon a person in the house to go to seek his brother-in-law, Mr. Baillie, and apprise him of his

situation. Carstairs, having in vain endeavoured to get the requisite number of privy-councillors to sign a warrant, now came back, resolved, it appears, to try at least if he could not force some money from Mr. Kirkton for his release. Just as they were about to confer upon this subject, Mr. Baillie came to the door, with several other persons, and called to Carstairs to open. Kirkton, hearing the voices of friends, took courage, and desired his captor either to set him free, or to show a warrant for his detention. Carstairs, instead of doing either, drew a pocket-pistol, and Kirkton found it necessary, for his own safety, to enter into a personal struggle, and endeavour to secure the weapon of his antagonist. The gentlemen without, hearing a struggle and cries of murder, burst open the door, and found Carstairs sitting upon Mr. Kirkton on the floor. Baillie drew his sword, and commanded the poltroon to come off, asking him at the same time if he had any warrant for apprehending Mr. Kirkton. Carstairs said he had a warrant for conducting him to prison, but he utterly refused to show it, though Mr. Baillie said that if he saw any warrant against his friend, he would assist in carrying it into execution. The wretch still persisting in saying he had a warrant, but was not bound to show it, Mr. Baillie left the place with Mr. Kirkton and other friends, having offered no violence whatever to Carstairs, but only threatened to sue him for unlawful invasion of his brother-in-law's person.

It might have been expected from even a government so lost to all honour and justice as that which now prevailed in Scotland, that it would have had at least the good sense to overlook this unhappy accident to one of its tools. On the contrary, it was resolved to brave the popular feeling of right, by listening to the complaints of Carstairs. Through the influence of Archbishop Sharpe, who said that, if Carstairs was not countenanced, no one would be procured to apprehend fanatics afterwards, a majority of the council agreed to prosecute Baillie, Kirkton, and the other persons concerned. For this purpose, an antedated warrant was furnished to Carstairs, signed by nine of the councillors. The Marquis of Atholl told Bishop Burnet that he had been one of the nine who lent their names to this infamous document. The whole case was therefore made out to be a tumult against the government; Baillie was fined in six thousand merks (£318 sterling),² and his friends in smaller sums, and to be imprisoned till they should render payment.

This award was so opposite, in every particular, to the principles of truth, honour, and justice, that, even if not directed against individuals connected with the popular cause, it could not have failed to excite general indignation. It appears that a respectable minority of the council itself was strongly opposed to the decision, and took care to let it be known at court. Mr. Baillie was therefore released at the end of four months, in consideration of payment of one-half of his fine to the creature Carstairs. Lord Halton, however, who was at this time a kind of pro-regent under his brother Lauderdale, had interest to obtain the dismissal of his opponents from the council, namely, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Morton, Dumfries, and Kincardine, and the Lords Cochrane and Primrose, whom he branded, for their conduct on this occasion, as enemies to the church and favourers of conventicles.

After this period nothing is known of Mr. Baillie till the year 1683, when he is found taking a prominent share in a scheme of emigration, agitated by a

¹ Burnet. Wodrow's account is slightly different.

² Wodrow says £500 sterling, new edit. v. ii, p. 328.

number of Scottish gentlemen, who saw no refuge but this from the tyranny of the government. These gentlemen entered into a negotiation with the patentees of South Carolina, for permission to convey themselves thither, along with their families and dependants. While thus engaged, Mr. Baillie was induced, along with several of his friends, to enter into correspondence and counsel with the heads of the Puritan party in England, who were now forming an extensive plan of insurrection, for the purpose of obtaining a change of measures in the government, though with no ulterior view. Under the pretext of the American expedition, Lord Melville, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, Mr. Baillie, and three others, were invited and repaired to London, to consult with the Duke of Monmouth, Sydney, Russell, and the rest of that party. This scheme was never properly matured; indeed, it never was anything but a matter of talk, and had ceased to be even that, when a minor plot for assassinating the king, to which only a small number of the party were privy, burst prematurely, and involved several of the chiefs, who were totally ignorant of it, in destruction. Sydney and Russell suffered for this crime, of which they were innocent; and Baillie and several other gentlemen were seized and sent down to be tried in Scotland.¹

The subsequent judicial proceedings were characterized by the usual violence and illegality of the time. Baillie endured a long confinement, during which he was treated very harshly, and not permitted to have the society of his lady, though she offered to go into irons, as an assurance against any attempt at facilitating his escape. An attempt was made to procure sufficient proof of guilt from the confessions wrought out of his nephew-in-law, the Earl of Tarras (who had been first married to the elder sister of the Duchess of Monmouth); but, this being found insufficient, his prosecutors were at last obliged to adopt the unlawful expedient, too common in those distracted times, of putting him to a purgative oath. An accusation was sent to him, not in the form of an indictment, nor grounded on any law, but on a letter of the king, in which he was charged with a conspiracy to raise rebellion, and a concern in the Ryehouse Plot. He was told that, if he would not clear himself of these charges by his oath, he should be held as guilty, though not as in a criminal court, but only as before the council, who had no power to award a higher sentence than fine and imprisonment. As he utterly refused to yield to such a demand, he was fined by the council in £6000, being about the value of his whole estates. It was then supposed that the prosecution would cease, and that he would escape with the doom of a captive. For several months he continued shut up in a loathsome prison, which had such an effect upon his health that he was brought almost to the last extremity. Yet "all the while," to use the words of Bishop Burnet,² "he seemed so composed, and even so cheerful, that his behaviour looked like a reviving of the spirit of the noblest of the old Greeks or Romans, or rather of the primitive Christians and first martyrs in those last days of the church." At length, on the 23d of December, 1684,

he was brought before the court of judicary. He was now so weak as to be obliged to appear at the bar in his night-gown, and take frequent applications of cordials, which were supplied to him by his sister, the wife of Mr. Ker of Graden. The only evidence that could be produced was the confessions forced from his friends by torture, one of whom, the Rev. Mr. Carstairs, afterwards the distinguished principal of the Edinburgh university, had only emitted a declaration, on an express promise that no use was to be made of it. Mr. Baillie solemnly denied having been accessory to any conspiracy against the king's life, or being unfavourably disposed to monarchical government. He complained that his friends had been forced to bring forth untrue representations against him. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the whole extent of his offence was a *desire* to procure some amelioration of the measures, and not any change of the members of the government; we say *desire*, because it never could be proved that a single step had been taken in the matter, nor is there the least probability that it would have ever been heard of, but for the trials of several innocent persons.

A cavalier and contemporary writer has alleged that Mr. Baillie conducted himself on his trial in a very haughty and scornful manner—"very huffy and proud" is the expression used—but this probably is only the colour given by a political enemy to the Roman dignity which Burnet saw in his behaviour. After the evidence had been adduced, and when the lord-advocate had ended his charge, the following remarkable dialogue took place between him and that officer:—

"My lord, I think it very strange that you charge me with such abominable things; you may remember that when you came to me in person, you told me that such things were laid to my charge, but that you did not believe them. How then, my lord, did you come to lay such a stain upon me with so much violence? Are you now convinced in your conscience that I am more guilty than before? You may remember what passed betwixt us in prison."

The whole audience fixed their eyes upon the advocate, who appeared in no small confusion, and said,

"Jerviswood, I own what you say. My thoughts there were as a private man; but what I say here is by special direction of the privy-council. And," pointing to Sir William Paterson, clerk, "he knows my orders."

"Well," said Baillie, "if your lordship have one conscience for yourself, and another for the council, I pray God forgive you; I do. My lords," he added, "I trouble your lordships no further."

The assize was empanelled at midnight, and sat till nine in the morning of the succeeding day, when a verdict of guilty was returned against Mr. Baillie, and he was sentenced to be executed that afternoon at the cross, and his limbs to be afterwards exhibited on the jails of four different Scottish towns. The reason for such precipitation was the fear of his judges that a natural death would disappoint the wishes of the government, which called imperatively at this moment for a public example to terrify its opponents. Baillie only said, "My lords, the time is short, the sentence is sharp, but I thank my God, who hath made me as fit to die as you are to live." On returning to the prison he experienced what Wodrow describes as "a wonderful rapture of joy, from the assurance he had that in a few hours he should be inconceivably happy."

Mr. Baillie was attended to the scaffold by his faithful and affectionate sister. He had prepared an

¹ Mr. Rose, in his *Observations on Mr. Fox's History*, relates that the hope of a pardon being held out to him, on condition of his giving information respecting some friends supposed to be engaged with him, his answer was, "They who can make such a proposal to me neither know me nor my country;" an expression of which the latter part is amply justified by fact, for, as Lord John Russell has justly observed, in his *Memoirs of Lord William Russell*, "It is to the honour of Scotland, that [on this occasion] no witnesses came forward voluntarily to accuse their associates, as had been done in England."

² Burnet, being the nephew of Sir Archibald Johnstone, was cousin by marriage to Mr. Baillie.

address to the people; but knowing that he might be prevented from delivering it, he had previously given it to his friends in writing. It is said that the government afterwards offered to give up his body for burial, if his friends would agree to suppress this document. They appear to have rejected the proposition. The unfortunate gentleman was so weak that he required to be assisted in mounting the ladder: he betrayed, however, no symptom of moral weakness. Just before being consigned to his fate, he said, in the self-accusing spirit of true excellence, "My faint zeal for the Protestant religion has brought me to this end." His sister-in-law, with the stern virtue of her family, waited to the last.¹

"Thus," says Bishop Burnet, "a learned and worthy gentleman, after twenty months' hard usage, was brought to death, in a way so full, in all the steps of it, of the spirit and practice of the courts of inquisition, that one is tempted to think that the methods taken in it were suggested by one well studied, if not practised, in them. The only excuse that ever was pretended for this infamous prosecution was, that they were sure he was guilty; and that the whole secret of the negotiation between the two kingdoms was intrusted to him; and that, since he would not discover it, all methods might be taken to destroy him. Not considering what a precedent they made on this occasion, by which, if they were once possessed of an ill opinion of a man, they were to spare neither artifice nor violence, but to hunt him down by any means."

Dr. Owen has testified in a strong manner to the great abilities of the Scottish Sydney. Writing to a Scottish friend, he said, "You have truly men of great spirits among you; there is, for a gentleman, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, a person of the greatest abilities I ever almost met with."

Mr. Baillie's family was completely ruined by his forfeiture. He left a son, George Baillie, who, after his execution, was obliged to take refuge in Holland, whence he afterwards returned with the Prince of Orange, by whom he was restored to his estates. The wife of this gentleman was Miss Grizel Hume, daughter of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, a fellow-patriot of Mr. Robert Baillie. The occasion of their meeting was very remarkable. Miss Grizel, when a very young girl, was sent by her father from the country, to endeavour to convey a letter to Mr. Baillie in prison, and bring back what intelligence she could. She succeeded in this difficult enterprise; and having at the same time met with Mr. Baillie's son, the intimacy was formed, which was afterwards completed by their marriage.

BAIRD, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GENERAL SIR DAVID, a distinguished commander during the wars of the French revolution, was the second surviving son of William Baird, Esq., heir, by settlement, of his second cousin, Sir John Baird of Newbyth, Bart. He entered the army, December 16, 1772, as an ensign in the 2d foot, joined the regiment at Gibraltar, April, 1773, and returned to Britain in 1776. Having been promoted to a lieutenancy in 1778, he immediately after obtained a company in the 73d, a regiment then just raised by Lord Macleod, with which he sailed for India, and arrived at Madras, January, 1780.

This young regiment was here at once ushered

into the trying and hazardous scenes of the war against Hyder Ali, whom the English Company had provoked by a shameful breach of faith into a hostility that threatened to overwhelm it. In July, 1780, while the Company, exclusive of Lord Macleod's regiment, had only about 5000, men under arms, Hyder burst into the Carnatic with an army of 100,000 men, disciplined and commanded by French officers, and laid siege to Arcot, the capital of the only native prince friendly to the British. Sir Hector Munro, commander-in-chief of the Company's troops, set out to relieve this city on the 25th of August, expecting to be joined on the 30th by a large detachment then in the Northern Circars under Colonel Baillie. On learning this movement Hyder left Arcot, and threw himself in the way of Colonel Baillie. In order to favour, if possible, the approach of this officer, Sir Hector Munro, on the 5th of September, changed his position a little, and advanced two miles on the Trepassore road, which brought him within a short distance from the enemy. Hyder then detached his brother-in-law Meer Saib, with 8000 horse, to attack Colonel Baillie, and afterwards an additional force of 6000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and twelve pieces of cannon, under his son the celebrated Tippoo. He at the same time made demonstrations on his front, to keep up the attention of Sir Hector and the main army. Baillie, though commanding no more than 2000 sepoys and a few European companies, gained a complete victory over the immense force sent against him, but at the same time sent word to Sir Hector that, unless provision were made for accomplishing a junction, he must certainly be cut off. The commander-in-chief held a council of war, when it was determined at all hazards to send a reinforcement, for the purpose of achieving the relief of this gallant officer. A small force was selected, consisting principally of the grenadier and infantry companies of Lord Macleod's regiment, which, having received strict injunctions as to the necessity of a secret and expeditious march, set off towards Colonel Baillie's position, under the command of Colonel Fletcher and Captain Baird. Hyder Ali had secret intelligence of this movement, and sent a detachment to cut it off; but Colonel Fletcher and Captain Baird, having fortunately conceived some suspicion of their guides, suddenly altered their line of march, and were thereby enabled to gain their point. Hyder was determined that Colonel Baillie, with his friends, should not advance so safely to the main army. He therefore, with the most consummate ability, and under his own personal inspection, prepared an ambuscade at a particular pass through which they would have to march. This part of the road he had occupied and enfiladed with several batteries of cannon, behind which lay large bodies of his best foot, while he himself, with almost his whole force, was ready to support the attack. While these real dispositions were made, a cloud of irregular cavalry was employed in several motions on the side of Conjevaram, in order to divert the attention of the English camp.

The morning of the 10th of September had scarcely dawned, when the silent and expectant enemy perceived Colonel Baillie's little army advancing into the very toils planted to receive it. The ambuscade reserved their fire with admirable coolness and self-command, till the unhappy English were in the midst of them. The army marched in column. On a sudden, while in a narrow defile, a battery of twelve guns poured a storm of grape-shot into their right flank. The English faced about; another battery immediately opened on their rear. They had no alternative, therefore, but to

¹ "The Lady Graden, with a more than masculine courage, attended him on the scaffold till he was quartered, and went with the hangman and saw his quarters sodden, oyled, &c." (*Fountainhall's Notes*, 117, 118). It is scarcely possible for an individual accustomed to the feelings of modern society to believe such a statement.

advance; other batteries met them here likewise, and in less than half an hour 57 pieces of cannon were so brought to bear on them as to penetrate into every part of the British line. By seven o'clock in the morning the enemy poured down upon them in thousands, and every Englishman in the army was engaged. Captain Baird, at the head of his grenadiers, fought with the greatest heroism. Surrounded and attacked on all sides by 25,000 cavalry, by 30 regiments of sepoy infantry, besides Hyder Ali's European corps, and a numerous artillery playing upon them from all quarters within grape-shot distance, yet this heroic column stood firm and undaunted, alternately facing their enemies on every side of attack. The French officers in Hyder's camp beheld the scene with astonishment, which was increased when, in the midst of all this tumult and extreme peril, they saw the British grenadiers performing their evolutions with as much precision, coolness, and steadiness, as if under the eyes of a commander on a parade. At length, after a dubious contest of three hours (from six in the morning till nine), victory began to declare for the English, when an unlucky accident altered the fortune of the day. The tumbrils containing the ammunition suddenly blew up, with two dreadful explosions, in the centre of the British line. The whole face of their column was laid open, and their artillery overturned and destroyed. Tippoo Saib instantly seized the moment of advantage, and, without waiting for orders, fell with the Mogul and Carnatic horse into the broken square, which had not yet time to form anew. This attack by the enemy's cavalry being immediately seconded by the French corps, and by the first line of infantry, determined at once the fate of our unfortunate army. Out of 4000 sepoys and 800 Europeans who had commenced this engagement, only about 200 of the latter survived. Colonel Fletcher was among the slain, and Captain Baird was wounded in four places. When he and Colonel Baillie, with other captive officers, were taken before Hyder Ali, the latter gentleman said to the barbarous chief, "Your son will inform you that you owe the victory to our disaster, rather than to our defeat." Hyder angrily ordered them from his presence, and commanded them instantly to prison. The slaughter among the Mysore troops was very great, amounting, it is said, to three times the whole British army. When Sir Hector Munro learned the unhappy fate of his detachment, he found it necessary to retreat to Madras.

Captain Baird, with the officers, remained in a dungeon in one of Hyder's forts for three days and a half; he was chained by the leg to another prisoner, as much of the slaughter in Hyder's army was attributed to the grenadiers. At length, in July, 1784, he was released and joined his regiment at Arcot. In 1787 he removed with his regiment (now styled the 71st) to Bombay, and returned to Madras next year. On the 5th of June, 1789, he received the majority of the 71st, and in October obtained leave of absence, and returned to Britain. In 1791 he returned as lieutenant-colonel of the 71st, and joined the army under the Marquis Cornwallis. As commander of a brigade of sepoys, he was present at the attack of a number of droogs, or hill-forts, and at the siege of Seringapatam, in 1791 and 1792; and likewise at the storming of Tippoo Sultan's lines and camps in the island of Seringapatam. In 1793 he commanded a brigade of Europeans, and was present at the siege of Pondicherry. He received a colonelcy in 1795. In October, 1797, he embarked at Madras with his regiment for Europe; in December, when he arrived

at the Cape of Good Hope, he was appointed brigadier-general, and placed on that staff, in command of a brigade. June 18, 1798, he was appointed major-general, and returned to the staff in India. In January, 1799, he arrived at Madras, in command of two regiments of foot, together with the drafts of the 28th dragoons. May 4, he commanded the storming party at that distinguished action the assault of Seringapatam; when, in requital of his brilliant services, he was presented by the army, through the commander-in-chief, with the state sword of Tippoo Sultan, and also with a dress-sword from the field-officers serving under his immediate command at the assault.

The eminent merit of Brigadier-general Baird was now fully known and acknowledged by the government at home. He was therefore, in 1800, appointed to the command of an expedition against Batavia, but which was afterwards sent to Egypt. He landed at Cosair in June, crossed the desert, and, embarking on the Nile, descended to Grand Cairo; whence he set out for Alexandria, which he reached a few days before it surrendered to General Hutchison. Next year he led the Egyptian-Indian army overland to India, where he was concerned in various military transactions. His services, however, being soon after superseded by Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the illustrious protector of Europe), he sailed for Britain with his staff, March, 1803, and after a tedious voyage, during which he was taken prisoner by a French privateer, but afterwards retaken, he arrived in England in November.

Sir David Baird was received at the British court with great distinction. In December he received the royal permission to wear the Turkish order of the Crescent. In June, 1804, he received the honour of knighthood; and on the 18th of August following became a knight-companion of the Bath. With the increased rank of lieutenant-general he commanded an expedition which sailed in October, 1805, for the Cape of Good Hope. Landing there, January 6, 1806, he attacked and beat the Dutch army, and on the 18th received the surrender of the colony. Being recalled, he arrived in Britain, April, 1807, and was shifted from the colonelcy of the 54th, which he had held for some years, to that of the 24th, and placed on the foreign staff under General Lord Cathcart. He commanded a division at the siege of Copenhagen, where he was twice slightly wounded; and returned with the army in November.

After a short period of service in Ireland, Sir David sailed in command of an armament of 10,000 men for Corunna, where he arrived in November, 1808, and formed a junction with the army under General Sir John Moore. He commanded the first division of that army, and in the battle of Corunna, January 16, 1809, he lost his left arm.

By the death of Sir John Moore in this action, Sir David succeeded to the chief command, and had the honour of communicating intelligence of the victory to government. On this occasion he received, for the fourth time in his life, the thanks of parliament, and, April 13, was created a baronet, with very honourable armorial bearings allusive to the transactions of his life. After this period he never again appeared in active service. In 1810 he married Miss Preston Campbell, of Ferntower and Lochlane, Perthshire, by whom he left no issue. In 1814 he was promoted to the rank of general, and in 1819 became governor of Kinsale in Ireland, and in 1827 of Fort George in the north of Scotland. This brave veteran died at an advanced age, August 18, 1829, at his seat of Ferntower in Perthshire. His lady, who survived him till 1847, erected a monu-

ment to his memory on the top of a romantic hill, named Tom-na-chaisleil (*i.e.* the hill of the castle), in the neighbourhood of Ferntower.

BALCANQUEL, WALTER, D.D., an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was the son of the Rev. Walter Balcanquel, who was a minister of Edinburgh for forty-three years, and died in August, 1616. Dr. Walter Balcanquel was born at Edinburgh. It has been supposed that he was himself a minister of Edinburgh; but probably the writer who makes this statement only mistakes him for his father, who bore the same name. He entered a bachelor of divinity at Pembroke Hall, Oxford, where, September 8th, 1611, he was admitted a fellow. He appears to have enjoyed the patronage and friendship of King James, and his first preferment was to be one of the royal chaplains. In 1617 he became Master of the Savoy in the Strand, London; which office, however, he soon after resigned in favour of Mark Antony de Domini, Archbishop of Spalatro, who came to England on account of religion, and became a candidate for the king's favour. In 1618 Dr. Balcanquel was sent to the celebrated synod of Dort, as one of the representatives of the Church of Scotland. He has given an account of a considerable part of the proceedings of this grand religious council, in a series of letters to Sir Dudley Carleton, which are to be found in *The Golden Remains of the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales of Eaton*, 4to, 1673. In 1621, the Archbishop of Spalatro having resigned the mastership of the Savoy, Dr. Balcanquel was re-appointed; and on the 12th of March, 1624, being then doctor of divinity, he was installed Dean of Rochester. George Heriot, at his death, February 12th, 1624, ordained Dr. Balcanquel to be one of the three executors of his last will, and to take the principal charge of the establishment of his hospital at Edinburgh. Probably the experience which he had already acquired in the management of the Savoy Hospital might be the chief cause of his being selected for this important duty. Heriot appointed Dr. Balcanquel, by his will, "to repair with all the convenience he can, after my decease, to the town of Edinburgh," in order to conclude with the magistrates about the business of the hospital; allowing him, for his pains, in addition to the sum of one hundred merks, which he enjoyed as an ordinary executor, one hundred pounds sterling, payable by two equal instalments—the first three months after the decease of the testator, and the second at the completion of the hospital.

Dr. Balcanquel is entitled to no small commendation for the able manner in which he discharged this great and onerous trust. The statutes, which, in terms of the testator's will, were drawn up by him, are dated 1627, and do great credit to his sagacity and practical good sense.

Dr. Balcanquel's next appearance in the public concerns of his native country was of a less happy character. In 1638, when Charles I. sent down the Marquis of Hamilton to Scotland, to treat with the Covenanters, the Dean of Rochester accompanied his grace in the capacity of chaplain. What was his external behaviour on this occasion we do not know; but it was afterwards surmised by the Covenanters, that he had been deputed by Archbishop Laud as a spy, at once upon the marquis, who was suspected of moderation, and the people with whom he was dealing. It is asserted by Sir James Balfour, in his *Memorials of State*, that Dr. Balcanquel also communicated intelligence of all that happened in Scotland to Signor George Con, the pope's legate, "as

some of his intercepted letters can beare recorde." Early in the ensuing year was published an apologetical narrative of the court-proceedings, under the title of *His Majesties Large Declaration, concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland*, which by universal and apparently uncontradicted report was ascribed to the pen of Dr. Balcanquel. While this work was received by the friends of the king as a triumphant vindication of his attempts upon the purity of the Scottish church, it only excited new indignation in the minds of the outraged people, who soon after appeared in arms at Dunse Law, to defend their religious freedom with the sword. On the 14th of May, 1639, at the very time when the armies were about to meet on the borders, Dr. Balcanquel, apparently in requital of his exertions, was installed Dean of Durham. He had now rendered himself a marked man to the Scottish Presbyterians, and accordingly his name is frequently alluded to in their publications as an "incendiary." Under this character he was denounced by the Scottish estates, July 29, 1641, along with the Earl of Traquair, Sir John Hay, clerk register, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, and Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, all of whom were regarded as the principal causes of the war between the king and his people. In the *Canterburian's Self-conviction*, a pamphlet written in 1641, by the Rev. Robert Baillie, against Archbishop Laud, he is spoken of in a style of such asperity, as might have convinced him that, in the event of a complete triumph of the Presbyterian party, he would share in the proceedings which were now directed against that unhappy prelate. Accordingly, the very next year, when the king could no longer protect his partisans, Dr. Balcanquel was forced from his mastership of the Savoy, plundered, sequestered, and obliged to flee from London. Repairing to Oxford, he attached himself to the precarious fortunes of his sovereign, and for several years afterwards had to shift about from place to place, wherever he could find security for his life. At length, having taken refuge in Chirk Castle, Denbighshire, he died there in a very cold season, on Christmas day, 1645. He was buried next day in the parish church of Chirk, where, some years after, a splendid monument was erected to his memory by a neighbouring royalist, Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk Castle.

BALFOUR, ALEXANDER. This novelist, poet, and miscellaneous writer was a native of the parish of Monikie, Forfarshire, and was born on the 1st of March, 1767. As he was a twin, and born of parents in humble life, his support in childhood and means of education might have equally been precarious, had he not been supported in boyhood by a friend of the family, who also bestowed upon him such a religious training as not only developed his talents, but fitted him for those adversities which were afterwards to be his lot.

Having received a very limited education at the parish school, where, however, he distinguished himself at the age of twelve years by his attempts in English composition, Alexander Balfour was apprenticed to a weaver; but disliking this occupation, which gave no scope for his growing talents, he returned home, and betook himself to the more congenial attempt of teaching a private school. In this way he also taught himself, and during the intervals of his daily toil gave proofs of his growing proficiency, by writing several articles for the provincial newspapers, and also for Dr. Anderson's miscellany, *The Bee*. After he had wielded the ferula long enough in a rustic seminary to find that he was fit for something better, Balfour in his twenty-sixth

year removed to the thriving town of Arbroath, and became clerk to a sail-cloth manufacturer, on the death of whom he entered into partnership in business with the widow of the deceased; and upon her death, in 1800, he took another partner into the firm. A government contract into which they had entered for supplying the navy with canvas made their business a prosperous one, and Balfour, now in circumstances of comfort, was able to cultivate his literary tastes, and correspond with the learned and talented of the Scottish capital. Having married also in 1794, the year after his arrival in Arbroath, he, in 1814, when he found himself father of a rising family, removed to a country residence at Trottick, near Dundee. Here he also undertook the management of the branch of a London house which for many years had been connected with his own firm, and into which he embarked his whole fortune. But it was an unfortunate mercantile speculation, as in 1815 the mercantile reaction which had occurred on the sudden restoration of peace ruined the London establishment, and Balfour found himself reduced by the unforeseen stroke to utter bankruptcy.

Being thus reduced to his original poverty, with the bitterness of disappointment and failure added to it, the subject of this memoir was fain to accept the situation of manager at a manufacturing establishment in Balgonie, Fifeshire. Resigning this appointment, he afterwards, in 1818, removed to Edinburgh, where he became a clerk in the establishment of Mr. Blackwood, the eminent publisher. Here however a worse calamity than that of mere bankruptcy in fortune awaited him, for in 1819 symptoms of paralysis in his constitution began to appear, which in October became so confirmed that he was obliged to be moved in a wheeled chair. It was well that the vigour of his mind and his literary aptitudes were still untouched, as these were henceforth to form his only occupation as well as means of subsistence.

Being now an author by compulsion as well as choice, Balfour bravely girded himself for the task; and his first production under these circumstances, and upon which he had been some time previously employed, was the novel entitled *Campbell, or the Probationer*, which was published in 1819. It was a subject seldom attempted, as it comprised the literary exertions, the privations, the sorrows, and disappointments of a licentiate of the church scrambling for the bare means of life while in search of a living—the manifold changes of occupation he must undergo, and the unmerited rebuffs he must endure in such a pilgrimage, now happily so rare, but which were so abundant about forty years ago, out of which Balfour contrived to manufacture a marvellous tale of mirth, pathos, and varied incident. It was suited to the day and has now passed into oblivion; but at its appearance it became highly popular, and being published anonymously, the interest of it was heightened, and the public was anxious to know the name and circumstances of the author. After this his pen was not allowed to lie idle, and from his wheeled chair his productions issued with a rapidity that would have been wonderful, had not authorship been not merely his only occupation but his solace. In the same year that his novel of *Campbell* appeared, he edited the poetical works of his deceased friend Richard Gall, to which he also supplied a biographical preface. In 1822 he produced a three-volume novel entitled *The Farmer's Three Daughters*, and this in 1823 was followed by *The Foundling of Glenethorn, or the Smuggler's Cave*, also in three volumes. It was unfortunate, however, that the last two novels proceeded from the Minerva press, a circumstance sufficient to condemn them to

neglect let their merits be what they might. It was not to prose alone that Balfour confined himself, and in 1820 he published *Contemplation, and other Poems*, in one volume 8vo, which added considerably to his literary reputation. To the *Scots Magazine* he had long been a contributor, and on the establishment of Constable's *Edinburgh Magazine* his services were secured for it by Thomas Pringle, its editor. His contributions to this periodical during the nine years of its existence were so numerous, that of themselves they would have filled three octavo volumes; and the articles embraced a variety of themes, but chiefly the manners of Scottish rural life—the theme in which his commencing novel of *Campbell* had excelled, and in which he showed himself completely at home. To Constable's *Magazine* he also contributed many articles in verse, the chief of which were "Characters omitted in Crabbe's Parish Register." In these the delineations were so truthful and striking, and the versification so musical and terse, that they were perused with pleasure and surprise, and thought to be scarcely inferior to those of Crabbe himself. In consequence of this favourable reception, Balfour was induced to publish these sketches in one volume in 1825. In 1827, in consequence of an application from Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., Mr. Canning conferred on Balfour a treasury donation of £100, in consideration of his genius and misfortunes. Alexander Balfour, in addition to his other literary labours, was until his death a copious contributor to the *Edinburgh Literary Gazette*. The last novel which he published was *Highland Mary*, in four volumes, a work of considerable beauty and pathos, and soon after he died on the 12th of September, 1829. After his death, a volume of his remains was collected and published under the title of *Weeds and Wild-flowers*, by Mr. D. M. Moir, M.D., who also prefixed an excellent memoir of the author.

During the long illness of Alexander Balfour, and the necessity of constant labour for the wants of the day, he bore up not only with resignation and patience, but constant cheerfulness. Although so long a prisoner to his chair, a continual smile was upon his lips; and notwithstanding an impediment in his speech, the effect of his malady, his conversation was always cheerful, and enriched with thought and humour. He was also rigidly temperate in his habits, affectionate in his relationships of father and husband, and religious in his feelings and principles. Upon few indeed have misfortunes and sufferings sat more amiably than upon Alexander Balfour.

BALFOUR, SIR ANDREW, Bart., M.D., who first introduced the dissection of the human body into Scotland, and that at a very superstitious period; who projected the first hospital in the country for the relief of disease and poverty at the public expense; who was the founder of the botanic garden at Edinburgh, and almost the father of the science in Scotland; who planned the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh; and bequeathed to the public a museum, which at that time would have been an ornament to any university or any metropolis—was the fifth and youngest son of Sir Michael Balfour of Denmylne in Fife, and was born at that place on the 18th of January, 1630. He prosecuted his studies in the university of St. Andrews, where he took his degree of A.M. At this period his education was superintended by his brother Sir James Balfour, the famous antiquary, and Lyon king-at-arms to Charles I., who was about thirty years older than himself. At college he first discovered his attachment to botany, which in him is said to have led to the study of

physic, instead of being, as it generally is, a hand-maid to that art. Quitting the university about the year 1650, he removed to London, where his medical studies were chiefly directed by the celebrated Harvey, by Sir Theodore Mayerne the distinguished physician of King James I., and various other eminent practitioners. He afterwards travelled to Blois in France, and remained there for some time, to see the botanic garden of the Duke of Orleans, which was then the best in Europe, and was kept by his countryman Dr. Morison. Here he contracted a warm friendship for that great botanist, which continued unimpaired while they lived. From Blois he went to Paris, where, for a long time, he prosecuted his medical studies with great ardour. He completed his education at the university of Caen, from which he received the degrees of bachelor and doctor of physic, on the 20th of September, 1661.

Returning to London soon afterwards, Dr. Balfour was introduced to Charles II., who named him as the most proper person to attend the young Earl of Rochester on his continental travels. After an absence of four years, he returned with his pupil in 1667. During their tour he endeavoured, and at that time not without some appearance of success, to recall that abandoned young nobleman to the paths of virtue, and to inspire him with the love of learning. Rochester himself often acknowledged, and to Bishop Burnet in particular, only three days before his death, how much he was bound to love and honour Dr. Balfour, to whom, next to his parents, he thought he owed more than to all the world.

On returning to his native country, Balfour settled at St. Andrews as a physician. "He brought with him," says Dr. Walker, in his *Essays on Natural History*, "the best library, especially in medicine and natural history, that had till then appeared in Scotland; and not only these, but a perfect knowledge of the languages in which they were written; likewise many unpublished manuscripts of learned men, a series of antique medals, modern medallions, and pictures and busts, to form the painter and the architect; the remarkable arms, vestments, and ornaments of foreign countries; numerous mathematical, philosophical, and surgical instruments, which he not only possessed, but used; with operations in surgery till then unknown in this country; a complete cabinet with all the simples of the *materia medica*, and new compositions in pharmacy; and large collections of the fossils, plants, and animals, not only of the foreign countries he traversed, but of the most distant parts of the world."

Dr. Balfour's merit was too conspicuous to suffer him to remain long at St. Andrews. In the year 1670 he removed to Edinburgh, where he immediately came into great practice. Here, among other improvements, he prosecuted the manufacture of paper, and was the means of introducing that valuable art into the country—though for many years it remained in a state of complete or nearly complete dormancy; the people deriving stationary articles of all kinds from Holland. Adjoining to his house he had a small botanic garden, which he furnished by the seeds he received from his foreign correspondents; and in this garden he raised many plants which were then first introduced into Scotland. One of his fellow-labourers in this department was Patrick Murray of Livingston, whom he had initiated into the study of natural history. This young gentleman, who enjoyed an ample fortune, formed at his seat in the country a botanic garden, containing 1000 species of plants, which at that period was a very large collection. He traversed the whole of France in quest of the plants of that country; and on his

way to Italy he prematurely died of a fever. Soon after his death Dr. Balfour transferred Murray's collection from Livingston to Edinburgh; and with it, joined to his own, he had the merit of laying the foundation of the public botanic garden. The necessary expense of this new institution was at first defrayed by Dr. Balfour, Sir Robert Sibbald, and the Faculty of Advocates. But at length the city allotted a piece of ground near Trinity College church for a public garden, and out of the revenues of the university allowed a certain sum for its support. As the first keeper of this garden, Dr. Balfour selected Mr. James Sutherland; who, in 1684, published a work entitled *Hortus Edinburgensis*. (See SUTHERLAND.) The new institution soon became considerable: plants and seeds were sent from Morison at Oxford, Watts at London, Marchant at Paris, Herman at Leyden, and Spottiswood at Tangier. From the last were received many African plants, which flourished in this country.

Such efforts as these, by a native Scotsman, occurring at a time when the attention of the country seems to have been almost exclusively devoted to contending systems of church-government, are truly grateful to contemplate. It is only to be lamented, that the spirit which presided over them was premature in its appearance; it found no genial field to act upon, and it was soon forgotten in the prevailing distraction of the public mind. Sir Andrew Balfour was the morning-star of science in Scotland, but he might almost be said to have set before the approach of day.

He was created a baronet by Charles II., which seems to indicate that, like most men of literary and scientific character in that age, he maintained a sentiment of loyalty to the existing dynasty and government, which was fast decaying from the nation. His interest with the ministry, and with the municipality of Edinburgh, seems to have always been considerable, and was uniformly exerted for the public good and for the encouragement of merit.

Upon his settlement in Edinburgh, he had found the medical art taught in a very loose and irregular manner. In order to place it on a more respectable footing, he planned, with Sir Robert Sibbald, the Royal College of Physicians; and of that respectable society his brethren elected him the first president. When the college undertook the publication of a *Pharmacopœia*, the whole arrangement of the *materia medica* was committed to his particular care. For such a task he was eminently qualified by his skill in natural history. This performance made its appearance in 1685; and, in the opinion of Dr. Cullen, it is superior to any *pharmacopœia* of that era.

Not long before his decease, his desire to promote the science of medicine in his native country, joined to the universal humanity of his disposition, led him to project the foundation of an hospital in Edinburgh. The institution was at first narrow and confined, but it survived to be expanded into full shape, as the Royal Infirmary, under the care of George Drummond. Sir Andrew died in 1694, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after a severe conflict with the gout and other painful disorders; which afforded him an opportunity of displaying, upon the approach of death, those virtues and that equanimity which had distinguished him during his life. His person, like his mind and manners, was elegant. He was possessed of a handsome figure, with a pleasing and expressive countenance; of a graceful elocution; and, by his natural disposition, as well as his long intercourse with the higher ranks in society, of a most courteous and polite demeanour. A print of him was executed at Paris; but no copy is known to exist.

His library and museum were the anxious result of fourteen years of travelling, and between twenty and thirty more of correspondence. For their accommodation he had built an addition to his house when he had nearly arrived at his fortieth year; but after the building was completed, he found himself so infirm as to be unable to place them in that order which he intended. After his death his library, consisting of about 3000 volumes, besides manuscripts, was sold, we suppose by public auction. There is a printed catalogue still extant. His museum was deposited in the hall which was, till 1829, occupied as the university library. There it remained many years, useless and neglected; some parts of it falling to inevitable decay, and other parts being abstracted. "Yet, even after 1750," says Dr. Walker, "it still continued a considerable collection, which I have good reason to remember, as it was the sight of it, about that time, that first inspired me with an attachment to natural history. Soon after that period," to pursue a narrative so deeply disgraceful to the age and the institution referred to, "it was dislodged from the hall where it had been long kept; was thrown aside, and exposed as lumber; was further and further dilapidated, and at length almost completely demolished. In the year 1782, out of its ruins and rubbish I extracted many pieces still valuable and useful, and placed them here in the best order I could. These, I hope, may remain long, and be considered as so many precious relics of one of the best and greatest men this country has produced."

From the account that has been given of Sir Andrew Balfour, every person conversant in natural history or medicine must regret that he never appeared as an author. To his friend Mr. Murray of Livingston he addressed a series of familiar letters, for the direction of his researches while abroad. These letters, forming the only literary relics of Balfour, were subsequently published by his son, in the year 1700.

BALFOUR, SIR JAMES, an eminent lawyer and public character of the sixteenth century, was a son of Balfour of Monquhanny, in Fife, a very ancient family. In youth, being designed for the church, he made considerable proficiency, not only in ordinary literature, but in the study of divinity and law; which were all alike necessary in those times for an ecclesiastic, on account of the mixed character which the age admitted to be assumed by such individuals. Balfour, while still a young man, was so unfortunate as to join with the conspirators who, after assassinating Cardinal Beaton, held out the castle of St. Andrews against the governor Arran. He seems, however, not to have been a very cordial partizan of the conspirators. John Knox, in his own vigorous and plain-spoken manner, styled him the *Blasphemous Balfour*, on account of his having refused to communicate along with his reforming associates. Balfour shared the fate of his companions in being sent to the French galleys,¹ and was confined in the

same vessel along with Knox, from which he escaped in 1550, along with the rest, by the tacit permission of the French government.

Balfour seems to have afterwards joined in the proceedings of the reformers, but only with courtier-like temperance, and without exhibiting much zeal in the Protestant cause. He was preferred to the ecclesiastical appointment of official of Lothian, and afterwards became rector of Flisk, a parish in his native county. In 1563 he was appointed by Queen Mary to be a lord of session, the court then being composed partly of churchmen and partly of laics. In 1564, when the commissary court was instituted in place of the ecclesiastical tribunal, which had been dissolved at the Reformation, Balfour became one of the four commissaries, with a salary of 400 merks, while the others had only 300. In July, 1565, the queen extended the further favour of admitting him into her privy-council.

Balfour was one of those servants of the state who, being advanced rather on account of merit than birth, used at all times to give great offence to the Scottish nobility. It seems to have never been supposed by this haughty class, that there was the least necessity for talented or faithful service in the officials employed by majesty; birth and *following* were the only qualifications allowed by them to be of any value. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that the same conspiracy which overthrew the "kinless" adventurer Rizzio, contemplated the destruction of Balfour. He was so fortunate, however, as to escape, and even derived some advantage from the event, being promoted to the office of clerk-register, in room of Mr. James Macgill, who was concerned in the conspiracy. He was also about this time made a knight, and appointed to be one of the commissioners for revising, correcting, and publishing the ancient laws and statutes of the kingdom.

In the beginning of the year 1567 Sir James Balfour was appointed governor of Edinburgh Castle. In this important situation he naturally became an object of great solicitude to the confederate lords, who, in the ensuing May, commenced a successful rebellion against Queen Mary. It would appear that Sir James was not now more loyal than many other persons who had experienced the favour of Mary. He is said to have even been the means of throwing into the hands of the confederates that celebrated box of letters upon which they endeavoured to ground the proof of her guilt. There can be no doubt that he was at this time in the way of receiving high favours from the Earl of Murray, who was the chief man opposed to the dethroned queen. He was, in September, 1567, admitted by Murray a lord of his privy-council, and made commendator of the priory of Pittenweem; and in December, a bargain was accomplished, by which he agreed to accept a pension of £500 and the presidency of the court of session, in lieu of the clerk-registry, which Murray wished to be restored to his friend Macgill. Sir James continued faithful to the party which opposed Queen Mary till the death of Murray, January, 1569-70, when he was in some measure compelled to revert to the queen's side, on account of a charge preferred against him by the succeeding regent,

land and see if he knew it. Though at that time very sick, he replied, 'Yes, I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory: and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place.' This striking reply Sir James repeated in the presence of many witnesses, a number of years before Knox returned to Scotland, and when there was very little prospect of his words being verified."—*Life of Knox*, 1st edit. p. 53.

¹ The following anecdote of Balfour in connection with Knox is related by Dr. M'Crie:—"The galleys returned to Scotland in summer 1548, as near as I can collect, and continued for a considerable time on the east coast, to watch for English vessels. Knox's health was now greatly impaired by the severity of his confinement, and he was seized with a fever, during which his life was despaired of by all in the ship. But even in this state his fortitude of mind remained unsubdued, and he comforted his fellow-prisoners with hopes of release. To their anxious desponding inquiries, natural to men in their situation, 'If he thought they would ever obtain their liberty,' his uniform answer was, 'God will deliver us to his glory, even in this life.' While they lay on the coast between Dundee and St. Andrews, Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Balfour, who was confined in the same ship, desired him to look at the

Lennox, who taxed him with a share in the murder of Darnley. For this accusation no proof was ever adduced, but even allowing Sir James to have been guilty, it will only add another to the list of great men concerned in the transaction, and show the more clearly how neither learning, rank, official dignity, nor any other ennobling qualification, prevented a man in those days from staining his hands with blood. Balfour outlived Lennox, and was serviceable in bringing about the pacification between the king's and queen's party, under Morton, in 1573. He would appear to have been encouraged by Morton in the task of revising the laws of the country, which he at length completed in a style allowed at that time to be most masterly. Morton afterwards thought proper to revive the charge brought by Lennox against Sir James, who was consequently obliged to retire to France, where he lived for some years. He returned in 1580, and revenged the persecution of Morton, by producing against him, on his trial, a deed to which he had acceded, in common with others of the Scottish nobility, alleging Bothwell's innocence of the king's murder, and recommending him to the queen as a husband. Sir James died before the 14th of January, 1583-4. As a politician his time-serving character, and facility with which he veered from one party to the other, was pithily characterized by the saying, "He wagged as the bush wagged." Each change of the political wind could be discovered by the changes of Sir James.

The *Practicks of Scots Law*, compiled by Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, president of the court of session, continued to be used and consulted in manuscript, both by students and practitioners, till nearly a century after his decease, when it was for the first time supplanted by the *Institutes* of Lord Stair. Even after that event it was held as a curious repository of the old practices of Scottish law, besides fulfilling certain uses not answered by the work of Lord Stair. It was therefore printed in 1754 by the Ruddimans, along with an accurate biographical preface by Walter Goodal. The work was of considerable service to Dr. Jamieson in his *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*.

BALFOUR, SIR JAMES, an eminent antiquary, herald, and annalist, was born about the close of the sixteenth century. He was the eldest son of a small Fife laird, Michael Balfour of Denmylne, who derived his descent from James, son of Sir John Balfour of Balgarvy, a cadet¹ of the ancient and honourable house of Balfour of Balfour in Fife. James Balfour, the ancestor of Sir Michael, had obtained the estate of Denmylne from James II., in the fourteenth year of his reign, which corresponds with 1450-1. Michael Balfour, the father of Sir James, and also of Sir Andrew, whose life has been already commemorated, was, in the words of Sir Robert Sibbald, "equally distinguished for military bravery and civil prudence." He bore the honourable office of comptroller of the Scottish household, in the reign of Charles I., and in 1630 was knighted at Holyrood House by George, Viscount Dupplin, chancellor of Scotland, under his majesty's special warrant. This eminent personage was, by Jean Durham, daughter of James Durham of Pitarrow, the father of five sons, all of whom attained to distinction in public life, besides nine daughters, who all formed honourable alliances except two, who died unmarried. He

lived to see three hundred of his own descendants, a number which his youngest son, Sir Andrew, lived to see doubled.

Sir Michael Balfour gave his eldest son an education suitable to the extended capacity which he displayed in his earliest years. This education, of which the fruits are apparent in his taste and writings, was accompanied by a thorough initiation into the duties of religion, as then professed on a Presbyterian model. The genius of the future antiquary was first exhibited in a turn for poetry, which was a favourite study among the scholars of that period, even where there was no particular aptitude to excel in its composition, but for which Sir James Balfour appears to have had a genuine taste.

No specimens indeed of his poetry have survived, but the poetical temperament of Sir James, and the courtly grace which generally is, and ever ought to be, the accompaniment of that character, is shown in the following epistle to a lady, which we consider a very elegant specimen of the English prose of the age of Charles I., and, indeed, singularly so, when the native country of the writer is considered:—

"TO A LADY FOR A FRIEND,

"Madam,—You must appardone me if, after the remembring of my best love to you, I should rander you hartly thanks for your affectione, since thankes are the best knowen blossomes of the hartes strongest desyres. I never, for my pairt, doubtit of your affectione, bot persuadit myselve that so good a creature could never prove unconstant; and altho the fairest dayes may have some stormy overshadowings, yet I perswade myselve that these proceids not from heavenly thinges, bot from vapors arising from below, and though they for a tyme conte[ract] the sun's heat, yet make they that heat in the end to be more powerfull. I hope your friends sall have all the contentment that layes in my power to gif them: And, since Malice itelve can not judge of you bot noble, I wisch that tyme make your affectione als constant, as my harte sall ever prove, and remaine loyall; and lest I seime to weirey you more than myselve, again I must beg pardone for all my oversights (if you think of any) wich will be a rare perfectione of goodness in you to forgive freely, and love constantly him quhosse greatest happines under heaven is always to leive and die

"Your trewly affectionat servant."

Sir James seems to have spent some of the years subsequent to 1626 in foreign countries, where he is said to have improved himself much by observing the manners of nations more polished than his own, and by forming the acquaintance of eminent literary men. At the close of his continental travels he spent some time in London, and obtained the friendship of the distinguished antiquary Sir Robert Cotton, and also of Sir William Segar, garter king-at-arms. He had now turned his attention to the study of heraldry, and the friendship of these men was of material service in the completion of what might be called his professional education. He also contracted a literary acquaintance with Roger Dodsworth and Sir William Dugdale, to whom he communicated several charters and other pieces of information regarding Scottish ecclesiastical antiquities, which they attached to their *Monasticon Anglicanum*, under the title *Cenobia Scotica*.

Besides these antiquarian friends, Balfour secured several others of a more courtly complexion, who were natives of his own country. He enjoyed the friendship of Sir Robert Aytoun, the poetical courtier, with whom he afterwards became distantly connected by marriage. He was also on the most

¹ This branch was ennobled in 1607, in the person of Michael Balfour of Balgarvy, who, having served King James in several embassies to the principal courts of Europe, was created Lord Balfour of Burleigh. This peerage was attained in consequence of the concern of its occupant in the civil war of 1715.

familiar terms with another poetical attendant on the elegant court of Charles I.—the Earl of Stirling. His chief patron, however, was George, Viscount Dupplin,¹ who held the high and almost vice-regal office of chancellor of Scotland. By the recommendation of this nobleman, aided by his own excellent qualifications, he was created by Charles I. lord-lyon king-at-arms, a dignified legal office in Scotland, in which resides the management of all matters connected with armorial honours, as also all public ceremonials. Sir Jerome Lyndsay having previously resigned the office, Balfour was crowned and installed at Holyrood House, June 15, 1630, having in the preceding month been invested with the necessary honour of knighthood by the king. On this occasion Lord Dupplin officiated as royal commissioner.

Sir James Balfour now settled in Scotland, in the enjoyment of his office. On the 21st of October he was married to Anna Aiton, daughter of Sir John Aiton of that ilk, and in January, 1631, he obtained, in favour of himself and his spouse, a grant of the lands and barony of Kinnaird in Fife. In December, 1633, he was created a baronet by Charles I., probably in consequence of the able manner in which he marshalled the processions and managed the other ceremonials of the royal visit that year. At this period of peace and prosperity a number of learned and ingenious men were beginning to exert themselves in Scotland. It was a peaceful interval between the desolating civil wars of the minority of King James and the equally unhappy contest which was soon after incited by religious and political dissensions. Like soldiers enjoying themselves during a truce, the people were beginning to seek for and cultivate various sources of amusement in the more elegant arts. This was the era of Jamieson the painter—of Drummond the poet—of the geographer Pont—and the historians Spottiswood, Calderwood, Johnston, and Hume.² Sir James Balfour, inspired with the common spirit of these men, commenced the writing of history with as much zeal as could be expected in an age when, the printing of a written work being a comparatively rare occurrence, literature might be said to want the greater part of its temptations.

Sir James, as already mentioned, had been bred a strict Presbyterian. In this profession he continued to the last, notwithstanding that, in politics, he was an equally firm royalist. In a letter to a young nobleman (Correspondence, Advocates' Library) he is found advising a perusal of "Calvine, Beza, Parens, and Whittaker," as "orthodox writers."

¹ Afterwards created Earl of Kinnoul, on the occasion of the coronation of King Charles at Edinburgh in 1633. Sir James Balfour relates the following curious anecdote of his lordship. The king, in 1626, had commanded, by a letter to his privy council, that the Archbishop of St. Andrews should have precedence of the chancellor. To this his lordship would never submit. "I remember," says Sir James, "that K. Charles sent me to the lord-chancellor on the day of his coronation, in the morning, to show him that it was his will and pleasure, but only for that day, that he would cede and give way to the archbishop; but he returned by me to his majesty a very bruske answer, which was, that he was ready in all humility to lay his office doune at his majestie's feet; but since it was his royal will he should enjoy it with the known privileges of the same, never a priest in Scotland should sett a foot before him, so long as his blood was hote. Quhen I had related his answer to the kinge, he said, 'Weel, Lyone, lets goe to business: I will not meddle farther with that olde cankered gootish man, at quhose hand ther is nothing to be gained bot soure words.'" What makes this anecdote the more expressively illustrative of the rancour with which the secular officers and nobility beheld the newly dignified clergy is, that the lord-chancellor had just on the preceding afternoon been raised to the rank of Earl of Kinnoul.

² David Hume of Godscroft, author of the *History of the House of Douglas*.

When the introduction of the liturgy imposed by Charles I. roused Scotland from one end to the other in a fit of righteous indignation, Sir James Balfour, notwithstanding his connection with the government, joined cordially with his countrymen, and wrote an account of the tumult of the 23d of July, under the burlesque title of *Stoneyfield Day*.

But, though indignant, in common with all people of his own persuasion, at the religious innovations attempted by the government, Sir James appears to have very soon adopted different feelings. Like many moderate persons who had equally condemned the ill-advised conduct of the king, he afterwards began to fear that the opposition would produce greater mischiefs than the evil which was opposed.

It was probably in consequence of this feeling that he retired to the royal hunting-palace of Falkland, where, and at his seat of Kinnaird, he devoted himself to those studies by which the present may be forgotten in the past. His annals, however, show that he still occasionally appeared in public affairs in his capacity of lord-lyon. It is also clear that his political sentiments must have been of no obtrusive character, as he continued in his office during the whole term of the civil war, and was only at last deprived of it by Cromwell. During his rural retirement at Falkland and Kinnaird, he collected many manuscripts relative to heraldry, and wrote many others in his own language, of which some are preserved in the Advocates' Library, while others were either lost at the capture of Perth (1651), to which town he had conveyed them for safety, or have since been dispersed. Persevering with particular diligence in illustrating the *History of Scotland*, he had recourse to the ancient charters and diplomas of the kingdom, the archives of monasteries, and registers of cathedral churches, and in his library was a great number of chronicles of monasteries, both originals and the abridgments; but it is to be deeply regretted that many of these valuable manuscripts fell into the hands of children, or perished in the flames during the civil wars. A few only were opportunely rescued from destruction by those who were acquainted with their value. The style of these monastic chronicles was indeed rude and barbarous; but they were remarkable for the industry, judgment, and fidelity to truth, with which they were compiled. For some time after the erection of monasteries in this kingdom, these writers were almost the only, and certainly the most respectable, observers in literature, as scarcely any other persons preserved in writing the memory of the important occurrences of the times. In these registers and chronicles were to be found an accurate record of transactions with foreign powers, whether in forming alliances, contracting marriages of state, or regulating commerce; letters and bulls of the holy see; answers, edicts, and statutes of kings; church rescripts; provincial constitutions; acts of parliament; battles; deaths of eminent persons; epitaphs and inscriptions; and sometimes the natural appearances of the seasons; the prevalent diseases; miracles and prodigies; the heresies that sprung up, with an account of the authors and their punishments. In short, they committed to writing every important occurrence in church and state, that any question arising in after-ages might be settled by their authority, and the unanimous confirmation of their faithful and accurate chronicles. In collecting and preserving these manuscripts, Balfour therefore raised a monument to his memory which the latest posterity must revere. For he did so from a conviction that these old and approved authors were the only guides to the knowledge of facts, as well as

to correct evidence and reasoning on the remote history of Scotland; and he considered them not only of signal use to himself, but a valuable treasure to the literature of the country. He therefore persevered throughout life in collecting such manuscripts, without regard to either trouble or expense. The catalogue which he left is still extant,¹ although many, as already mentioned, were lost by the depredations of the English and other causes. He formed with great industry, and at a considerable expense, a library of the most valuable books on every subject, particularly in the branches of Scottish history, antiquities, and heraldry. From these he extracted every assistance they could afford in the pursuit of his inquiries, and for further aid he established a correspondence with the most respectable living historians, such as Robert Maule, Henry Maule, David Buchanan, Gordon of Straloch, and Drummond of Hawthornden, all of whom he regarded through life with the warmest esteem and with the greatest respect for their talents and accomplishments.

He endeavoured to elucidate our history (which was then involved in confusion) from the examination of ancient medals, coins, rings, bracelets, and other relics of antiquity, of which he formed a separate collection as an appendage to his library. Observing also from historians that the Romans had long been settled in Scotland, and had made desperate attempts to expel our ancestors, both Scots and Picts, he collected the inscriptions which they had left on certain stone buildings, and transcribed them among his notes. In compiling the work to which he gave the title of *Annals*, our author was more anxious to supply the deficiencies of other historians, and to bring to light obscure records, than to exhibit a continued and regular history of Scotland. He therefore carefully extracted from old manuscripts, the names, dignities, and offices of distinguished public characters, the dates of remarkable transactions, and every other circumstance of importance, and arranged them in separate paragraphs. He was actuated by a generous disposition to rescue from oblivion and the grave the memory of illustrious men; for which purpose he visited all the cathedrals and the principal parish churches of the kingdom, and examined their sepulchres and other monuments, from which he copied the epitaphs and inscriptions, carefully preserving them in a volume. He deeply interested himself in some laudable attempts to improve the geography of Scotland. Sir James made also a survey of Fife, his native county, examining particularly ancient monuments, and the genealogies of the principal families. He afterwards compiled a description of the whole kingdom, of which the manuscript was so useful to Bleau, that he dedicated to our author the map of Lorne in his *Theatrum Scotiae*, and embellished it with the arms of Balfour.

Zealous in the improvement and knowledge of heraldry, he carefully reviewed, not only the public acts and diplomas of nobility, but the contents of ancient edifices, temples, and palaces, shields and sepulchral monuments. When it had become proper, from his years, to allow the Prince of Wales a separate establishment, an inquiry was ordered concerning the revenues of the hereditary princes, as stewards or lords-marshal of Scotland, in which Balfour appears to have taken part, as we find among his manuscripts the following: "The true present state of the principality of Scotland, with the means how the same may be most conveniently

increased and augmented; with which is joined ane survey, and brief notes from the public registers of the kingdoms, of certain infeftments and confirmations given to princes of Scotland; and by them to their vassals of diverse baronies and lands of the principality, since the fifteenth year of the reign of Robert III."

In the history of this country he displayed his uncommon industry in his numerous collection of manuscripts, in the great assemblage of historical works in his own library, and in his careful inspection of the various manuscripts dispersed over the kingdom, from which he generally extracted the substance, if he did not wholly transcribe them, forming a general index to such as were useful in Scottish history. He made several abridgments of the registers of Scone, Cambuskenneth, and others, and from the works of Major, Boece, Leslie, and Buchanan, which, in proper order, formed parts of his chronological works, along with relations of important transactions throughout the world. Besides this he wrote a remarkably concise yet comprehensive *History of the Kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. to Charles I.* He also intended to have enlarged the annals of the Scottish Kings from James I. to the beginning of Charles II., of which he had finished the two first James's on a more diffuse and extensive scale. In other works, he wrote memoirs of James III. IV. V., of Queen Mary, and of James VI., and the transactions of Charles I., brought down to his death. In natural history, he wrote an alphabetical list of gems, with descriptions, their names and qualities, and the places where they are produced. Another work upon the same subject, written in Latin, exhibited, from various authors, an account of ingenious inventions or frauds practised in counterfeiting and imitating precious stones.

Sir James concluded an industrious, and, it would appear, a most blameless life, in February, 1657, when he must have been about sixty years of age. He had been four times married: 1st, to Anna Aiton, by whom he had three sons and six daughters, and who died August 26th, 1644; 2d, to Jean Durham, daughter of the laird of Pitarrow, his own cousin, who died without issue only eleven months subsequent to the date of his first wife's death; 3d, to Margaret Arnot, only daughter of Sir James Arnot of Fernie, by whom he had three sons and three daughters; 4th, to Janet Auchinleck, daughter of Sir William Auchinleck of Balmanno, by whom he had two daughters. Yet his family is now extinct in the male line. The *Annals and Short Passages of State*, above alluded to, were, after nearly two centuries of manuscript obscurity, published in 1824, in 4 volumes 8vo, by Mr. James Haig of the Advocates' Library.

BALFOUR, ROBERT, a distinguished philosopher of the seventeenth century, was principal of Guyenne College, Bordeaux, and is mentioned by Morhof as a celebrated commentator on Aristotle. According to Dempster, he was "the phoenix of his age; a philosopher profoundly skilled in the Greek and Latin languages; a mathematician worthy of being compared with the ancients; and to those qualifications he joined a wonderful suavity of manners, and the utmost warmth of affection towards his countrymen." This eminent personage appears to have been one of that numerous class of Scotsmen, who, having gained all their honours in climes more genial to science than Scotland was a few centuries ago, are to this day better known abroad than among their own countrymen. According to the fantastic Urquhart, who wrote in the reign of Charles I.,

¹ *Memoria Balfouriana*, p. 19-33.

"Most of the Scottish nation, never having abstricted themselves so much to the proprieties of words as to the knowledge of things, where there was one preceptor of languages amongst them, there were above forty professors of philosophy: nay, to so high a pitch did the glory of the Scottish nation attain over all the parts of France, and for so long a time continue in that obtained height, by virtue of an ascendant the French conceived the Scots to have above all nations, in matter of their subtlety in philosophical disceptations, that there hath not been, till of late, for these several ages together, any lord, gentleman, or other, in all that country, who being desirous to have his son instructed in the principles of philosophy, would intrust him to the discipline of any other than a Scottish master; of whom they were no less proud than Philip was of Aristotle, or Tullius of Cratippus. And if it occurred (as very often it did) that a pretender to a place in any French university, having, in his tenderer years, been subterfugally to some other kind of schooling, should enter in competition with another aiming at the same charge and dignity, whose learning flowed from a Caledonian source, commonly the first was rejected and the other preferred." It nevertheless appears that Robert Balfour prosecuted the study of philology, as well as that of philosophy, with considerable success. His edition of Cleomedes, published at Bordeaux, in 1605, "*Latine versa, et perpetuo commentario illustrata*," is spoken of in the highest terms of praise by the erudit Barthius. Other works by Balfour are, *Gelasii Cysiceni Commentarius Actorum Niceni Concilii*, Roberto Balforeo interprete, 1604, folio; *Commentarius R. Balforei in Organum Logicum Aristotelis*, 1616, 4to; and *R. Balforei Scoti Commentariorum in lib. Arist. de Philosophia, tomus secundus*, 1620, 4to.

BALFOUR, DR. ROBERT.—This distinguished minister of the Church of Scotland was born in Edinburgh, in April, 1740. He was early trained by his pious parents to the knowledge and practice of Christianity. He received his education at Edinburgh, and when a mere youth he became a member of a society which met for religious conversation and prayer. The devotional tendency of his mind, thus early acquired, was a prominent feature of his character through life. Of his college career no record has been preserved. In 1774 he was ordained to the ministry of the gospel in the small rural charge of Lecropt, near Stirling. Here he laboured with much acceptance for five years, not inattentive meanwhile to his personal improvement, and in his pulpit duties giving no doubtful presages of the professional distinction and influence to which he was destined to rise. In June, 1779, he was translated to the Outer High Church of Glasgow, then vacant by the removal of Mr. Randal (afterwards Dr. Davidson) to Edinburgh.

At the time of Dr. Balfour's settlement in Glasgow evangelical religion was at a low ebb in the Established Church throughout Scotland, and Moderatism was in the ascendant. Dr. Balfour, from the outset of his ministry, warmly espoused the evangelical cause, which he recommended alike by the power of his preaching and by the active benevolence and consistency of his life. His ministry in Glasgow gave a fresh impulse to the revival and diffusion of pure and undefiled religion in the west of Scotland. Christian missions were then in their infancy, and in Scotland met with much opposition from the dominant party in the Established Church. Dr. Balfour was one of the founders of the Glasgow Missionary Society, which was established in 1796, a few months after the institution of the London Missionary

Society. He preached a striking sermon at the commencement of the society, which was one of the few discourses he ventured on publishing; and one of his last public acts, twenty-two years afterwards, was to sign a circular letter as its president. The following passage from the discourse just mentioned bears testimony to the earnest interest he felt in the missionary cause, and affords an example of a style of appeal, which, with the aid of his melodious voice, keen eye, and graceful and fervid elocution, must have proved singularly animating. After describing the true missionary spirit and character, he proceeded—"We invite and press all of this description to come forward full of the Holy Ghost and of faith. We cannot, we will not tempt you with worldly prospects—if you are right-hearted men according to your profession, you will not seek great things for yourselves—you must not think of an easy life—you must labour hard—you must encounter difficulties, opposition, and dangers; for these, however, you are not unprovided. . . . We will follow you with our prayers, and with every blessing in our power to bestow. But what is of infinitely greater moment and advantage to you is, that the Lord Jesus, whose religion you are to teach, will be with you, and that he is greater than all who can be against you. Depending then on him alone for your own salvation, and for the salvation of the heathen; seeking not your own pleasure, profit, or honour, but that he may be glorified in and by you, and by sinners converted from the error of their way, be not afraid—be strong and of good courage. To all who thus devote themselves to his service we most heartily bid God speed. Fly, ye angels of grace, from pole to pole, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth, bearing to all men the glad tidings of the everlasting gospel; stop not in this bold flight of philanthropy, till you convey to the simple sons of the isles the knowledge of the true God and eternal life—till you arrest the wanderings of the roving savage with the wonders of redeeming grace—till you dart the beams of celestial light and love into the dark habitations of ignorance and cruelty—till you convert the barbarous cannibal to humanity, to Christian gentleness and goodness. Hasten to the shores of long-injured Africa, not to seize and sell the bodies of men, but to save their perishing souls. Follow the miserable captives to their several sad destinations of slavery, with the inviting proclamation of spiritual liberty, while you inculcate the strictest duty to their masters. Speed your way to India, to repay her gold with the unsearchable riches of Christ. Meet all the high pretensions of the Brahmin religion and literature, and all their fatal delusions and cruel impositions, with the overpowering evidence of the Christian as a divine revelation—with the full luminous display of evangelical truth and holiness. Cease not, till you see the whole earth filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the channel of the sea."

Dr. Balfour was an eloquent man, but his was not an eloquence which sought its reward in popular applause. It flowed spontaneously from a heart deeply imbued with love to the Saviour and to the souls of men. Earnest preaching made earnest listening, and whilst his reputation in the pulpit continued unimpaired to the close of his life, the fruits of his ministry were abundant, and his influence extended far beyond the limits of his own congregation. His preaching was clear and comprehensive; textual, luminous, and pointed; exhibiting a remarkable intimacy with the varieties of Christian experience, and a profound knowledge of human nature; animated with a warm and persuasive earnest-

ness; faithful and close in applying the truth; and exhibiting an exuberant flow of appropriate and powerful expression. He was not in the habit of writing his discourses at full length, but his preparations for the pulpit were never relaxed. Although not displaying the plodding habits of the scholar, he kept up his knowledge of general literature, and cultivated an acquaintance with the works of the best authors in his own profession. His morning hours were consecrated to study and devotion. He possessed the power of readily commanding his thoughts in the intervals of daily occupation, and was in the habit, to use his own expression, of "carrying about" with him the subjects on which he intended to preach. His stores of thought and illustration were ample and exuberant, and, being gifted with a ready utterance, he could on every occasion express himself with ease and propriety. Without the appearance of much labour, therefore, he was able to appear in the pulpit with a felicity and success to which men of inferior minds find it impossible to attain after the most laborious efforts. He seldom engaged in controversy, and did not often obtrude himself upon the notice of church courts, for the business of which, however, he showed no want of aptitude. His modesty and humility prevented him from issuing more than a few of his more public and elaborate productions through the press. An anecdote is related of him, which illustrates his disinclination to publish, as well as the readiness with which he could draw in an emergency upon the resources of his richly-stored mind. On one occasion, after having preached with much acceptance on the divinity of Christ, he was waited upon by a young man, who, on his own part and that of two companions, preferred an urgent request that he would print his discourse, assigning as a reason that it had completely relieved their minds of doubts which they had been led to entertain on this momentous doctrine, and that it was fitted to have the same effect upon the minds of others similarly situated. On the doctor expressing his aversion to appear in print, his visitor entreated the favour of a perusal of the manuscript. In this he was equally unsuccessful; for it then appeared that the doctor, on proceeding to the church, had found himself—from some unwonted and inexplicable cause—utterly incapable of recalling the train of thought which had occupied his mind in preparing for the pulpit; and at the last moment he was under the necessity of choosing a new text, from which he delivered the unprepared discourse that had produced such a salutary impression upon the minds of his three youthful hearers.

His attachment to his congregation was evinced on the occasion of his receiving an offer to be presented to Lady Glenorchy's chapel in Edinburgh, which he declined, although, in a worldly point of view, it possessed considerable advantages over his charge in Glasgow. He was alike frank, friendly, and accessible to all classes of his people, and had always a kind word for the poor. He showed great tact in dealing with the humbler members of his flock, who sometimes came to the good man with unreasonable complaints. When the old-fashioned practice of the precentor reading line by line of the psalm was discontinued, an ancient dame presented herself to the minister, to express her concern at the innovation, at the same time gently reproaching him for departing from a good old custom of our pious forefathers—a custom, be it remembered, which had been introduced at a time when few persons in a congregation were able to read. "Oh, Janet," replied the doctor, in a tone of kindly remonstrance,

"I read the psalm, and you sing it; what's the use of coming over it a third time?" "Ou, sir," was the ready answer, "I juist like to gust my gab wi't!" In process of time "repeating tunes" were introduced in the precentor's desk, and Janet hastened forthwith to the minister, to lodge her complaint against the profane innovation. "What's the matter wi' ye now?" inquired the doctor, as he welcomed the worthy old dame into his presence. "The sang tunes, wi' their o'ercomes brocht into the worship of the sanctuary," quoth she; "it's juist usin' vain repetitions, as the heathens do." "Oh dear no, Janet," slyly interposed the doctor, "we juist like to gust our gabs wi't!"

Dr. Balfour married, in November, 1774, Isabella Stark, daughter of Mr. Stark, collector of excise at Kirkcaldy. She died in October, 1781. In June, 1787, he married Catherine M'Gilchrist, daughter of Mr. Archibald M'Gilchrist, town-clerk of the city of Glasgow. She died in May, 1817. These were not the only instances of domestic bereavement which he experienced in the course of his life. He preached on the day after the celebration of the Lord's supper at Dumbarton, in July, 1786, with an earnestness and solemnity more fervid and impressive than ordinary, as if his mind were under a powerful impulse. On his way home he received information of the death of a beloved and only son, in circumstances fitted deeply to wound his heart. Henry, a fine spirited boy, had been left by his father, then a widower, during an absence of some days, under the charge of Mr. and Mrs. Denniston of West Thorn, and was accidentally drowned in the Clyde. After recovering from the first paroxysm of grief occasioned by the heart-rending intelligence, Dr. Balfour hastened to tender his sympathy to his deeply afflicted friends, whose kindness had been permitted to prove the innocent cause of involving him and his family in this calamity. This he did, in the first instance, in a letter of touching pathos and beauty, which afterwards found its way to the public, and was embodied in a little volume of *Letters addressed to Christians in Affliction*, published in 1817. The death of his son Archibald took place many years previously, on the day when he preached the sermon by appointment of the Glasgow Missionary Society. His own death was sudden. On the 13th of October, 1818, Dr. Balfour appeared to be in his usual health and spirits. In the course of the day he became unwell while walking out with a friend, and made an effort to return home. But his illness increasing, he was assisted into a friend's house in George Street, from which it was deemed imprudent to attempt to remove him. The symptoms were found to be those of apoplexy. He continued in a state of insensibility till the evening of the next day, the 14th, when he expired. He died in the seventy-first year of his age and forty-fifth year of his ministry.

BALIOL, EDWARD. King John Baliol had two sons, Edward and Henry. The former seems entitled to some notice in this work, on account of his vigorous, though eventually unsuccessful, attempt to regain the crown lost by his father. When King John entered into the treaty with the King of France, in 1295, it was stipulated in the first article that his son Edward should marry the daughter of Charles of Valois, niece to the French monarch, receiving with her 25,000 livres de Tournois current money, and assigning to her, as a dowry, £1500 sterling of yearly rent, of which £1000 should be paid out of King John's lands of Baliol, Dampier, Helicourt, and Horné, in France, and £500 out of those of

Lanark, Cadzow, Cunningham,¹ Haddington, and the castle of Dundee, in Scotland. This young prince accompanied his father in his captivity in the Tower, and was subsequently carried with him to France. After the death of John Baliol, Edward quietly succeeded to the French family estates, upon which he lived unnoticed till 1324, when Edward II. commanded that he should be brought over to England, apparently for the purpose of being held up as a rival to Robert Bruce. Whether he now visited England or not is uncertain; but it would rather appear that he did not, as in 1326 he was invited by Edward III. for the same purpose. At this time the English monarch was endeavouring to secure a peace with the King of Scots, but at the same time held himself prepared for war by mustering his barons at Newcastle. He seems to have thought that a threat of taking Baliol under his patronage was apt to quicken the desires of the Scots for an accommodation. Nevertheless, in the summer of this year, the Scots made a bold and successful incursion into England, under Randolph and Douglas, and King Edward was obliged, April, 1328, to consent to the treaty of Northampton, which acknowledged at once the independence of the Scottish crown, and the right of Robert Bruce to wear it. No more is heard of Edward Baliol till after the death of Bruce, when he was tempted by the apparent weakness of Scotland under the minority of David II. to attempt the recovery of his birthright. Two English barons, Henry de Beaumont and Thomas Lord Wake, claimed certain estates in Scotland, which had been declared their property by the treaty of Northampton; Randolph, the Scottish regent, distrusting the sincerity of the English in regard to other articles of this treaty, refused to restore those estates; and the two barons accordingly joined with Baliol in his design. That the English king might not be supposed accessory to so gross a breach of the treaty, he issued a proclamation against their expedition; but they easily contrived to ship 400 men-at-arms and 3000 infantry at Holderness, all of whom were safely landed on the coast of Fife, July 31, 1332. Only eleven days before this event, the Scottish people had been bereft of their brave regent, Randolph, Earl of Moray, who was almost the last of those worthies by whom the kingdom of Bruce had been won and maintained. The regency fell into the hands of Donald, Earl of Mar, in every respect a feeble man. Baliol, having beat back some forces which opposed his landing, moved forward to Forthvie, near Perth, where the Earl of Mar appeared with an army to dispute his farther progress. As the Scottish forces were much superior in number and position to the English, Baliol found himself in a situation of great jeopardy, and would willingly have retreated to his ships, had that been possible. Finding, however, no other resource than to fight, he led his forces at midnight across the Erne, surprised the Scottish camp in a state of the most disgraceful negligence, and put the whole to the rout. This action, fought on the 12th of August, was called the battle of Dupplin. The conqueror entered Perth, and for some time found no resistance to his assumed authority. On the 24th of September he was solemnly crowned at Scone. The friends of the line of Bruce, though unable to offer a formal opposition, appointed Andrew Moray of Bothwell to be regent in the room of the Earl of

Mar, who had fallen at Dupplin. At Roxburgh, on the 23d of November, Baliol solemnly acknowledged Edward of England for his *liege lord*, and surrendered to him the town and castle of Berwick, "on account of the great honour and emoluments which he had procured through the good-will of the English king, and the powerful and acceptable aid contributed by his people." The two princes also engaged on this occasion to aid each other in all their respective wars. Many of the Scottish chiefs now submitted to Baliol, and it does not appear improbable that he might have altogether retrieved a kingdom which was certainly his by the laws of hereditary succession. But on the 15th of December, the adherents of the opposite dynasty surprised him in his turn at Annan, overpowered his host, and having slain his brother Henry, and many other distinguished men, obliged him to flee, almost naked, and with hardly a single attendant, to England. His subsequent efforts, though not so easily counteracted, were of the same desultory character. He returned into Scotland in March, and lay for some time at Roxburgh with a small force. In May, 1333, he joined his forces with King Edward, and reduced the town of Berwick. The Scottish regent being overthrown at Halidon Hill, July 19, for a time all resistance to the claims of Baliol ceased. In a parliament held at Edinburgh in February, he ratified the former treaty with King Edward, and soon after surrendered to that monarch the whole of the counties on the frontier, together with the province of Lothian, as part of the kingdom of England. His power, however, was solely supported by foreign influence, and, upon the rise of a few of the hostile Scottish barons, in November, 1334, he again fled to England. In July, 1335, Edward III. enabled him to return under the protection of an army. But, notwithstanding the personal presence and exertions of no less a warrior than the victor of Cressy, the Scots never could altogether be brought under the sway of this vassal king. For two or three years Edward Baliol held a nominal sway at Perth, while the greater part of the country was in a state of rebellion against him. The regent Andrew Moray, dying in July, 1338, was succeeded by Robert Stewart, the grandson of Bruce and nephew of David II., who having threatened to besiege Baliol in Perth, obliged him to retreat once more to England. The greater part of the country speedily fell under the dominion of the regent, nor was Edward III. now able to retrieve it, being fully engaged in his French wars. The Scots having made an incursion, in 1344, into England, Baliol, with the forces of the northern counties, was appointed to oppose them. Two years after this period, when the fatal battle of Durham and the capture of David II. had again reduced the strength of Scotland, Baliol raised an insurrection in Galloway, where his family connections gave him great influence, and speedily penetrated to the central parts of the kingdom. He gained, however, no permanent footing. For some years after this period Scotland maintained a noble struggle, under its regent Robert Stewart, against both the pretensions of this adventurer and the power of the King of England, till at length, in 1355-6, wearied out with an unavailing contest, and feeling the approach of old age, Baliol resigned all his claims into the hands of Edward III. for the consideration of 5000 merks, and a yearly pension of £2000. After this surrender, which was transacted at Roxburgh, and included his personal estates, as well as his kingdom, this unfortunate prince retired to England. "The fate of Edward Baliol," says Lord Hailes, "was singular. In his invasion of Scotland during the

¹ "John Baliol is known to have possessed in Cunningham the following lands:—Largs, Noddessdale, Southannan, Dalry, Giffen, Cumshuech, Dreghorn, the great barony of Kilmarnock, together with Bondintown and Hartshaw; extending in all to about £9000 Scots of valued rent, or about £15,000 real rent at present."—*Robertson's Ayrshire Families*.

minority of David Bruce, he displayed a bold spirit of enterprise, and a courage superior to all difficulties. By the victory at Dupplin he won a crown; some few weeks after, he was surprised at Annan and lost it. The overthrow of the Scots at Halidon, to which he signally contributed, availed not to his re-establishment. Year after year he saw his partisans fall away, and range themselves under the banner of his competitor. He became the pensioner of Edward III. and the tool of his policy, assumed or laid aside at pleasure: and at last, by his surrender at Roxburgh, he did what in him lay to entail the calamities of war upon the Scottish nation, a nation already miserable through the consequences of a regal succession disputed for threescore years. The remainder of his days was spent in obscurity; and the historians of that kingdom where he once reigned know not the time of his death." It may further be mentioned, that neither these historians, nor the Scottish people at large, ever acknowledged Edward Baliol as one of the line of Scottish monarchs. The right of the family of Bruce, though inferior in a hereditary point of view, having been confirmed by parliament on account of the merit of King Robert, this shadowy intruder, though occasionally dominant through the sword, could never be considered the legitimate monarch, more especially as he degraded himself and his country by a professed surrender of its independence, and even of a part of its territory, to a foreign enemy. He died childless, and, it would also appear, unmarried, in 1363, when he must have been advanced to at least the age of seventy.

BALIOL, JOHN, King of Scotland, was the son of John de Baliol, of Bernard's Castle in the county of Durham, a lord of great opulence, being possessed of thirty knights' fees (equal to £12,000 of modern money), and who was a steady adherent of Henry III. in all his civil wars. The mother of Baliol was Devorgilla, one of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Allan, Lord of Galloway, by Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion, kings of Scotland. The first of the English family of Baliol was a Norman noble, proprietor of the manors of Baliol, Harcourt, Dampat, and Horné in France, and who, coming over with the Conqueror, left a son, Guy, whom William Rufus appointed to be lord of the forest of Teesdale and Marwood, giving him at the same time the lands of Middleton and Guiseford in Northumberland. Guy was the father of Bernard, who built the strong castle on the Tees, called from him *Bernard's Castle*. Eustace, son of this noble, was the father of Hugh, who was the father of John de Baliol,¹ the father of the King of Scotland.

¹ John de Baliol has distinguished himself in English literary history, by founding one of the colleges of Oxford, which still bears his name. As this institution is connected in more ways than one with Scotland, the following account of its foundation, from *Chalmers' History of Oxford*, may be read with interest.—"The wealth and political consequence of John de Baliol were dignified by a love of learning, and a benevolence of disposition, which about the year 1263 (or 1268, as Wood thinks), induced him to maintain certain poor scholars of Oxford, in number sixteen, by exhibitions, perhaps with a view to some more permanent establishment, when he should have leisure to mature a plan for that purpose. On his death in 1269, which appears from this circumstance to have been sudden, he could only recommend the objects of his bounty to his lady and his executors, but left no written deed or authority: and as what he had formerly given was from his personal estate, now in other hands, the farther care of his scholars would in all probability have ceased, had not his lady been persuaded to fulfil his intention in the most honourable manner, by taking upon herself the future maintenance of them. . . . The

The circumstances which led to the appearance of John Baliol in Scottish history may be thus briefly narrated. By the death of Alexander III. the crown of Scotland devolved on the Maiden of Norway, Margaret, the only child of Alexander's daughter, late Queen of Norway. As she was only three years of age, and residing in foreign parts, the convention of estates made choice of six noblemen to be regents of the kingdom during her absence or minority; but dissensions soon arising among them, Eric, King of Norway, interposed, and sent plenipotentiaries to treat with Edward, King of England, concerning the affairs of the infant queen and her kingdom. Edward had already formed a scheme for uniting England and Scotland, by the marriage of his eldest son with Margaret, and accordingly, after holding conferences at Salisbury, he sent an embassy to the parliament of Scotland on the 18th of July, 1290, with full powers to treat of this projected alliance. The views of Edward were cheerfully met by the parliament of Scotland: a treaty was drawn out honourable to both parties, in which—to guard against any danger that might arise from so strict an alliance with such a powerful and ambitious neighbour—the freedom and independency of Scotland were fully acknowledged and secured; and commissioners were despatched to Norway to conduct the young queen into her dominions. But this fair hope of lasting peace and union was at once overthrown by the death of the princess on her passage to Britain; and the crown of Scotland became a bone of contention between various competitors, the chief of whom were John Baliol, Lord of Galloway; Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale; and John Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny. In order to understand the grounds of their several claims, it will be necessary to trace briefly their genealogy.

On the death of the Maiden of Norway, Alexander's grandchild, the crown of Scotland devolved upon the posterity of David, Earl of Huntingdon, younger brother, as already mentioned, of the kings Malcolm and William. David left three daughters, Margaret, Isabella, and Ada. Margaret, the eldest daughter, married Allan, Lord of Galloway, by whom she had an only daughter, Devorgilla, married to John Baliol, by whom she had John Baliol, the subject of this article, who therefore was great-

first step which the Lady Devorgilla took, in providing for the scholars, was to have a house in Horsemonger Lane, afterwards called Canditch (from *Candida Fossa*) in St. Mary Magdalene's parish, and on the site where the present college stands; and being supported in his design by her husband's executors, continued the provision which he allotted. In 1282 she gave them statutes under her seal, and appointed Hugh de Hartipoll and William de Menyle as procurators or governors of her scholars. . . . In 1284 the Lady Devorgilla purchased a tenement of a citizen of Oxford, called Mary's Hall, as a perpetual settlement for the principal and scholars of the house of Baliol. This edifice, after receiving suitable repairs and additions, was called New Baliol Hall, and their former residence then began to receive the name of Old Baliol Hall. The same year she made over certain lands in the county of Northumberland, the greater part of which was afterwards lost. The foundation, however, was about this time confirmed by Oliver, Bishop of Lincoln, and by the son of the founder, who was afterwards King of Scotland, and whose consent in this matter seems to entitle him to the veneration of the society.

The revenues of the college were at first small, yielding only eightpence *per week* to each scholar, or twenty-seven pounds nine shillings and fourpence for the whole *per annum*, which was soon found insufficient. A number of benefactors, however, promoted the purposes of the founder, by enriching the establishment with gifts of land, money, and church-livings."

Mr. Chalmers also mentions, that in 1340 a new set of statutes for the college received, amongst other confirmatory seals, that of "Edward Baliol, King of Scotland," namely, the grandson of the founder. The seal attached by Devorgilla to the original statutes contains a portrait of her. She died in 1289.

grandson to David, Earl of Huntingdon, by his eldest daughter. Isabella, the second daughter of David, married Robert Bruce, by whom she had Robert Bruce, the competitor—who therefore was grandson to the Earl of Huntingdon by his second daughter. Ada, youngest daughter of David, married John Hastings, by whom she had John Hastings—who therefore was grandson to David by his third daughter. Hastings could have no claim to the crown while the posterity of David's elder daughters were in being; but he insisted that the kingdom should be divided into three parts, and that he should inherit one of them. As, however, the kingdom was declared indivisible, his pretensions were excluded, and the difficulty of the question lay between the two great competitors, Baliol and Bruce,—whether the more remote by one degree, descended from the eldest daughter, or the nearer by one degree, descended from the second daughter, had the better title.

The divided state of the national mind as to the succession presented a favourable opportunity to the ambitious monarch of England for executing a design which he had long cherished against the independence of Scotland, by renewing the unfounded claim of the feudal superiority of England over it. It has been generally supposed that he was chosen arbitrator by the regents and states of Scotland in the competition for the crown; but it appears that his interference was solicited by a few only of the Scottish nobles who were in his own interest. Assuming this, however, as the call of the nation, and collecting an army to support his iniquitous pretensions, he requested the nobility and clergy of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to meet him at Norham within the English territories. There, after many professions of good-will and affection to Scotland, he claimed a right of lord paramount over it, and required that this right should be immediately recognized. The Scots were struck with amazement at this unexpected demand; but, feeling themselves entirely in his power, could only request time for the consideration of his claim. Another meeting was fixed upon; and during the interval he employed every method to strengthen his party in Scotland, and by threats and promises to bring as many as possible to acknowledge his superiority. His purpose was greatly forwarded by the mutual distrusts and jealousies that existed among the Scots, and by the time-serving ambition of the competitors, who were now multiplied to the number of thirteen—some probably stirred up to perplex the question, and others perhaps prompted by vanity. On the day appointed (2d June, 1291) in a plain opposite to the castle of Norham, the superiority of the crown of England over the crown of Scotland was fully acknowledged by all the competitors for the latter, as well as by many barons and prelates; and thus Edward gained the object on which his heart had been long set, by conduct disgraceful to himself as it was to those who had the government and guardianship of Scotland in keeping. All the royal castles and places of strength in the country were put into his hands, under the security that he should make full restitution in two months from the date of his award, and with the ostensible reason that he might have a kingdom to bestow on the person to whom it should be adjudged. Having thus obtained his wish, he proceeded to take some steps towards determining the claim of the competitors. Commissioners were appointed to meet at Berwick; and after various deliberations, the crown was finally adjudged to John Baliol, on the 19th of November, 1292, and next day Baliol swore fealty to Edward at Norham.

Baliol was crowned at Scone shortly after; but, that he might not forget his dependency, Edward recalled him into England immediately after his coronation, and made him renew his homage and fealty at Newcastle. He was soon loaded with fresh indignities. In the course of a year he received no fewer than six citations to appear before Edward in the English parliament, to answer private and unimportant complaints which were preferred against him by his subjects. Although led by an insidious policy, and his own ambition, into the most humiliating concessions, Baliol seems not to have been destitute of spirit, or to have received without resentment the indignities laid upon him. In one of the causes before the parliament of England, being asked for his defence—"I am king of Scotland," he said, "I dare not make answer *here* without the advice of my people." "What means this refusal?" said Edward, "you are my liegeman; you have done homage to me; you are here in consequence of my summons!" Baliol replied with firmness, "In matters which respect my kingdom I neither dare nor shall answer in this place, without the advice of my people." Edward requested that he would ask a delay for the consideration of the question; but Baliol, perceiving that his so doing would be construed into an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the English parliament, refused.

In the meantime, a war breaking out between France and England, Baliol seized upon it as a favourable opportunity for shaking off a yoke that had become intolerable. He negotiated a treaty with Philip, the French king, on the 23d October, 1295, by which it was agreed to assist one another against their common enemy, the King of England, and not to conclude any separate peace. At the same time Baliol solemnly renounced his allegiance to Edward, and received from the pope an absolution from the oaths of fealty which he had sworn. The grounds of his renunciation were these—That Edward had wantonly, and upon slight suggestions, summoned him to his courts;—that he had seized his English estates, his goods, and the goods of his subjects;—that he had forcibly carried off, and still retained, certain natives of Scotland;—and that, when remonstrances were made, instead of redressing, he had continually aggravated these injuries. Edward is said to have received Baliol's renunciation with more contempt than anger. "The foolish traitor," he exclaimed, "since he will not come to us, we will go to him." He accordingly raised a large army; and, sending his brother into France, resolved himself, in person, to make a total conquest of Scotland.

While Edward advanced towards Berwick, a small army of Scots broke into Northumberland and Cumberland, and plundered the country. The castle of Werk was taken; and 1000 men, whom Edward sent to preserve it, falling into an ambush, were slain. An English squadron, also, which blocked up Berwick by sea, was defeated, and sixteen of their ships sunk. But these partial successes were followed by fatal losses. The King of England was a brave and skillful general; he conducted a powerful army against a weak and dispirited nation, headed by an unpopular prince, and distracted by party animosities. His eventual success was therefore as complete as might have been anticipated. He crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, took Berwick, and put all the garrison and inhabitants to the sword. The castle of Roxburgh was delivered into his hands; and he hastened Warrene, Earl of Surrey, forward, to besiege Dunbar. Warrene was there met by the Scots army, who, abandoning the advantage of their situation, poured down tumultuously on the English,

and were repulsed with terrible slaughter. After this defeat, the castles of Dunbar, Edinburgh, and Stirling fell into Edward's hands, and he was soon in possession of the whole of the south of Scotland.

Baliol, who had retired beyond the river Tay with the shattered remains of his army, despairing of making any effectual resistance, sent messengers to implore the mercy of Edward. The haughty Plantagenet communicated the hard terms upon which alone he might hope for what he asked; namely, an unqualified acknowledgment of his "unjust and wicked rebellion," and an unconditional surrender of himself and his kingdom into the hands of his master. Baliol, whose life presents a strange variety of magnanimous efforts and humiliating self-abasements, consented to these conditions; and the ceremony of his degradation accordingly took place, July 2, 1296, in the churchyard of Stracathro, a village near Montrose. Led by force and in fear of his life into the presence of the Bishop of Durham and the English nobles, mounted on a sorry horse, he was first commanded to dismount; and his treason being proclaimed, they proceeded to strip him of his royal ornaments. The crown was snatched from his head, the ermine torn from his mantle, the sceptre wrested from his hand, and everything removed from him belonging to the state and dignity of a king. Dressed only in his shirt and drawers, and holding a white rod in his hand, after the fashion of penitents, he confessed that, by evil and false counsel, and through his own simplicity, he had grievously offended his liege lord, recapitulated all the late transactions, and acknowledged himself to be deservedly deprived of his kingdom. He then absolved his people from their allegiance, and signed a deed resigning his sovereignty over them into the hands of King Edward, giving his eldest son as a hostage for his fidelity.

The acknowledgment of an English paramountcy has at all times been so disagreeable to the Scottish people, and the circumstances of this renunciation of the kingdom are so extremely humiliating to national pride, that John Baliol has been ever since held in hatred and contempt, and is scarcely allowed a place in the ordinary rolls of the Scottish monarchs. It must be said, however, in his defence, that his first acknowledgment of the paramountcy was no more than what his rival Bruce and the greater part of the nobles of the kingdom were also guilty of; while he is certainly entitled to some credit for his efforts to shake off the yoke, however inadequate his means were for doing so, or whatever ill fortune he experienced in the attempt. In his deposition, notwithstanding some equivocal circumstances in his subsequent history, he must be looked upon as only the victim of an overwhelming force.

The history of John Baliol after his deposition is not in general treated with much minuteness by the Scottish historians, all of whom seem to have wished to close their eyes as much as possible to the whole affair of the resignation, and endeavoured to forget that the principal personage concerned in it had ever been King of Scotland. This history, however, is curious. The disrowned monarch and his son were immediately transmitted, along with the stone of Scone, the records of the kingdom, and all other memorials of the national independence, to London, where the two unfortunate princes were committed to a kind of honourable captivity in the Tower. Though the country was reduced by the English army, several insurrections which broke out in the subsequent year showed that the hearts of the people were as yet unsubdued. These insurgents invariably rose in the name of the deposed king John, and avowed a resolution to submit to no other authority.

It is also worth remarking, as a circumstance favourable to the claims and character of Baliol, that he was still acknowledged by the pope, the King of France, and other continental princes. When Wallace rose to unite all the discontented spirits of the kingdom in one grand effort against the English yoke, he avowed himself as only the governor of the kingdom in name of King John; and there is a charter still extant, to which the hero appended the seal of Baliol, which seems, by some chance, to have fallen into his hands. The illustrious knight of Elderslie, throughout the whole of his career, acknowledged no other sovereign than Baliol; and, what is perhaps more remarkable, the father of Robert Bruce, who had formerly asserted a superior title to the crown, and whose son afterwards displaced the Baliol dynasty, appeared in arms against Edward in favour of King John, and in his name concluded several truces with the English officers. There is extant a deed executed on the 13th of November, 1299, by William, Bishop of St. Andrews, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and John Comyn the younger, styling themselves guardians of the kingdom of Scotland; in which they petition King Edward for a cessation of hostilities, in order, as they afterwards expressed themselves, that they might live as peaceable subjects under their sovereign King John.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that these proceedings were in accordance with any secret instructions from Baliol, who, if not glad to get quit of his uneasy sovereignty at the time he resigned it, at least seems to have afterwards entertained no wish for its recovery. A considerable time before his insurgent representatives made the above declaration in his behalf, he is found executing a deed of the following tenor: "In the name of God, amen. In the year 1298, on the 1st of April, in the house of the reverend father, Anthony, Bishop of Durham, without London. The said bishop discoursing of the state and condition of the kingdom of Scotland, and of the inhabitants of the said kingdom, before the noble Lord John Baliol; the said John, of his own proper motion, in the presence of us, the notary, and the subscribing witnesses, amongst other things, said and delivered in the French tongue to this effect, that is to say, that while he, the said realm of Scotland, as king and lord thereof, held and governed, he had found in the people of the said kingdom so much malice, fraud, treason, and deceit, that, for their malignity, wickedness, treachery, and other detestable facts, and for that, as he had thoroughly understood, they had, while their prince, contrived to poison him, it was his intention never to go or enter into the said kingdom of Scotland for the future, or with the said kingdom or its concerns, either by himself or others, to intermeddle, nor, for the reasons aforesaid, and many others, to have anything to do with the Scots. At the same time, the said John desired the said Bishop of Durham, that he would acquaint the most magnificent prince, and his lord, Edward, the most illustrious King of England, with his intention, will, and firm resolution in this respect. This act was signed and sealed by the public notary, in the presence of the Bishop of Durham aforesaid, and of Ralph de Sandwich, constable of the Tower of London, and others who heard this discourse."¹

We regret for the honour of Scotland, that, excepting the *date* of this shameful libel, there is no other reason for supposing it to be dictated in an insincere spirit. Baliol now appears to have really entertained no higher wish than to regain his personal liberty, and be permitted to spend the rest of his

¹ *Prynne's Collections*, iii. 665.

days in retirement. Accordingly, having at last convinced King Edward of his sincerity, he and his son were delivered, on the 20th of July, 1299, to the pope's legate, the Bishop of Vicenza, by whom they were transported to France. The unfortunate Baliol lived there upon his ample estates till the year 1314, when he died at his seat of Castle Galliard, aged about fifty-five years. Though thus by no means advanced in life, he is said to have been afflicted with many of the infirmities of old age, among which was an entire deprivation of sight.

BALLENTYNE (or **BELLENDEN**), JOHN,—otherwise spelled *Ballanden* and *Ballentyn*—an eminent poet of the reign of James V., and the translator of Boece's *Latin History*, and of the first five books of Livy, into the vernacular language of his time, was a native of Lothian, and appears to have been born towards the close of the 15th century. He studied at the university of St. Andrews, where his name is thus entered in the records: "1508, *Jo. Ballentyn nat. Law [donie].*" It is probable that he remained there for several years, which was necessary before he could be laureated. His education was afterwards completed at the university of Paris, where he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and, as has been remarked by his biographer [*Works of Ballenden*, i. xxxvii.], "the effects of his residence upon the Continent may be traced both in his idiom and language."

He returned to Scotland during the minority of James V., and became attached to the establishment of that monarch as "clerk of his comptis."

The biographer of Ballentyne, above quoted, supposes that he must have been the "Maister Johnne Ballentyne" who, in 1528, was "secretar and servitour" to Archibald, Earl of Angus, and in that capacity appeared before parliament to state his master's reasons for not answering the summons of treason which had been issued against him. We can scarcely, however, reconcile the circumstance of his being then a "Douglas's man," with the favour he is found to have enjoyed a few years after with James V., whose antipathy to that family was so great as probably to extend to all its connections. However this may be, Ballentyne is thus celebrated, in 1530, as a court poet, by Sir David Lyndsay, who had been in youth his fellow-student at St. Andrews, and was afterwards his fellow-servant in the household of the king:—

"But now of late has start up heastly
A cunning clerk that writeth craftily;
A plant of poets, called *Ballenten*,
Whose ornat writs my wit cannot defyne;
Get he into the court authority,
He will preel Quintin and Kenedy."

In 1530 and 1531 Ballentyne was employed, by command of the king, in translating Boece's *History*, which had been published at Paris in 1526. The object of this translation was to introduce the king and others who had "missed their Latin" to a knowledge of the history of their country. In the epistle to the king at the conclusion of this work, Ballentyne passes a deserved compliment upon his majesty, for having "dantit this region and brocht the same to sicken rest, gud peace and tranquillity; howbeit the same could nocht be done be your gret baronis during your tender age;" and also says, without much flattery, "Your nobill and worthy deidis proceeds mair be naturall inclination and active curage, than yow gudly persuasioun of assisteris." He also attests his own sincerity by a lecture to the king on the difference between tyrannical and just government; which, as a curious specimen of the

prose composition of that time, and also a testimony to the enlightened and upright character of Ballentyne, we shall extract into these pages:—

"As Seneca says, in his tragedie, all ar nocht kingis that bene clothit with purpure and dredoure, but only they that sekis na singulare profet, in damage of the commonweill; and sa vigilant that the life of their subdittis is mair deir and precious to them than their awin life. Ane tyrane sekis riches; ane king sekis honour, conquest be virtew. Ane tyrane governis his realmeis be slaughter, dredoure, and falsit; ane king gidis his realme be prudence, integrite, and favour. Ane tyrane suspekis all them that hes riches, gret dominioun, auctorite, or gret rentis; ane king haldis sic men for his maist helpy friendis. Ane tyrane luffis nane bot vane fleschouris, vicious and wicket lymmaris, be quahis counsall he rages in slaughter and tyranny; ane king luffis men of wisdom, gravite, and science; knowing weil that his gret materis maybewell dressit be thair prudence. Treuth is that kingis and tyrannis hes mony handis, mony ene, and mony mo memberis. Ane tyrane sets him to be dred; ane king to be luffet. Ane tyrane rejoises to mak his pepill pure; ane king to mak thame riche. Ane tyrane draws his pepill to sindry factiones, discord, and hatrent; ane king maks peace, tranquillite, and concord; knowing nothing sa dammagious as division amang his subdittis. Ane tyrane confounds all divine and humane lawis; ane king observis thaim, and rejoises in equite and justice. All thir properteis sal be patent, in reding the livis of gud and evil kingis, in the history precedent."

To have spoken in this way to an absolute prince shows Ballentyne to have been not altogether a courtier.

He afterwards adds, in a finely impassioned strain:—"Quhat thing maybe mair plesand than to se in this present volume, as in ane cleir mirroure, all the variance of tyme bygane; the sindry chancis of fourtoun; the bludy fechtung and terrible berganis sa mony years continuit, in the defence of your realme and liberte; quhilk is fallen to your hiennes with gret felicite, howbeit the samin has aftimes been ransomit with maist nobill blude of your antecessoris. Quhat is he that wil nocht rejoice to heir the knychtly afaris of thay forcy campions, King Robert Bruce and William Wallace? The first, be innative desyre to recover his realme, wes brocht to sic calamite, that mony dayis he durst nocht appeir in sicht of pepill; but amang desertis, levand on rutes and herbis, in esperance of better fourtoun; bot at last, be his singulare manheid, he come to sic preminent glore, that now he is reput the maist valyeant prince that wes eftir or before his empire. This other, of small beginning, be feris curage and corporall strength, not only put Englishmen out of Scotland, but als, be feir of his awful visage, put Edward king of England to flight; and held all the borders fornenne Scotland waist."

Ballentyne delivered a manuscript copy of his work to the king, in the summer of 1533, and about the same time he appears to have been engaged in a translation of Livy. The following entries in the treasurer's book give a curious view of the prices of literary labour in the court of a king of those days:—

"To Maister John Ballentyne, be the kingis precept, for his translating of the Chronykill, £30.

"1531, Oct. 4th. To Maister John Ballentyne, be the kingis precept, for his translating of the Chronicles, £30.

"Item, Thairefter to the said Maister Johnne, be the kingis command, £6.

"1533, July 26. To Maister John Ballentyne, for ane new Chronikle gevin to the kingis grace, £12.

"Item, To him in part payment of the translation of Titus Livius, £8.

"— Aug. 24. To Maister John Ballentyne, in part payment of the second buke of Titus Livius, £8.

"— Nov. 30. To Maister John Ballentyne, be the kingis precept, for his laboris dune in translating of Livie, £20."

The literary labours of Ballentyne were still further rewarded by his royal master, with an appointment to the archdeanery of Moray, and the escheated property and rents of two individuals, who became subject to the pains of treason for having used influence with the pope to obtain the same benefice, against the king's privilege. He subsequently got a vacant prebendaryship in the cathedral of Ross. His translation of Boece was printed in 1536, by Thomas Davidson, and had become in later times almost unique, till a new edition was published in a remarkably elegant style, in 1821, by Messrs. Tait, Edinburgh. At the same time appeared the translation of the first two books of Livy, which had never before been printed. The latter work seems to have been carried no further by the translator.

Ballentyne seems to have lived happily in the sunshine of court favour during the remainder of the reign of James V. The opposition which he afterwards presented to the Reformation brought him into such odium, that he retired from his country in disgust, and died at Rome, about the year 1550.

The translations of Ballentyne are characterized by a striking felicity of language, and also by a freedom that shows his profound acquaintance with the learned language upon which he wrought. His *Chronicle*, which closes with the reign of James I., is rather a paraphrase than a literal translation of Boece, and possesses in several respects the character of an original work. Many of the historical errors of the latter are corrected—not a few of his redundancies retrenched—and his more glaring omissions supplied. Several passages in the work are highly elegant, and some descriptions of particular incidents reach to something nearly akin to the sublime. Many of the works of Ballentyne are lost—among others a tract on the Pythagoric letter, and a discourse upon virtue and pleasure. He also wrote many political pieces, the most of which are lost. Those which have reached us are principally poems prefixed to his prose works—a species of composition not apt to bring out the better qualities of a poet; yet they exhibit the workings of a rich and luxuriant fancy, and abound in lively sallies of the imagination. They are generally allegorical, and distinguished rather by incidental beauties than by the skilful structure of the fable. The story, indeed, is often dull, the allusions obscure, and the general scope of the piece unintelligible. These faults, however, are pretty general characteristics of allegorical poets, and they are atoned for, in him, by the striking thoughts and the charming descriptions in which he abounds, and which, "like threds of gold, the rich arras, beautify his works quite thorow."

BALMER, REV. ROBERT, D.D.—This profound theologian and valued ornament of the Secession Church, was born at Ormiston Mains, in the parish of Eckford, Roxburghshire, on the 22d of November, 1787. His father, who was a land-steward, was a man in comfortable though not affluent circumstances, and Robert's earliest education—besides the ordinary advantages which the peasantry of Scotland possessed—enjoyed the inestimable benefit of a care-

ful religious superintendence, both of his parents being distinguished for piety and intelligence. The result of such training was quickly conspicuous in the boy, who, as soon as he could read, was an earnest and constant reader of the Bible, while his questions and remarks showed that he studied its meaning beyond most persons of his age. His thirst for general knowledge was also evinced by a practice sometimes manifested by promising intellectual boyhood—this was the arresting of every stray leaf that fell in his way, and making himself master of its contents, instead of throwing it carelessly to the winds. On the death of his father, Robert, who, although only ten years old, was the eldest of the family, on the evening of the day of the funeral, quietly placed the books for family worship before his widowed mother, as he had wont to do before his departed parent when he was alive. She burst into tears at this touching remembrance of her bereavement, but was comforted by the considerate boy, who reminded her that God, who had taken away his father, would still be a Father to them, and would hear them—"and, mother," he added, "we must not go to bed to-night without worshipping him." Consolation so administered could not be otherwise than effectual: the psalm was sung, the chapter read, and the prayer offered up by the sorrowing widow in the midst of her orphans; and the practice was continued daily for years, until Robert was old enough to assume his proper place as his father's representative.

The studious temperament of Robert Balmer, which was manifested at an early period, appears to have been not a little influenced by his delicate health, that not only prevented him from joining in the more active sports of his young compeers, but promoted that thoughtfulness and sensibility by which sickly boyhood is frequently characterized. The same circumstance also pointed out to him his proper vocation; and he said, on discovering his inability even for the light work of the garden, "Mother, if I do not gain my bread by my head, I'll never do it with my hands." As to which of the learned professions he should select, the choice may be said to have been already made in consequence of his domestic training: he would be a minister of the gospel, and that too in the Secession Church to which his parents belonged. He proceeded to the study of Latin, first at the parish school of Morebattle, and afterwards that of Kelso, at the latter of which seminaries he formed a close acquaintanceship with his schoolfellow, Thomas Pringle, afterwards known as the author of *African Sketches*, which was continued till death. In 1802 Mr. Balmer entered the university of Edinburgh, and, after passing through the usual course of classical, ethical, and scientific study, was enrolled as a student in theology in connection with the Associate Synod. Even already he had established for himself such a respectable intellectual reputation, that his young brethren in preparation for the ministry received him with more than ordinary welcome. As Dr. Lawson, the theological professor of the Associate Synod, lectured only for two months of each year, at the end of summer and commencement of autumn, Mr. Balmer, in common with several of his fellow-students, attended the regular course of theology during the winters at the university of Edinburgh. They thus availed themselves of the twofold means of improvement which they possessed, without any compromise of their principles being exacted in return; and the fruits of this were manifest in after-life, not only by the highly superior attainments of many of the Secession ministry, but the liberal spirit and kindly feeling which they

learned to cherish toward their brethren of the Established Church, and the affectionate intercourse that often continued between them to the end. This, however, alarmed some of the elder and more rigid brethren of the Synod: they thought that this liberality savoured of lukewarmness, and would in time prove a grievous snare; and, under the impression, an overture was introduced into the Synod, for the prevention of all such erratic courses in future. The students of Selkirk who studied under Dr. Lawson took the alarm at this threatened restriction, and the petition and remonstrance presented by them in vindication was drawn up by Mr. Balmer. Although some indignation was expressed at the students for the liberty they had thus taken in addressing the supreme court of their church, the petition was received by the Synod, and the obnoxious overture dismissed. One of the senior and leading members observed on this occasion that he would be sorry to see any measure adopted which would tend to drive from their body the man who could write such a paper.

After having finished the four years' course of divinity prescribed by the Presbyterian churches of Scotland, it was expected that Mr. Balmer should apply for license as a preacher. This was the more necessary in the communion to which he belonged, as the number of its licentiates scarcely equalled that of the vacant congregations. But, to the surprise of his friends, he held back for two years, and his delay was attributed to unworthy motives. Already one of the most promising students of the connection, it was thought that he demurred from mere pride of intellect, and was unwilling to identify himself with a cause which as yet had produced so few men of high mark: others, who were aware that he had already been advised to pass over to the Established Church, and share in its honours and emoluments, imagined that he had taken the advice to heart, and only waited the fit season for such a step. But these surmises were as unkind as they were untrue. His ambition went no higher than to be the humble useful minister of some country Burgher congregation, while his humility confirmed him in the belief that he would have for his brethren men of still higher attainments than his own. His delay entirely originated in scruples of conscience. He had thought anxiously and profoundly upon the subject, and could not wholly admit the formula which he would be required to subscribe as a licentiate. "On the question," he afterwards said, "demanding an assent to the Confession and Catechisms, I stated, that to me these documents appeared so extensive and multifarious as to be disproportioned to the narrow limits of the human mind; that I at least had not studied every expression in them so carefully as to be prepared to assent to it with the solemnity of an oath; that I approved of them, however, in so far as I had studied them; and that the Presbytery might ascertain, by strict examination, the amount of my attainments, and treat me accordingly—which of course they did." His scruples were respected, his explanations in assenting to the formula admitted; and on the 4th of August, 1812, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel by the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh.

On commencing the great work to which all his studies had been directed, Mr. Balmer began under rather inauspicious circumstances. All are aware how essential certain external advantages are in the formation of an acceptable and popular preacher, and how completely a dissenting preacher depends upon this popularity for his call to the ministry, and the successful discharge of his duties. But in the graces of person and manner Mr. Balmer was decidedly

wanting. His eyes, from their weakness, had an unpleasant cast, and his figure was ungainly; his voice was monotonous; and his gestures were, to say the least, inelegant. For a person in his position to surmount such obstacles argued a mind of no ordinary power. And he did surmount them. Such was the depth and originality of thought, the power of language, and heart-moving unction which his sermons possessed, that his growing acceptability bade fair in a short time to convert these defects into positive excellencies in the eyes of his captivated audiences. In a few months he received calls from not less than four congregations, so that he would have been in a strait to choose, had not the laws of his church provided for such doubtful emergencies. Amid such competition, the choice devolved upon the Synod, modified, however, by the personal wishes of the preacher thus called; and on Balmer expressing a preference for the congregation at Berwick, he was ordained its minister on the 23d of March, 1814.

The life of a Secession minister in a third-rate town affords few points for a limited memoir. They are also of such a regular monotonous character, that the history of a single month is a sufficient specimen of whole years so occupied. And yet, while thus employed, Mr. Balmer was neither a dull nor inefficient workman. He threw the whole of his large intellect and warm heart into his sacred duties; and while he secured the love of his congregation, his reputation was silently growing and going onward, until, without seeking it, he found himself a man of high mark and influence in that important segment of the church universal to which he belonged. And all the while he was continuing to improve his faculties, and extend his intellectual resources, for his was not a mind to rest satisfied with past acquisitions, however sufficient they might be for the present demand. Events also occurred, or were searched out and found sufficient to keep up that wholesome stir of mind without which the best of duties are apt to become a monotonous task. Among these was the exercise of his pen in a review of the work of Hall of Leicester on *Terms of Communion*, which was inserted in two numbers of the *Christian Repository* of 1817. He was also on several occasions a visitor to London, whither he was called on clerical duty; and in these southward journeys he enjoyed much "colloquy sublime" with Robert Hall, of whom his reminiscences are among the most interesting that have appeared of that great pulpit orator and theological metaphysician. He also took a keen interest in the union of the two parties of the Secession Church, known by the name of Burghers and Anti-burghers, which took place in 1820. This was an event that was dear to his heart, for not only was he a lover of Christian concord, and the enemy of all infinitesimal distinctions that keep brethren asunder, but he had been born in that union; for although his father and mother had belonged to the different parties, they had always lived and acted as those who are completely at one. In 1826 he married Miss Jane Scott, daughter of Mr. Alexander Scott of Aberdeen, and sister of John Scott, the well-known author of *Visits to Paris*. In the year following he was involved—as what minister in Scotland was not more or less involved?—in what is still vividly remembered under the name of the "Apocrypha controversy." Mr. Balmer endeavoured on this occasion to reconcile the contending parties, and was required by the suspicions of the one, and the active hostility of the other, for his pains. Such was the fate of not a few at this time who endeavoured to perform the part of peacemakers. They are "blessed" indeed—but not of men, and

must look elsewhere than to the earth for their reward. After the Apocryphical, the Voluntary controversy predominated, in which the Secession, utterly renouncing the Establishment principle, which it had hitherto recognized in theory, became thoroughly and completely a dissent, by proclaiming the inexpediency and unlawfulness of civil establishments of religion, and contending for a separation between church and state. On this occasion, Mr. Balmer took the part that might have been expected from his character and situation. He was allied in friendship with many ministers of the Established Church; and, in common with many of his brethren, he was conscious of the fickleness of popular rule. All this was well so long as the question was left to every man's conscience. But when it swelled into a public controversy, and when every person was obliged to take a side, and be either the friend or the enemy of voluntarism, Mr. Balmer acted as every Secession minister did, who still meant to abide at his post. He thought that the voluntary system, although an evil, was the least evil of the two, and therefore he became its apologist and advocate.

On the death of Dr. Dick of Glasgow, who for thirteen years had been professor of theology in the Associate, and afterwards in the United Associate Synod, it was resolved to establish three divinity professorships, instead of one. On this occasion Mr. Balmer's high talents were recognized, by his appointment, in 1834, first to the chair of pastoral theology, and afterwards to that of systematic theology. Although Glasgow was the sphere of his professorship, his duties called him away from Berwick only two months in the year. The duties of such a brief session, however, were scarcely less than those of a six months' course in our well-endowed universities. The following is an account of them given by one of his pupils:—"It is not, I presume, necessary to say more of the nature of his course than that it consisted of five parts—one preliminary, on the Christian evidences; one supplementary, on Christian morals; the other three consisting respectively of—topics in revelation preparatory to the scheme of redemption; of the work of the Redeemer; and of the blessings of redemption. Those subjects were gone over in a series of lectures, extending over the last three years of the students' course. Each session occupied eight weeks, and the number of weekly lectures, each of an hour's length, was five, so that the total number delivered in a full course was, after every abatement for interruption and irregularity, somewhere below 120. Another hour daily was somewhat irregularly divided between examinations, or rather oral lectures, and hearing of the discourses of between forty and fifty students, in the third and fifth years of their progress, to which was sometimes added an occasional voluntary essay." Of the manner in which these duties were discharged, the same pupil affectionately adds:—"Who can ever forget the hours spent in hearing these prelections, or the singularly impressive manner of him by whom they were delivered? The simplicity of the reclus student, exalted into the heavenliness of mature saintship—the dignified composure, mixed with kindly interest—the look of unworldly purity and abstract intelligence, that more than redeemed the peculiar and unpromising features—the venerable hoary head, that no one could refuse to rise up and honour—all strongly fixed the eye; and then came the full stream of a never-to-be-forgotten voice, monotonous only in simple and unimportant sentences, but varied in striking cadence through all the members of an exquisitely balanced period, and now kindling into animation and emphasis in the glow of

argument, now sinking into thrilling solemnity and tenderness with the falls of devout emotion; while all the while no play of look, or fervour of tone, or strange sympathetic gesture, could disturb your idea of the reigning self-possession and lofty moral dignity of the speaker. Never had lecturer a more attentive audience. The eagerness of note-taking alone broke the general silence."

When these important labours were finished, Mr. Balmer returned at the end of each session to Berwick, not for the purpose of rest, however, but to resume his clerical duties with double vigour. In this way his life went on from year to year—silent indeed, and overlooked by the world in general; but who can trace or fully estimate the effects of such a life upon the generations to come? He who in such fashion rears up teachers of religion may live and die unnoticed, but never unfelt: his deeds will travel onward from generation to generation, even when his name has utterly passed away; he will still live and instruct, in his pupils, and the disciples of his pupils, though his dust may long ago have mouldered in the winds. In 1840 Mr. Balmer received from the university of St. Andrews the degree of Doctor in Divinity, which was conferred upon him by the senatus without influence or solicitation. During the latter years of his life, a controversy was agitated in the United Secession upon the extent of the atonement, which threatened at one time to rend that church asunder. In such a case, it could not be otherwise than that Dr. Balmer, however unwillingly, should express his sentiments upon the question at issue. This he did, but with such gentleness and moderation, as to soften the keenness of debate, and increase the general esteem in which he was held by all parties. After this his season arrived in which every theological doubt and difficulty ends in unswerving and eternal certainty. A short but severe illness, the result of mental anxiety acting upon a feeble frame—the first and last attack of serious pain and sickness he had ever felt—ended his life on the 1st of July, 1844. This event, however anticipated from his years and growing infirmities, not only threw his whole congregation into the deepest sorrow, each individual feeling himself bereaved of an honoured and affectionate father, but struck with a sudden thrill the extensive Associate Secession church through its whole range in Scotland and England. Even the funeral of Dr. Balmer was significant of his catholic liberality and high talents—of one who had lived in Christian peace and love with all, and won the admiration and esteem of all; for in the town business was suspended, the inhabitants assembled as if some prince of the land was to be honoured and bewailed in his death, and the coffin was followed to the grave by the ministers of every denomination, both of the English and Scottish Establishment and dissent, who dwelt in the town and country. A monumental obelisk was soon after erected over the grave by his affectionate congregation. Two volumes of his writings have also been published since his death, the one consisting of pulpit discourses, and the other of academical lectures, in which the high estimate taken of his talents by the church to which he belonged is fully justified.

BALNAVES, HENRY, of Halhill, an eminent lay reformer, and also a theological writer of some eminence, was born of poor parents in the town of Kirkcaldy. After an academical course at St. Andrews, he travelled to the Continent, and, hearing of a free school in Cologne, procured admission to it, and received a liberal education, together with in-

struction in Protestant principles. Returning to his native country, he applied himself to the study of law, and acted for some time as a procurator at St. Andrews. In the year 1538 he was appointed by James V. a senator of the College of Justice, a court only instituted five years before. Notwithstanding the jealousy of the clergy, who hated him on account of his religious sentiments, he was employed on important embassies by James V., and subsequently by the governor Arran, during the first part of whose regency he acted as secretary of state. Having at length made an open profession of the Protestant religion, he was, at the instigation of Arran's brother, the Abbot of Paisley, dismissed from that situation. He now appears to have entered into the interests of the English party against the governor, and accordingly, with the Earl of Rothes and Lord Gray, was thrown into Blackness Castle (November, 1543), where he probably remained till relieved next year on the appearance of the English fleet in the Firth of Forth. There is much reason to believe that this sincere and pious man was privy to the conspiracy formed against the life of Cardinal Beaton; an action certainly not the brightest in the page of Scottish history, but of which it is not too much to say, that it might have been less defensible if its motive had not been an irregular kind of patriotism. Balnaves, though he did not appear among the actual perpetrators of the assassination, soon after joined them in the castle of St. Andrews, which they held out against the governor. He was consequently declared a traitor, and excommunicated. His principal employment in the service of the conspirators seems to have been that of an ambassador to the English court. In February, 1546-7, he obtained from Henry VIII. a subsidy of £1180, besides a quantity of provisions for his compatriots, and a pension of £125 to himself, which was to run from the 25th of March. On the 15th of this latter month he had become bound, along with his friends, to deliver up Queen Mary, and also the castle of St. Andrews, into the hands of the English; and in May he obtained a further sum of £300. While residing in the castle, he was instrumental, along with Mr. John Rough and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, in prevailing upon John Knox to preach publicly in St. Andrews—the first regular ministrations in the reformed religion in Scotland.

When the defenders of the castle surrendered in August, Balnaves shared in their fate, along with Knox and many other eminent persons. He was conveyed to the castle of Rouen, in France, and there committed to close confinement. Yet he still found occasional opportunities to communicate with his friend Knox. Having employed himself during his solitary hours in composing a treatise on Justification, he conveyed it to the reformer, who was so much pleased with it, that he divided it into chapters, added some marginal notes and a concise epitome of its contents, and prefixed a commendatory dedication, intending that it should be published in Scotland as soon as opportunity offered. This work fell aside for some years, but, after Knox's death, was discovered in the house of Ormiston by Richard Bannatyne, and was published at Edinburgh, in 1584, under the title of *The Confession of Faith, containing, how the Troubled Man should seek Refuge at his God, thereto led by Faith, &c.*: Compiled by M. Henrie Balnaves of Halhill, one of the Lords of Session and Counsell of Scotland, being a Prisoner within the Old Pallace of Roane, in the Year of our Lord 1548. Direct to his faithful Brethren being in like Trouble or more, and to all True Professors and Favourers of the Sincere Word of God. Dr. Mc'Crie has given some

extracts from this work in his life of John Knox. After his return from banishment, Balnaves took a bold and conspicuous part in the contest carried on by the lords of the congregation against the regent Mary. He was one of the commissioners who, in February, 1559-60, settled the treaty at Berwick between the former insurgent body and the Queen of England, in consequence of which the Scottish reformation was finally established through aid from a country always heretofore the bitterest enemy of Scotland. In 1563 he was reappointed to the bench, and also nominated as one of the commissioners for revising the *Book of Discipline*. He acted some years later, along with Buchanan and others, as counsellors to the Earl of Murray, in the celebrated inquiry by English and Scottish commissioners into the alleged guilt of Queen Mary. He died, according to Mackenzie, in 1579.

"In his *Treatise upon Justification*," says the latter authority, "he affirms that the justification spoken of by St. James is different from that spoken of by St. Paul; for the justification by good works, which St. James speaks of, only justifies us before man; but the justification by faith, which St. Paul speaks of, justifies us before God: and that all, yea, even the best of our good works, are but sins before God."

"And," adds Mackenzie, with true Jacobite sarcasm, "whatever may be in this doctrine of our author's, I think we may grant to him that the most of all his actions which he valued himself upon, and reckoned good works, were really great and heinous sins before God, for no good man will justify rebellion and murder."

Without entering into the controversies involved by this proposition, either as to the death of Cardinal Beaton or the accusations against Queen Mary, we may content ourselves with quoting the opinion entertained of Balnaves by the good and moderate Melville: he was, according to this writer, "a godly, learned, wise, and long experimented counsellor." "A poem" by Balnaves, entitled *An Advice to Headstrong Youth*, is selected from Bannatyne's manuscript into *The Evergreen*.

BANNATYNE, GEORGE, takes his title to a place in this work from a source of fame participated by no other individual within the range of Scottish biography: it is to this person that we are indebted for the preservation of nearly all the productions of the Scottish poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Though the services he has thus rendered to his country were in some measure the result of accident; yet it is also evident that, if he had not been a person of eminent literary taste, and also partly a poet himself, we should never have had to celebrate him as a collector of poetry. The compound claim which he has thus established to our notice, and the curious antique picture which is presented to our eye by even the little that is known regarding his character and pursuits, will, it is hoped, amply justify his admission into this gallery of eminent Scotsmen.

George Bannatyne was born in an elevated rank of society. His father, James Bannatyne, of the Kirkcaldy of Newtyle, in the county of Forfar, was a writer in Edinburgh, at a time when that profession must have been one of some distinction and rarity; and he was probably the person alluded to by Robert Semple in *The Defens of Grissell Sandylands*:—

"For men of law I wait not quhair to luke:
James Bannatyne was anis a man of skill."

It also appears that James Bannatyne held the office of TABULAR to the Lords of Session, in which office

his eldest son (afterwards a Lord of Council and Session) was conjoined with him as successor, by royal precept, dated May 2, 1583. James Bannatyne is further ascertained to have been connected with the very ancient and respectable family of Bannachtyne, or Bannatyne, of Camys (now Kames), in the island of Bute. He was the father, by his wife Katharine Taillieffer, of twenty-three children, nine of whom, who survived at the time of his death, in 1583, were "weill and sufficiently provydit be him, under God."

George Bannatyne, the seventh child of his parents, was born on the 22d day of February, 1545, and was bred up to trade.¹ It is, however, quite uncertain at what time he began to be engaged in business on his own account, or whether he spent his youth in business or not. Judging, however, as the world is apt to judge, we should suppose, from his taste for poetry, and his having been a writer of verses himself, that he was at least no zealous applicant to any commercial pursuit. Two poems of his, written before the age of twenty-three, are full of ardent though conceited affection towards some fair mistress, whom he describes in the most extravagantly complimentary terms. It is also to be supposed that, at this age, even though obliged to seek some amusement during a time of necessary seclusion, he could not have found the means to collect, or the taste to execute, such a mass of poetry as that which bears his name, if he had not previously been almost entirely abandoned to this particular pursuit. At the same time there is some reason to suppose that he was not altogether an idle young man, given up to vain fancies, from the two first lines of his valedictory address at the end of his collection:

"Heir endis this buik writtin in tyme of pest,
Quhen we *fra labor* was compell'd to rest."

Of the transaction on which the whole fame of George Bannatyne rests we give the following interesting account from the memoir just quoted:—

"It is seldom that the toils of the amanuensis are in themselves interesting, or that, even while enjoying the advantages of the poor scribe's labour, we are disposed to allow him the merit of more than mere mechanical drudgery. But in the compilation of George Bannatyne's manuscript there are particulars which rivet our attention on the writer, and raise him from a humble copyist into a national benefactor.

"Bannatyne's manuscript is in a folio form, containing upwards of 800 pages, very neatly and closely written, and designed, as has been supposed, to be sent to the press. The labour of compiling so rich a collection was undertaken by the author during the time of pestilence, in the year 1568, when the dread of infection compelled men to forsake their usual employments, which could not be conducted without admitting the ordinary promiscuous intercourse between man and his kindred men.

"In this dreadful period, when hundreds, finding themselves surrounded by danger and death, renounced all care save that of selfish precaution for their own safety, and all thoughts save apprehensions

of infection, George Bannatyne had the courageous energy to form and execute the plan of saving the literature of a whole nation; and, undisturbed by the universal mourning for the dead, and general fears of the living, to devote himself to the task of collecting and recording the triumphs of human genius;—thus, amid the wreck of all that was mortal, employing himself in preserving the lays by which immortality is at once given to others, and obtained for the writer himself. His task, he informs us, had its difficulties; for he complains that he had, even in his time, to contend with the disadvantage of copies old, maimed, and mutilated, and which long before our day must, but for this faithful transcriber, have perished entirely. The very labour of procuring the originals of the works which he transcribed must have been attended with much trouble and some risk, at a time when all the usual intercourse of life was suspended; and when we can conceive that even so simple a circumstance as the borrowing and lending a book of ballads was accompanied with some doubt and apprehension, and that probably the suspected volume was subjected to fumigation and the precautions used in quarantine.²

"In the reign of James IV. and V. the fine arts, as they awakened in other countries, made some progress in Scotland also. Architecture and music were encouraged by both of those accomplished sovereigns; and poetry, above all, seems to have been highly valued at the Scottish court. The King of Scotland, who, in point of power, seems to have been little more than the first baron of his kingdom, held a free and merry court, in which poetry and satire seem to have had unlimited range, even where their shafts glanced on royalty itself. The consequence of this general encouragement was the production of much poetry of various kinds, and concerning various persons, which the narrow exertions of the Scottish press could not convey to the public, or which, if printed at all, existed only in limited editions, which soon sunk to the rarity of manuscripts. There was therefore an ample mine out of which Bannatyne made his compilation, with the intention, doubtless, of putting the lays of the 'makers' out of the reach of oblivion by subjecting the collection to the press. But the bloody wars of Queen Mary's time³ made that no period for literary adventure; and the tendency of the subsequent age to polemical discussion discouraged lighter and gayer studies. There is, therefore, little doubt, that had Bannatyne lived later than he did, or had he been a man of less taste in selecting his materials, a great proportion of the poetry contained in his volume must have been lost to posterity; and, if the stock of northern literature had been diminished only by the loss of such of Dunbar's pieces as Bannatyne's manuscript contains, the damage to posterity would have been infinite."

The pestilence which caused Bannatyne to go into retirement commenced at Edinburgh upon the 8th of September, 1568, being introduced by a merchant

¹ In a *Memoir of George Bannatyne*, by Sir Walter Scott, prefixed to a collection of *memorabilia* regarding him, which has been printed for the Bannatyne Club, it is supposed that he was not early engaged in business. But this supposition seems only to rest on an uncertain inference from a passage in George Bannatyne's *Memoriall Buik*, where it is mentioned that Katharine Taillieffer, at her death in 1570, left behind her eleven children, of whom eight were as yet "unput to proffit." On a careful inspection of the family notices in this *Memoriall Buik*, it appears as likely that George himself was one of those already "put to proffit" as otherwise, more especially considering that he was then twenty-five years of age.

² With deference to Sir Walter, we would suggest that the suspicion under which books are always held at a time of pestilence as a means of conveying the infection, gives great reason to suppose that George Bannatyne had previously collected his original manuscripts, and only took this opportunity of transcribing them. The writing of 800 folio pages in the careful and intricate style of calligraphy then practised, appears a sufficient task in itself for three months, without supposing that any part of the time was spent in collecting manuscripts. And hence we see the greater reason for supposing that a large part of the attention of George Bannatyne before his twenty-third year was devoted to Scottish poetry.

³ The accomplished writer should rather have said, the minority of James VI., whose reign had commenced before the manuscript was written.

of the name of Dalglish. We have, however, no evidence to prove that Bannatyne resided at this time in the capital. We know, from his own information, that he wrote his manuscript during the subsequent months of October, November, and December; which might almost seem to imply that he had lived in some other town, to which the pestilence only extended at the end of the month in which it appeared in Edinburgh. Leaving this in uncertainty, it is not perhaps too much to suppose that he might have adopted this means of spending his time of seclusion from the fictitious example held up by Boccaccio, who represents the tales of his *Decameron* as having been told for mutual amusement by a company of persons who had retired to the country to escape the plague. A person so eminently acquainted with the poetry of his own country might well be familiar with the kindred work of that illustrious Italian.

The few remaining facts of George Bannatyne's life, which have been gathered up by the industry of Sir Walter Scott, may be briefly related. In 1572 he was provided with a tenement in the town of Leith, by a gift from his father. This would seem to imply that he was henceforward, at least, engaged in business, and resided either in Edinburgh or at its neighbouring port. It was not, however, till the 27th of October, 1587, that, being then in his forty-third year, he was admitted in due and competent form to the privileges of a merchant and guild-brother of the city of Edinburgh. "We have no means of knowing what branch of traffic George Bannatyne chiefly exercised; it is probable that, as usual in a Scottish burgh, his commerce was general and miscellaneous. We have reason to know that it was successful, as we find him in a few years possessed of a considerable capital, the time being considered, which he employed to advantage in various money-lending transactions. It must not be forgot that the penal laws of the Catholic period pronounced all direct taking of interest upon money to be usurious and illegal. These denunciations did not decrease the desire of the wealthy to derive some profit from their capital, or diminish the necessity of the embarrassed land-holder who wished to borrow money. The mutual interest of the parties suggested various evasions of the law, of which the most common was, that the capitalist advanced to his debtor the sum wanted, as the price of a corresponding annuity, payable out of the lands and tenements of the debtor, which annuity was rendered redeemable upon the said debtor repaying the sum advanced. The moneyed man of those days, therefore, imitated the conduct imputed to the Jewish patriarch by Shylock. They did not take

—interest—not as you would say
Directly interest,

but they retained payment of an annuity as long as the debtor retained the use of their capital, which came to much the same thing. A species of transaction was contrived, as affording a convenient mode of securing the lender's money. Our researches have discovered that George Bannatyne had sufficient funds to enter into various transactions of this kind in the capacity of lender; and, as we have no reason to suppose that he profited unfairly by the necessities of the other party, he cannot be blamed for having recourse to the ordinary expedients to avoid the penalty of an absurd law, and accomplish a fair transaction, dictated by mutual expediency."

Bannatyne, about the same time that he became a burgher of Edinburgh, appears to have married his spouse, Isobel Mawchan [apparently identical with the modern name *Maughan*], who was the relict of

Baillie William Nisbett, and must have been about forty years of age at the time of her second nuptials, supposing 1586 to be the date of that event, which is only probable from the succeeding year having produced her first child by Bannatyne. This child was a daughter, by name Janet or Jonet; she was born on the 3d of May, 1587. A son, James, born on the 6th of September, 1589, and who died young, completes the sum of Bannatyne's family. The father of Bannatyne died in the year 1583, and was succeeded in his estate of Newtyle by his eldest living son, Thomas, who became one of the Lords of Session by that designation—an appointment which forms an additional voucher for the general respectability of the family. George Bannatyne was, on the 27th of August, 1603, deprived of his affectionate helpmate, Isobel Mawchan, at the age of fifty-seven. She had lived, according to her husband's *Memoriall*, "a godly, honourable, and virtuous life; was a wise, honest, and true matron, and departed in the Lord in a peaceful and godly manner."

George Bannatyne himself deceased previous to the year 1608, leaving only one child, Janet, who had, in 1603, been married to George Foulis of Woodhall and Ravelstone, second son of James Foulis of Colington. His valuable collection of Scottish poetry was preserved in his daughter's family till 1712, when his great-grandson, William Foulis of Woodhall, bestowed it upon the Honourable William Carmichael of Skirling, advocate, brother to the Earl of Hyndford, a gentleman who appears to have had an eminent taste for such monuments of antiquity. While in the possession of Mr. Carmichael it was borrowed by Allan Ramsay, who selected from its pages the materials of his popular collection styled *The Evergreen*. Lord Hailes, in 1770, published a second and more correct selection from the Bannatyne manuscript; and the venerable tome was, in 1772, by the liberality of John, third Earl of Hyndford, deposited in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, where it still remains.

We have already alluded to George Bannatyne as a poet: but, to tell the truth, his verses display little, in thought or imagery, that could be expected to interest the present generation; neither was he perhaps a versifier of great repute, even in his own time.

It only remains to be mentioned that the name of George Bannatyne has been appropriately adopted by a company of Scottish literary antiquaries, interested, like him, in the preservation of such curious memorials of the taste of past ages, as well as such monuments of history as might otherwise run the hazard of total perdition.

BARBOUR, JOHN, a name of which Scotland has just occasion to be proud, was Archdeacon of Aberdeen in the later part of the fourteenth century. There has been much idle controversy as to the date of his birth; while all that is known with historic certainty may be related in a single sentence. As he was an archdeacon in 1357, and as, by the canon law, no man without a dispensation can attain that rank under the age of twenty-five, he was probably born before the year 1332.

As to his parentage or birthplace we have only similar conjectures. Besides the probability of his having been a native of the district in which he afterwards obtained high clerical rank, it can be shown that there were individuals of his name in and about the town of Aberdeen, any one of whom might have been his father. The name, which appears to have been one of that numerous class derived from trades, is also found in persons of the same era who were connected with the southern parts of Scotland.

In attempting the biography of an individual who lived four or five centuries ago, and whose life was commemorated by no contemporary, all that can be expected is a few unconnected, and perhaps not very interesting, facts. It is already established that Barbour, in 1357, was archdeacon of the cathedral of Aberdeen, and fulfilled a high trust imposed upon him by his bishop. It is equally ascertained that, in the same year, he travelled, with three scholars in his company, to Oxford, for purposes connected with study. A safe-conduct granted to him by Edward III., August 23d, at the request of David II., conveys this information in the following terms: "*Venendo, cum tribus scholaribus in comitiva sua, in regnum nostrum Anglie, causa studendi in universitate Oxonie et ibidem actus scholasticos exercendo, morando, exinde in Scotiam ad propria redeundo.*" It might have been supposed that Barbour only officiated in this expedition as tutor to the three scholars; but that he was himself bent on study at the university is proved by a second safe-conduct, granted by the same monarch, November 6th, 1364, in the following terms: "To Master John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, with four knights (*equites*), coming from Scotland, by land or sea, into England, to study at Oxford, or elsewhere, as he may think proper." As also from a third, bearing date November 30th, 1368: "To Master John Barbour, with two valets and two horses, to come into England and travel through the same, to the other dominions of the king, versus Franciam, *causa studendi*, and of returning again." It would thus appear that Barbour, even after that he had attained a high ecclesiastical dignity, found it agreeable or necessary to spend several winters at Oxford in study. When we recollect that at this time there was no university in Scotland, and that a man of such literary habits as Barbour could not fail to find himself at a loss even for the use of a library in his native country, we are not to wonder at his occasional pilgrimages to the illustrious shrine of learning on the banks of the Isis. On the 16th of October, 1635, he received another safe-conduct from Edward III., permitting him "to come into England and travel throughout that kingdom, *cum sex sociis suis equitibus, usque Sanctum Dionisium*," i.e. with six knights in company, to St. Dennis in France. Such slight notices suggest curious and interesting views of the manners of that early time. We are to understand from them that Barbour always travelled in a very dignified manner, being sometimes attended by four knights and sometimes by no fewer than six, or at least by two mounted servants. A man accustomed to such state might be the better able to compose a chivalrous epic like *The Bruce*.

There is no other authentic document regarding Barbour till the year 1373, when his name appears in the list of auditors of exchequer for that year, being then described as "*clericus probationis domus domini nostri regis*;" i.e. apparently—auditor of the comptroller's accounts for the royal household. This, however, is too obscure and solitary an authority to enable us to conclude that he bore an office under the king. Hume of Godscroft, speaking of "the Bruce's book," says: "As I am informed, the book was penned by a man of good knowledge and learning, named Master John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdene, for which work he had a yearly pension out of the exchequer during his life, which he gave to the hospital of that towne, and to which it is allowed and paid still in our dayes."¹ This fact, that a pension was given him for writing his book, is authenticated by an unquestionable document. In

the *Rotuli Ballivorum Burgi de Aberdonia* for 1471, the entry of the discharge for this royal donation bears that it was expressly given "for the compilation of the *Book of the Deeds of King Robert the First*," referring to a prior statement of this circumstance in the more ancient rolls:—"Et decano et capitulo Abirdonensi percipienti annuatim viginti solidos pro anniversario quondam Magistri Johannis Barberi, pro compilatione libri gestorum Regis Roberti primi, ut patet in antiquis Rotulis de anno Compoti, xx. s." The first notice we have of Barbour receiving a pension is dated February 18th, 1390; and although this period was only about two months before the death of Robert the Second, it appears from the rolls that to that monarch the poet was indebted for the favour. In the roll for April 26th, 1398, this language occurs:—"Quam recolendie memorie quondam dominus Robertus secundus, rex Scottorum, dedit, concessit, et carta sua confirmavit quondam Johanni Barbere archidiacono Aberdonensi," &c. In the roll dated June 2d, 1424, the words are these:—"Decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedralis Aberdonensis percipientibus annuatim viginti solidos de firmis dicti burgi pro anniversario quondam Magistri Johannis Barbar pro compilatione libri de gestis Regis Roberti Brwise, ex concessione Regis Roberti Secundi, in plenam solutionem dicte pensionis," &c. Barbour's pension consisted of £10 Scots from the customs of Aberdeen, and of 20 shillings from the rents or burrow-mails of the same city. The first sum was limited to "the life of Barbour;" the other to "his assignees whomsoever, although he should have assigned it in the way of mortification." Hume of Godscroft and others are in a mistake in supposing that he appropriated this sum to an hospital, for it appears from the accounts of the great chamberlain that he left it to the chapter of the cathedral church of Aberdeen, for the express purpose of having mass said for his soul annually after his decease. Barbour's anniversary, it is supposed, continued till the Reformation; and then the sum allowed for it reverted to the crown.

All that is further known of Barbour is, that he died towards the close of 1395. This appears from the chartulary of Aberdeen, and it is the last year in which the payment of his pension of £10 stands on the record.

The Bruce, which Barbour himself informs us he wrote in the year 1375, is a metrical history of Robert I.—his exertions and achievements for the recovery of the independence of Scotland, and the principal transactions of his reign. As Barbour flourished in the age immediately following that of his hero, he must have enjoyed the advantage of hearing from eye-witnesses narratives of the war of liberty. As a history, his work is of good authority; he himself boasts of its *soothfastness*; and the simple and straightforward way in which the story is told goes to indicate its general veracity. Although, however, the object of the author was mainly to give a *soothfast* history of the life and transactions of Robert the Bruce, the work is far from being destitute of poetical feeling or rhythmical sweetness and harmony. The lofty sentiments and vivid descriptions with which it abounds, prove the author to have been fitted by feeling and by principle, as well as by situation, for the task which he undertook. His genius has lent truth all the charms that are usually supposed to belong to fiction. The horrors of war are softened by strokes of tenderness that make us equally in love with the hero and the poet. In battle-painting Barbour is eminent: the battle of Bannockburn is described with a minuteness, spirit, and fervency, worthy of the day.

¹ *History of the Douglasses*.

The apostrophe to freedom, after the painful description of the slavery to which Scotland was reduced by Edward, is in a style of poetical feeling very uncommon in that and many subsequent ages, and has been quoted with high praise by the most distinguished Scottish historians and critics:—

"A! fredome is a nobill thing!
Fredome mayse man to haiff liking!
Fredome all solace to man gifis;
He levys at ese that frely levys!
A noble hart may haiff nane ese,
Na ellys nocht that may him please,
Gyff fredome failthe: for fre liking
Is yeamyt our all othir thing
Na he, that ay hase levyt fre,
May nocht knaw weil the propyrte,
The angry, na the wrechyt dome,
That is cowplyt to foule thyridome.
Bot gyff he had assayit it,
Than all perquer he suld it wyt:
And suld think fredome mar to pryve
Than all the gold in world that is."—(Book i. l. 225.)

"Barbour," says an eminent critic in Scottish poetical literature, "was evidently skilled in such branches of knowledge as were then cultivated, and his learning was so well regulated as to conduce to the real improvement of his mind; the liberality of his views and the humanity of his sentiments appear occasionally to have been unconfined by the narrow boundaries of his own age. He has drawn various illustrations from ancient history, and from the stories of romance, but has rarely displayed his erudition by decking his verses with the names of ancient authors: the distichs of Cato,² and the spurious productions of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, are the only profane books to which he formally refers. He has borrowed more than one illustration from Statius, who was the favourite classic of those times, and who likewise appears to have been the favourite of Barbour: the more chaste and elegant style of Virgil and Horace were not so well adapted to the prevalent taste as the strained thoughts and gorgeous diction of Statius and Claudian. The manner in which he has incidentally discussed the subject of astrology and necromancy may be specified as not a little creditable to his good sense. It is well known that these branches of divination were assiduously cultivated during the ages of intellectual darkness. The absurdity of astrology and necromancy he has not openly attempted to expose; for as the opinions of the many, however unfounded in reason, must not be too rashly stigmatized, this might have been too bold and decided a step. Of the possibility of predicting events he speaks with the caution of a philosopher; but the following passage

¹ Some readers may perhaps arrive at the sense of this fine passage more readily through the medium of the following paraphrase:—

"Ah, Freedom is a noble thing,
And can to life a relish bring.
Freedom all solace to man gives;
He lives at ease that freely lives.
A noble heart may have no ease,
Nor aught beside that may it please,
If freedom fail—for 'tis the choice,
More than the chosen, man enjoys.
Ah, he that ne'er yet lived in thrall,
Knows not the weary pains which gall
The limbs, the soul, of him who 'plains
In slavery's foul and fester chains;
If these he knew, I woen right soon
He would seek back the precious boon
Of freedom, which he then would prize
More than all wealth beneath the skies."

² "And Catone sayis us in his wryt
To fenyhe foly quibile is wryt."—(*The Bruce*, 4to, p. 13.)

may be considered as a sufficient indication of his deliberate sentiments:—

"And sen thai ar in sic wenyng,
For owtyne certante off witting,
Me think quha sayis he knawis things
To cum, he makys great gabingis."

To form such an estimate required a mind capable of resisting a strong torrent of prejudice; nor is it superfluous to remark, that in an age of much higher refinement, Dryden suffered himself to be deluded by the prognostications of judicial astrology. It was not, however, to be expected that Barbour should on every occasion evince a decided superiority to the general spirit of the age to which he belonged. His terrible imprecation on the person who betrayed Sir Christopher Seton, "In hell condampnyt mot he be!" ought not to have been uttered by a Christian priest. His detestation of the treacherous and cruel King Edward induced him to lend a credulous ear to the report of his consulting an infernal spirit. The misfortunes which attended Bruce at almost every step of his early progress he attributes to his sacrilegious act of slaying Comyn at the high altar. He supposes that the women and children who assisted in supplying the brave defenders of Berwick with arrows and stones were protected from injury by a miraculous interposition. Such instances of superstition or uncharitable zeal are not to be viewed as marking the individual: gross superstition, with its usual concomitants, was the general spirit of the time; and the deviations from the ordinary track are to be traced in examples of liberal feeling or enlightened judgment."³

One further quotation from the Scottish contemporary and rival of Chaucer may perhaps be admitted by the reader: it gives one of the slight and minute stories with which the poet fills up his narrative:—

"The king has hard a woman cry;
He askyt quhat that was in hy.
'It is the layndar, Schyr,' said ane,
'That her child-ill rycht now has tane,
'And mon leve now behind ws her;
'Tharfor scho makys yone iwill cher.'
The king said, 'Certis it war pite
'That scho in that poynt luld suld be;
'For certis I trow that is na man
'That be ne will rew a woman than.'
Hiss ost all thar arestyt he,
And gert a tent sone stentit be,
And gert hyr gang in hastily,
And othyr wemen to be hyr by,
Quhill scho wes delier, he bad,
And syne furth on his wayis raid;
And how scho furth suld cary it be,
Or euir he furth fur, ordanyt he.
This was a full gret curtesy,
That swilk a king, and sa mighty,
Gert his men duell on this maner
Bot for a pour lauender."

No one can fail to remark that, while the incident is in the highest degree honourable to Bruce, showing that the gentle heart may still be known by gentle deed, so also is Barbour entitled to the credit of humane feelings, from the way in which he had detailed and commented upon the transaction.

Barbour was the author of another considerable work, which has unfortunately perished. This was a chronicle of Scottish history, probably in the manner of that by Andrew Winton.

BARCLAY, ALEXANDER, a distinguished writer of the English tongue at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is known to have been a native of Scotland only by very obscure evidence. He spent some of

³ Article "Barbour," written by Dr. Irving, in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 7th edition.

his earliest years at Croydon, in Surrey, and it is conjectured that he received his education at one of the English universities. In the year 1508 he was a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Mary at Ottery, in Devonshire. He was afterwards a monk, first of the order of St. Benedict at Ely, and latterly of the order of St. Francis at Canterbury. While in this situation, and having the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he published an English translation of the *Mirroure of Good Manners* (a treatise compiled in Latin by Dominyke Mancyn), for the use of the "juvent of England." After the Reformation Barclay accepted a ministerial charge in the Protestant church, as vicar of Much-Badew in Essex. In 1546 he was vicar of Wokey in Somersetshire, and in 1552 he was presented by the dean and chapter of London to the rectory of Allhallows in Lombard Street. Having reached an advanced age, he died in June this year, at Croydon in Surrey, where he was buried.

Barclay published a great number of books, original and translated, and is allowed by the most intelligent inquirers into early English literature to have done more for the improvement of the language than any of his contemporaries. His chief poetical work is *The Ship of Fooles*, which was written in imitation of a German work entitled, *Das Narren Schiff*, published in 1494. *The Ship of Fooles*, which was first printed in 1509, describes a vessel laden with all sorts of absurd persons, though there seems to have been no end in view but to bring them into one place, so that they might be described, as the beasts were brought before Adam in order to be named. We shall transcribe one passage from this work, as a specimen of the English style of Barclay: it is a curious contemporary character of King James IV. of Scotland.

"And, ye Christen princes, whosoever ye be,
If ye be destitute of a noble captaine,
Take James of Scotland for his audacie
And proved manhode, if ye will laude attaine:
Let him have the forwarde: have ye no disdayne
Nor indignation; for never king was borne
That of ought of waure can shaw the uncore.
For if that once he take the speare in hand
Agaynst these Turkes strongly with it to ride,
None shall be able his stroke for to withstand
Nor before his face so hardy to abide.
Yet this his manhode increaseth not his pride;
But ever sheweth meeknes and humilitie,
In worde or dede to hye and lowe degree."

Barclay also made a translation of Sallust's *History of the Jugurthine War*, which was published in 1557, five years after his death, and is one of the earliest specimens of English translation from the classics.

BARCLAY, JOHN, A.M., was the founder of a religious sect in Scotland, generally named Bereans, but sometimes called, from the name of this individual, Barclayans. The former title derived its origin from the habit of Mr. Barclay, in always making an appeal to the Scriptures, in vindication of any doctrine he advanced from the pulpit or which was contained in his writings. The perfection of the Scriptures, or of the Book of divine revelation, was the fundamental article of his system; at least this was what he himself publicly declared upon all occasions, and the same sentiments are still entertained by his followers. In A.C. xvii. 10 the Bereans are thus mentioned, "These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so." These words were frequently quoted by Mr. Barclay. It ought to be observed, however, that originally it was not a name of reproach in-

vented by the malevolent part of the public, with the design of holding up Mr. Barclay and his associates to contempt, but was voluntarily assumed by them, to distinguish them from other sects of professed Christians.

Mr. Barclay was born in 1734. His father, Mr. Ludovic Barclay, was a farmer in the parish of Muthill, in the county of Perth. Being at an early age designed by his parents for the church, he was sent to school, and received the best education which that part of the country could afford. He was afterwards sent by his father to St. Andrews, where he regularly attended the literary and philosophical classes, and took the degree of A.M. At the commencement of the subsequent session, he entered the New Divinity or St. Mary's College, a seminary in which theology alone is taught. Nothing very particular occurred during his attendance at the hall, as it is generally called. He was uniformly regular in his private conduct, and though constitutionally of very impetuous passions and a fervid imagination, at no time of his life was he ever seduced into the practice of what was immoral or vicious. While he attended the lectures on divinity, the university of St. Andrews, and indeed the Church of Scotland in general, were placed in a very unpleasant situation, by the agitation of a question which originated with Dr. Archibald Campbell, professor of church history in St. Mary's College. He maintained "that the knowledge of the existence of God was derived from revelation, not from nature." This was long reckoned one of the errors of Socinus, and no one in Scotland, before Dr. Campbell's time, had ever disputed the opinion that was generally current, and consequently esteemed orthodox. He published his sentiments without the least reserve, and was equally ready to enter upon a vindication of them. He considered his view of the subject as a foundation necessary to be laid in order to demonstrate the necessity of revelation. A whole host of opponents volunteered against such dangerous sentiments; innumerable pamphlets rapidly made their appearance, and the hue and cry was so loud, that the ecclesiastical courts thought that they could no longer remain silent. Dr. Campbell was publicly prosecuted on account of his heretical opinions, but after long litigation the matter was compromised, and the only effect it produced was, that the students at St. Andrews in general became more zealous defenders of the doctor's system, though they durst not avow it so openly. Among others, Mr. Barclay had warmly espoused Dr. Campbell's system, and long before he left college he was noted as one of his most open and avowed partizans. These principles he never deserted, and in his view of Christianity it formed an important part of the system of revealed truth. It must not be imagined, however, that Mr. Barclay slavishly followed or adopted all Dr. Campbell's sentiments. Though they were both agreed that a knowledge of the true God was derived from revelation and not from nature, yet they differed upon almost every other point of systematic divinity. Mr. Barclay was early, and continued through life to be a high predestinarian, or what is technically denominated a supralapsarian, while Dr. Campbell, if one may draw an inference from some of his illustrations, leaned to Arminianism, and doubtless was not a decided Calvinist.

Mr. Barclay, having delivered the prescribed discourses, now directed his views to obtain license as a preacher in the Establishment, and having delivered the usual series of exercises with the entire approbation of his judges, he was, on the 27th September,

1759, licensed by the presbytery of Auchterarder. He was not long without employment. Mr. Jobson, then minister of Errol, near Perth, required an assistant, and Mr. Barclay from his popularity as a preacher easily obtained this situation. Here he remained for three or four years, until a rupture with his principal obliged him to leave it. Mr. Jobson was what may be called of the old school. He warmly espoused (as a great many clergymen of the Church of Scotland in those days did) the system of the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, a book written by Edward Fisher, an English dissenter, about the middle of the seventeenth century, and republished in Scotland with notes by the celebrated Mr. Thomas Boston of Ettrick. For many years this book occasioned a most serious commotion in the Church of Scotland, which is generally called "the *Marrow* controversy." It was, indeed, the remote cause of that great division, which has since been styled the *Secession*. But there was another cause for the widening of this unfortunate breach. The well-known Mr. John Glass, minister of Tealing, near Dundee, had published, in 1727, a work entitled *The Testimony of the King of Martyrs*. With the exception of the Cameronians, this gentleman was the first dissenter from the Church of Scotland since the Revolution, and it is worthy of remark that the founders of the principal sects were all originally cast out of the church. Mr. Glass was an admirer of the writings of the most celebrated English Independents (of Dr. John Owen in particular), and of their form of church-government. Mr. Barclay, who was no Independent, heartily approved of many of his sentiments respecting the doctrines of the gospel, and as decidedly disapproved of others. He had a system of his own, and agreed with none of the parties; but this, if possible, rendered him more obnoxious to Mr. Jobson. Much altercation took place between them in private. Mr. Barclay publicly declared his sentiments from the pulpit, Mr. Jobson did the same in defence of himself, so that a rupture became unavoidable.

About the time of Mr. Barclay's leaving Errol, Mr. Anthony Dow, minister of Fettercairn, in the presbytery of Fordoun, found himself unfit for the full discharge of his duties. He desired his son, the Rev. David Dow, then minister of the parish of Dron, in the presbytery of Perth, to use his endeavour to procure him an assistant. Mr. Dow, who, we believe, was a fellow-student of Mr. Barclay at St. Andrews, and perfectly well acquainted with his talents and character, and the cause of his leaving Errol, immediately made offer to him of being assistant to his father. This he accepted, and he commenced his labours in the beginning of June, 1763. What were Mr. Anthony Dow's peculiar theological sentiments we do not know, but those of Mr. David Dow were not very different from Mr. Barclay's. Here he remained for nine years, which he often declared to have been the most happy, and considered to have been the most useful, period of his life.

Mr. Barclay was of a fair, and in his youth of a very florid, complexion. He then looked younger than he really was. The people of Fettercairn were at first greatly prejudiced against him on account of his youthful appearance. But this was soon forgotten. His fervid manner, in prayer especially, and at different parts of almost every sermon, rivetted the attention and impressed the minds of his audience to such a degree, that it was almost impossible to lose the memory of it. His popularity as a preacher became so great at Fettercairn, that anything of the like kind is seldom to be met with in the history of

the Church of Scotland. The parish church, being an old-fashioned building, had rafters across; these were crowded with hearers;—the sashes of the windows were taken out to accommodate the multitude who could not gain admittance. During the whole period of his settlement at Fettercairn, he had regular hearers who flocked to him from ten or twelve of the neighbouring parishes. If an opinion could be formed of what his manner had been in his youth, and at his prime, from what it was a year or two before he died, it must have been vehement, passionate, and impetuous to an uncommon degree. During his residence at Fettercairn he did not confine his labours to his public ministrations in the pulpit, but visited from house to house, was the friend and adviser of all who were at the head of a family, and entered warmly into whatever regarded their interests. He showed the most marked attention to children and to the young; and when any of the household were seized with sickness or disease, he spared no pains in giving tokens of his sympathy, and administered consolation to the afflicted. He was very assiduous in discharging those necessary and important duties which he thought were peculiarly incumbent upon a country clergyman. Such long-continued and uninterrupted exertions were accompanied with the most happy effects. A taste for religious knowledge, or what is the same, the reading and study of the Bible, began to prevail to a great extent; the morals of the people were improved, and temperance, sobriety, and regularity of behaviour sensibly discovered themselves throughout all ranks.

Mr. Barclay had a most luxuriant fancy, a great liking for poetry, and possessed considerable facility of versification. His taste, however, was far from being correct or chaste, and his imagination was little under the management of a sound judgment. Besides his works in prose, he published a great many thousand verses on religious subjects. He had composed a paraphrase of the whole book of Psalms, part of which was published in 1766. To this was prefixed, *A Dissertation on the best Means of Interpreting that Portion of the Canon of Scripture*. His views upon this subject were peculiar. He was of opinion that, in all the psalms which are in the first person, the speaker is Christ, and not David nor any other mere man, and that the other psalms describe the situation of the church of God, sometimes in prosperity, sometimes in adversity, and finally triumphing over all its enemies. This essay is characterized by uncommon vigour of expression, yet in some places with considerable acrimony. The presbytery of Fordoun took great offence at this publication, and summoned Mr. Barclay to appear at their bar. He did so, and defended himself with spirit and intrepidity. His opinions were not contrary to any doctrine contained in the *Confession of Faith*, so that he could not even be censured by them. Mr. Barclay, who being naturally of a frank, open, and ingenuous disposition, had no idea of concealing his opinions, not only continued to preach the same doctrines which were esteemed heretical by the presbytery, but published them in a small work, entitled *Rejoice evermore, or Christ All in All*. This obstinacy, as they considered it, irritated them to a very high degree. They drew up a warning against the dangerous doctrines that he preached, and ordered it to be read publicly in the church of Fettercairn after sermon, and before pronouncing the blessing, by one of their own members, expressly appointed for that purpose, on a specified day, which was accordingly done. Mr. Barclay viewed their conduct with indifference

mingled with contempt, and no effect of any kind resulted from the warning to the people of Fettercairn, who were unanimous in their approbation of Mr. Barclay's doctrine. He continued during Mr. Dow's lifetime to instruct the people of his parish, and conducted his weekly examinations to the great profit of those who gave attendance.

In 1769 he published one of the largest of his treatises, entitled *Without Faith without God, or an Appeal to God concerning his own Existence*. This was a defence of similar sentiments respecting the evidence in favour of the existence of God, which were entertained by Dr. Campbell already mentioned. The illustrations are entirely Calvinistical. This essay is not very methodical. It contains, however, a great many acute observations, and sarcastic remarks upon the systems of those who have adopted the generally current notions respecting natural religion. In the course of the same year, 1769, he addressed a letter on the *Eternal Generation of the Son of God*, to Messrs. Smith and Ferrier. These two gentlemen had been clergymen in the Church of Scotland. They published their reasons of separation from the Established church. They had adopted all the sentiments of Mr. Glass, who was a most strict Independent, and both of them died in the Glassite communion. Dr. Dalgliesh of Peebles had, about the time of their leaving the church, published a new theory respecting the sonship of Christ, and, what is not a little singular, it had the merit of originality, and had never before occurred to any theologian. He held the tri-personality of Deity, but denied the eternal Sonship of the second person of the Godhead, and was of opinion that this *filiation* only took place when the divine nature was united to the human, in the person of Christ, Immanuel, God with us. Novel as this doctrine was, all the Scottish Independents, with a very few exceptions, embraced it. The difference between Dalgliesh and the Arians consists in this, that the second person of the Trinity, according to him, is God, equal with the Father; whilst the latter maintain, in a certain sense, his supreme exaltation, yet they consider him as subordinate to the Father. Mr. Barclay's letter states very clearly the scriptural arguments usually adduced in favour of the eternal generation of the Son of God. It is written with great moderation and in an excellent spirit.

In 1771 he published a letter, *On the Assurance of Faith*, addressed to a gentleman who was a member of Mr. Cudworth's congregation in London. Cudworth was the person who made a distinguished figure in defending the celebrated Mr. Hervey against the acrimonious attack of Mr. Robert Sandeman, who was a Glassite. Excepting in some peculiar forms of expression, Cudworth's views of the assurance of faith did not materially differ from Mr. Barclay's. There appeared also in the same year *A Letter on Prayer*, addressed to an Independent congregation in Scotland.

The Rev. Anthony Dow, minister of Fettercairn, died in 1772. The presbytery of Fordoun seized this opportunity of gratifying their spleen; they prohibited Mr. Barclay from preaching in the kirk of Fettercairn, and used all their influence to prevent him from being employed, not only within their bounds, which lie in what is called the Mearns, but they studied to defame him in all quarters. The clergy of the neighbouring district, that is, in Angus, were much more friendly. They were ready to admit him into their pulpits, and he generally preached every Lord's-day, during the subsequent autumn, winter, and spring. Multitudes from all parts of the country crowded to hear him. The patronage

of Fettercairn is in the gift of the crown. The parish almost unanimously favoured Mr. Barclay. They were not, however, permitted to have any choice, and the Rev. Robert Foote, then minister of Eskdale Muir, was presented. At the moderation of the call, only three signed in favour of Mr. Foote. The parishioners appealed to the synod, and from the synod to the General Assembly, who ordered Mr. Foote to be inducted. The presbytery carried their hostility against Mr. Barclay so far, as to refuse him a certificate of character, which is always done, as a matter of course, when a preacher leaves their bounds. He appealed to the synod, and afterwards to the Assembly, who found (though he was in no instance accused of any immorality) that the presbytery were justified in withholding the certificate. He had no alternative, and therefore left the communion of the Church of Scotland. A great many friends in Edinburgh, who had adopted his peculiar sentiments, formed themselves into a church, and urged him to become their pastor. The people of Fettercairn also solicited him to labour in the ministry amongst them; but for the present he declined both invitations. Having hitherto held only the status of a probationer or licentiate, he visited Newcastle, and was ordained there, October 12th, 1773. The certificate of ordination is signed by the celebrated James Murray of Newcastle, the author of the well-known *Sermons to Asses*, which contain a rich vein of poignant satire, not unworthy of Swift. It was also signed by Robert Somerville of Weardale, and James Somerville of Swallow, and Robert Green, clerk. His friends at Fettercairn meanwhile erected a place of worship at Sauchyburn, in the immediate neighbourhood, and renewed their application to have him settled amongst them. But Mr. Barclay, conceiving that his sphere of usefulness would be more extended were he to reside in Edinburgh, gave the preference to the latter. Mr. James M'Rae, having joined Mr. Barclay, was ordained minister at Sauchyburn in spring, 1774. The congregation there, at this time, consisted of from 1000 to 1200 members.

Mr. Barclay remained in Edinburgh about three years; and was attended by a numerous congregation, who had adopted his views of religious truth. But having a strong desire to disseminate his opinions, he left the church at Edinburgh under the care of his elders and deacons, and repaired to London. For nearly two years he preached there, as well as at Bristol, and other places in England. A church was formed in the capital. He also established there a debating society, which met weekly in the evening, for the purpose of disputing with any who might be disposed to call his doctrines in question. One of those who went with the design of impugning Mr. Barclay's opinions was Mr. William Nelson, who eventually became a convert. This gentleman had been educated in the Church of England, but, when Mr. Barclay came first to London, had joined the Whitefieldian or Calvinistic Methodists. He afterwards came to Scotland, was connected with Mr. Barclay, practised as a surgeon in Edinburgh, and delivered lectures on chemistry there, for about ten years. He was a man of considerable abilities, amiable in private life, and of the most unblemished character. He was cut off by apoplexy in 1800.

At Edinburgh Mr. Barclay published an edition of his works in three volumes, including a pretty large treatise on the *Sin against the Holy Ghost*, which, according to him, is merely unbelief or discrediting the Scripture. In 1783 he published a small work for the use of the Berean churches, *The Epistle to the Hebrews Paraphrased*, with a collection

of psalms and songs from his other works, accompanied with *A Close Examination into the Truth of several received Principles*.

Mr. Barclay died on the 29th of July, 1798. Being Sabbath, when on his road to preach, he felt himself rather unwell; he took a circuitous route to the meeting-house, but finding himself no better, he called at the house of one of the members of his congregation. In a few minutes after he entered the house, while kneeling in prayer beside a chair, he expired without a groan, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and thirty-ninth of his professional career. His nephew Dr. John Barclay was immediately sent for, who declared his death to have been occasioned by apoplexy. He was interred in the Calton old burying-ground, Edinburgh, where a monument has been erected to his memory. Mr. Barclay was a very uncommon character, and made a great impression upon his contemporaries.

There are Borean churches in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Breich, Kirkcaldy, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, Brechin, Fettercairn, and a few other places.

BARCLAY, JOHN, M.D., an eminent lecturer on anatomy, was the nephew of John Barclay, the Borean, after whom he was named. He was born in 1759, or 1760, at Cairn, near to Drummaquhane, in Perthshire. His father was a respectable farmer in that part of the country, and was characterized by great natural shrewdness and vivacity. His son John was educated at the parish school of Muthill, and early distinguished himself by his superior powers of mind, and by his application. Being destined for the church, he in 1776 repaired to the university of St. Andrews, where he became a successful candidate for a bursary. He made great proficiency in the Greek language, and also discovered a partiality for the study of mathematics, although he does not appear to have prosecuted this important branch of science. After having attended the usual preliminary classes at the united college of St. Salvador and St. Leonard, Barclay studied divinity in St. Mary's, attaching himself to the moderate party in the church. He studied divinity at St. Andrews, under the professor, Dr. Spence, for two or three sessions, but having engaged to teach a school, he found it more convenient to deliver the prescribed exercises before the professor in Edinburgh. On one of these occasions there took place a very singular occurrence, which the doctor himself used to relate. Having come to Edinburgh for the express purpose of delivering a discourse in the hall, he waited upon his uncle, who was an excellent scholar. It was what is called "an exercise and addition," or a discourse, in which the words of the original are criticised—the doctrines they contain illustrated—and it is concluded by a brief paraphrase. He proposed to read it to his uncle before he delivered it—and when he was in the act of doing so, his respected relative objected to a criticism which he had introduced, and endeavoured to show that it was contrary to several passages in the writings of the apostle Paul. The doctor had prepared the exercise with great care, and had quoted the authority of Xenophon in regard to the meaning of the word. The old man got into a violent passion at his nephew's obstinacy, and seizing a huge folio that lay on the table, hurled it at the recusant's head, which it fortunately missed. Barclay, who really had a great esteem for his uncle, related the anecdote to a clergyman a few days after it happened, and laughed very heartily at it. Barclay wrote about this time, *A History of all Religions*, but of this no trace was to be found among his manuscripts.

Having delivered with approbation his trial discourses, he obtained license from the presbytery of Dunkeld. Meanwhile he acted as tutor to the two sons of Sir James Campbell, of Aberchill, whose daughter, Eleonora, in 1811, became his wife. In 1789 he accompanied his pupils to Edinburgh, where he preached occasionally for his friends. The medical school of Edinburgh was then at the height of its reputation. Cullen's brilliant career was drawing to a close, and he was succeeded by the celebrated Dr. Gregory. Dr. Black and the second Monro still shed lustre on their respective departments. Barclay was principally attracted to the anatomical class by the luminous prelections of Dr. Monro, and appears to have thenceforward devoted himself to a complete course of medical study. In 1796 he took the degree of M.D., choosing as the subject of his thesis *De Anima, seu Principio Vitali*, the vital principle having long been with him a favourite topic of speculation. After graduation, Dr. Barclay proceeded to London, and attended the anatomical lectures of Dr. Marshall, of Thavies Inn. In 1797 he commenced a course of private lectures on anatomy in a small class-room in the High-school yards, Edinburgh, but had to contend with formidable difficulties; the popularity of the second Monro and of John Bell being still undiminished amongst the students. Dr. Barclay, therefore, had few students at first; but he resolved to persevere. The introductory lectures (which, after his death, were published by his friend, Sir George Ballingall, M.D.) were prepared with scrupulous care. He studied to express himself in plain and perspicuous language, which he justly esteemed to be the chief quality of style in lecturing. His illustrations were clear and copious, and not unfrequently an apposite anecdote fixed more strongly in the memories of his pupils the particular part he was demonstrating; and, at a time when it was by no means fashionable, he never omitted to point out the wisdom of God, as displayed in that most wonderful of all his works, the formation and support of the human body.

Barclay's first literary performance was the article "Physiology," in the third edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1803 he published a new anatomical nomenclature. This had been long the subject of his meditation, and was a great desideratum in anatomy. The vagueness or indefinite nature of the terms of anatomy has been perceived and regretted by all anatomists. They have produced much ambiguity and confusion in anatomical descriptions, and their influence has been strongly felt, particularly by those who have just entered upon the study. Barclay was the first who, fully aware of the obstacles that were thus thrown in the way of students, set about inventing a new nomenclature. The vagueness of the terms principally referred to those implying position, aspect, and direction. Thus, what is superior in one position of the body, becomes anterior in another, posterior in a third, and even inferior in a fourth. What is external in one position is internal in another, &c. These terms become much more ambiguous in comparative anatomy. His object was to contrive a nomenclature, in which the same terms should universally apply to the same organ, in all positions of the body, and in all animals. It is the opinion of very candid judges that he has succeeded in his endeavour, and that, were his nomenclature adopted, the greatest advantages would accrue to the study of the science. The proposal is delivered with singular modesty, and discovers both a most accurate knowledge of anatomy and great ingenuity.

In 1808 appeared his work on the muscular

motions of the human body, and in 1812 a description of the arteries of the human body—both of which contain a most complete account of those parts of the system. These three works were dedicated to the late Dr. Thomas Thomson, professor of chemistry in the university of Glasgow. The last work which Dr. Barclay lived to publish, was an inquiry into the opinions, ancient and modern, concerning life and organization. This, as we have mentioned, formed the subject of his thesis.

He also delivered, during several summers, a course of lectures on comparative anatomy, a branch of study for which he had always shown a marked partiality—not only as an object of scientific research, but as of great practical utility. At one time he proposed to the town council, the patrons of the university of Edinburgh, to be created professor of that department of the science; how the proposal was received is not known. The writer of the memoir of Dr. Barclay, in the *Naturalist's Library*, furnishes a characteristic illustration of the lively interest he felt in the dissections of uncommon animals which came in his way in the Scottish metropolis. "At one of these we happened to be present. It was the dissection of a beluga, or white whale. Never shall we forget the enthusiasm of the doctor wading to his knees amongst the viscera of the great tenant of the deep, alternately cutting away with his large and dexterous knife, and regaling his nostrils with copious infusions of snuff, while he pointed out, in his usual felicitous manner, the various contrasts or agreements of the forms of the viscera with those of other animals and of man." Barclay was the means of establishing, under the auspices of the Highland Society, a veterinary school in Edinburgh. He might be called an enthusiast in his profession: there was no branch of anatomy, whether practical or theoretical, that he had not cultivated with the utmost care; he had studied the works of the ancient and modern, foreign and British, anatomists with astonishing diligence. Whatever related to natural science was certain of interesting him. The benevolence and generosity of his temper were also unbounded. No teacher was ever more generally beloved by his pupils than Dr. Barclay, to which his uniform kindness and affability, and readiness to promote their interest upon every occasion, greatly contributed. Many young men in straitened circumstances were permitted to attend his instructions gratuitously; and he has even been known to furnish them with the means of seeing other lecturers.

It is a curious circumstance, that Dr. Barclay often declared that he had neither the sense of taste nor of smell.

His last appearance in the lecture-room was in 1825, when he delivered the introductory lecture. He died 21st August, 1826, and was buried at Restalrig, near Edinburgh, the family burying-ground of his father-in-law Sir James Campbell. His funeral was attended by the Royal College of Surgeons as a body.

A bust of Dr. Barclay, subscribed for by his pupils, and executed by Joseph, was presented to the College of Surgeons, to which he bequeathed his museum—a valuable collection of specimens, particularly in comparative anatomy, and which is to retain his name. His design in this legacy was to prevent it from being broken up and scattered after his death.

BARCLAY, JOHN, son of William Barclay, was born at Pontamousson in France, January 28, 1582, and was educated under the care of Jesuits. When

only nineteen years old, he published notes on the *Thebais* of Statius. He was the innocent cause of a quarrel between his father and the Jesuits, in consequence of which the family removed to England, in 1603. At the beginning of the year 1604 young Barclay presented a poetical panegyric to the king, under the title of *Kalenda Januaria*. To this monarch he soon after dedicated the first part of his celebrated Latin satire entitled *Euphormion*. John Barclay, like many young men of genius, was anxious for distinction, *quocunque modo*, and, having an abundant conceit of his own abilities, and looking upon all other men as only fit to furnish him with matter of ridicule, he launched at the very first into the dangerous field of general satire. He confesses in the *Apology* which he afterwards published for his *Euphormion*, that, "as soon as he left school, a juvenile desire of fame incited him to attack the whole world, rather with a view of promoting his own reputation than of dishonouring individuals." We must confess that this grievous early fault of Barclay was only the transgression of a very spirited character. He says, in his dedication of *Euphormion* to King James, written when he was two-and-twenty, that he was ready, in the service of his majesty, to convert his pen into a sword, or his sword into a pen. His prospects at this court were unfortunately blighted, like those of his father, by the religious contests of the time; and in 1604 the family returned to France. John, however, appears to have spent the next year chiefly in England, probably upon some renewal of his prospects at the court of King James. In 1606, after the death of his father, he returned to France, and at Paris married Louisa Debonnaire, with whom he soon after settled at London. Here he published the second part of his *Euphormion*, dedicating it to the Earl of Salisbury, a minister in whom he could find no fault but his excess of virtue. Lord Hailes remarks, as a surprising circumstance, that the writer who could discover no faults in Salisbury, aimed the shafts of ridicule at Sully; but nothing can be less surprising in such a person as Barclay. A man who satirized only for the sake of personal *clat*, would as easily flatter in gratitude for the least notice. It should also be recollected, that many minds do not, till the approach of middle life, acquire the power of judging accurately regarding virtue and vice, or merit and demerit: all principles, in such minds, are jumbled like the elements of the earth in chaos, and are only at length reduced to order by the overmastering influence of the understanding. In the disposition which seems to have characterized Barclay for flattering those who patronised him, he endeavoured to please King James, in the second part of the *Euphormion*, by satirizing tobacco and the Puritans. In this year he also published an account of the Gunpowder Plot, a work remarked to be singularly impartial, considering the religion of the writer. During the course of three years' residence in England, Barclay received no token of the royal liberality. Sunk in indigence, with an increasing family calling for support, he only wished to be indemnified for his English journeys, and to have his charges defrayed into France. At length he was relieved from his distresses by his patron Salisbury. Of these circumstances, so familiar and so discouraging to men of letters, we are informed by some allegorical and obscure verses written by Barclay at that sad season. Having removed to France in 1609, he next year published his *Apology for the Euphormion*. This denotes that he came to see the folly of a general contempt for mankind at the age of twenty-eight. How he supported himself at this time

does not appear; but he is found, in 1614, publishing his *Icon Animarum*, which is declared by a competent critic to be the best, though not the most celebrated, of his works. It is a delineation of the genius and manners of the European nations, with remarks, moral and philosophical, on the various tempers of men. It is pleasant to observe that in this work he does justice to the Scottish people. In 1615 Barclay is said to have been invited by Pope Paul V. to Rome. He had previously lashed the holy court in no measured terms; but so marked a homage from this quarter to his distinction in letters, as usual, softened his feelings, and he now accordingly shifted his family thither, and lived the rest of his life under the protection of the pontiff. In 1617 he published at Rome his *Parænesis ad Sectarios*, *Libro Duo*; a work in which he seems to have aimed at atoning for his former sarcasms at the pope, by attacking those whom his holiness called heretics. Barclay seems to have been honoured with many marks of kindness, not only from the pope, but also from Cardinal Barberini; yet it does not appear that he obtained much emolument. Incumbered with a wife and family, and having a spirit above his fortune, this omission must have been peculiarly trying. It was at that time that he composed his Latin romance called *Argenis*. He employed his vacant hours in cultivating a flower garden; and Rossi relates, in his turgid Italian style, that Barclay cared not for those bulbous roots which produce flowers of a sweet scent, but cultivated such as produced flowers void of smell, but having variety of colours. Hence we may conclude that he was among the first of those who were infected with that strange disease, a passion for tulips, which soon after overspread Europe, and is commemorated under the name of the *tulipo-mania*. Barclay might truly have said with Virgil, "*Tantus amor florum!*" He had two mastiffs placed as sentinels to protect his garden; and rather than abandon his favourite flowers, chose to continue his residence in an ill-aired and unwholesome situation.

This extraordinary genius, who seems to have combined the *perfidivum ingenium* of his father's country with the mercurial vivacity of his mother's, died at Rome on the 12th of August, 1621, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He left a wife, who had tormented him much with jealousy (through the ardour of her affection, as he explained it), besides three children, of whom two were boys. He also left in the hands of the printer his celebrated *Argenis*, and also an unpublished history of the conquest of Jerusalem, and some fragments of a general history of Europe. He was buried in the church of St. Onuphrius, and his widow erected a monument to him, with his bust in marble, at the church of St. Lawrence, on the road to Tivoli. A strange circumstance caused the destruction of this trophy. Cardinal Barberini chanced to erect a monument, exactly similar, at the same place, to his preceptor, *Bernardus Gulienus a monte Sancti Sabini*. When the widow of Barclay heard of this, she said, "My husband was a man of birth, and famous in the literary world; I will not suffer him to remain on a level with a base and obscure pedagogue." She therefore caused the bust to be removed, and the inscription to be obliterated. The account given of the *Argenis* by Lord Hailes, who wrote a life of John Barclay as a specimen of a *Biographia Scotica*,¹ is as follows: "*Argenis* is generally supposed to be a history under feigned names, and not a romance.

Barclay himself contributed to establish this opinion, by introducing some real characters into the work. But that was merely to compliment certain dignitaries of the church, whose good offices he courted, or whose power he dreaded. The key prefixed to *Argenis* has perpetuated the error. There are, no doubt, many incidents in it that allude to the state of France during the civil wars in the seventeenth century; but it requires a strong imagination indeed to discover Queen Elizabeth in Hyamisbe, or Henry III. of France in Meleander." On the whole, *Argenis* appears to be a poetical fable, replete with moral and political reflections. Of this work three English translations have appeared, the last in 1772; but it now only enjoys the reflective reputation of a work that was once in high repute. We may quote, however, the opinion which Cowper was pleased to express regarding this singular production. "It is," says the poet of Olney, "the most amusing romance that ever was written. It is the only one, indeed, of an old date, that I had ever the patience to go through with. It is interesting in a high degree, richer in incident than can be imagined, full of surprises, which the reader never forestalls, and yet free from entanglement and confusion. The style too appears to me to be such as would not dishonour Tacitus himself."

BARCLAY, ROBERT, the celebrated apologist for the Quakers, was born on the 23d of December, 1648, at Gordonstoun, in Moray. His father, Colonel David Barclay, of Ury, was the son of David Barclay of Mathers, the representative of an old Scoto-Norman family, which traced itself, through fifteen intervening generations, to Theobald de Berkeley, who acquired a settlement in Scotland at the beginning of the twelfth century. The mother of the apologist was Catherine Gordon, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, the premier baronet of Nova Scotia, and well-known historian of the house of Sutherland.

The ancient family of De Berkeley became possessed of the estate of Mathers, by marriage, in the year 1351. Alexander de Berkeley, who flourished in the fifteenth century, is said to have been the first laird of Mathers who changed the name to Barclay. David, the grandfather of the apologist, was reduced to such difficulties as to be obliged to sell the estate of Mathers, after it had been between two and three hundred years in the family, as also the more ancient inheritance, which had been the property of the family from its first settlement in Scotland in the days of King David I. His son David, the father of the apologist, was consequently obliged to seek his fortune as a volunteer in the Scottish brigades in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. This gentleman, like many others of his countrymen and fellow-soldiers, returned home on the breaking out of the religious troubles in Scotland, and received the command of a troop of horse. Having joined the army raised by the Duke of Hamilton in 1648 for the relief of Charles I., he was subsequently deprived of his command, at the instance of Oliver Cromwell; and he never afterwards appeared in any military transactions. During the protectorate, he was several times sent as a representative from Scotland to Cromwell's parliaments, and, in this capacity, is said to have uniformly exerted himself to repress the ambitious designs of the protector. After the restoration, David Barclay was committed prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, upon some groundless charge of hostility to the government. He was soon after liberated, through the interest of the Earl of Middleton, with whom he had served in the civil

¹ Printed in 4to, in 1782, and the ground-work of the present sketch.

war. But during this imprisonment, a change of the highest importance, both to himself and his son, had come over his mind. In the same prison was confined the celebrated laird of Swinton, who, after figuring under the protectorate as a lord of session, and a zealous instrument for the support of Cromwell's interest in Scotland, had, during a short residence in England before the restoration, adopted the principles of Quakerism, then recently promulgated for the first time by George Fox, and was now more anxious to gain proselytes to that body than to defend his life against the prosecution that awaited him. When this extraordinary person was placed on trial before parliament, he might have easily eluded justice by pleading that the parliamentary attainder upon which he was now charged had become null by the rescissory act. But he scorned to take advantage of any plea suggested by worldly lawyers. He answered, in the spirit of his sect, that when he committed the crimes laid to his charge he was in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity, but that God having since called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged his past errors, and did not refuse to pay the forfeit of them, even though in their judgment this should extend to his life. His speech was, though modest, so majestic, and, though expressive of the most perfect patience, so pathetic, that it appeared to melt the heart of his judges, and, to the surprise of all who remembered his past deeds, he was recommended to the royal mercy, while many others, far less obnoxious, were treated with unrelenting severity. Such was the man who inoculated David Barclay with those principles of which his son was destined to be the most distinguished advocate.

Robert Barclay, the subject of the present article, received the rudiments of learning in his native country, and was afterwards sent to the Scots college at Paris, of which his uncle Robert (son to the last Barclay of Mathers) was rector. Here he made such rapid advances in his studies, as to gain the notice and praise of the masters of the college; and he also became so great a favourite with his uncle, as to receive the offer of being made his heir, if he would remain in France. But his father, fearing that he might be induced to embrace the Catholic faith, went, in compliance with his mother's dying request, to Paris to bring him home, when he was not much more than sixteen years of age. The uncle still endeavoured to prevent his return, and proposed to purchase for him, and present to him immediately, an estate greater than his paternal one. Robert replied, "He is my father, and must be obeyed." Thus, even at a very early age, he showed how far he could prefer a sacred principle to any view of private interest, however dazzling. His uncle is said to have felt much chagrin at his refusal, and to have consequently left his property to the college and to other religious houses in France.

The return of Robert Barclay to his native country took place in 1664, about two years before his father made open profession of the principles of the Society of Friends. He was now, even at the early age of sixteen, perfectly skilled in the French and Latin languages, the latter of which he could write and speak with wonderful fluency and correctness; he had also a competent knowledge of the sciences. With regard to the state of his feelings on the subject of religion at this early period of life, he says, in his *Treatise on Universal Love*: "My first education, from my infancy, fell amongst the strictest sort of Calvinists; those of our country being generally acknowledged to be the severest of that sect; in the heat of zeal surpassing not only Geneva, from whence

they derive their pedigree, but all other the reformed churches abroad, so called. I had scarce got out of my childhood, when I was, by the permission of divine providence, cast among the company of Papists; and my tender years and immature capacity not being able to withstand and resist the insinuations that were used to proselyte me to that way, I became quickly defiled with the pollutions thereof, and continued therein for a time, until it pleased God, through his rich love and mercy, to deliver me out of those snares, and to give me a clear understanding of the evil of that way. In both these sects I had abundant occasion to receive impressions contrary to this principle of *love*: seeing the straitness of several of their doctrines, as well as their practice of persecution, do abundantly declare how opposite they are to universal love. The time that intervened betwixt my forsaking the Church of Rome, and joining those with whom I now stand engaged, I kept myself free from joining with any sort of people, though I took liberty to hear several; and my converse was most with those that inveigh much against *judging*, and such kind of severity; which latitude may perhaps be esteemed the other extreme, opposite to the preciseness of these other sects; whereby I also received an opportunity to know what usually is *pretended* on that side likewise. As for those I am now joined to, I justly esteem them to be the true followers and servants of Jesus Christ."

In his *Apology* he communicates the following account of his conversion to the principles previously embraced by his father. "It was not," he says, "by strength of argument, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and conviction of my understanding thereby, that I came to receive and bear witness of the truth, but by being secretly reached by this life. For when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power amongst them which touched my heart; and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up; and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life, whereby I might find myself perfectly redeemed." According to his friend William Penn, it was in the year 1667, when only nineteen years of age, that he fully became "convinced, and publicly owned the testimony of the true light, enlightening every man." "This writer," says he, "came early forth a zealous and fervent witness for it [the true light], enduring the cross and despising the shame that attended his discipleship, and received the gift of the ministry as his greatest honour, in which he laboured to bring others to God, and his labour was not in vain in the Lord." The true grounds of Barclay's predilection for the meek principles of the Friends is perhaps to be found in his physical temperament. On arriving in Scotland, in 1664, with a heart open to every generous impulse, his mild nature appears, from one of the above extracts of his own writings, to have been shocked by the mutual hostility which existed between the adherents of the established and the disestablished churches. While these bodies *judged* of each other in the severest spirit, they joined in one point alone—a sense of the propriety of persecuting the new and strange sect called Quakers, from whom both might rather have learned a lesson of forbearance and toleration. Barclay, who, from his French education, was totally free of all prejudices on either side, seems to have deliberately preferred that sect which alone, of all others in his native country, professed to regard every denomination of fellow-Christians with an equal feeling of kindness.

In February, 1669-70, Robert Barclay married

Christian Mollison, daughter of Gilbert Mollison, merchant in Aberdeen; and on his marriage settled at Ury with his father. The issue of this marriage was three sons and four daughters, all of whom survived him, and were living fifty years after his death. Robert Barclay, after his marriage lived about sixteen years with his father; in which time he wrote most of those works by which his fame has been established. All his time, however, was not passed in endeavouring to serve the cause of religion with his pen. He both acted and suffered for it. His whole existence, indeed, seems to have been henceforth devoted to the interests of that profession of religion which he had adopted. In prosecution of his purpose, he made a number of excursions into England, Holland, and particular parts of Germany; teaching, as he went along, the universal and saving light of Christ, sometimes vocally, but as often, we may suppose, by what he seems to have considered the far more powerful manner, expressive silence. In these peregrinations, the details of which, had they been preserved, would have been deeply interesting, he was on some occasions accompanied by the famous William Penn, and probably also by others of the brethren.

The first of his publications in the order of time was, "*Truth cleared of Calumnies*, occasioned by a book entitled *A Dialogue between a Quaker and a Stable Christian*, written by the Rev. William Mitchell, a minister or preacher in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen." "The Quakers," says a defender of the Scottish church, "were, at this time, only newly risen up; they were, like every new sect, obtrusively forward; some of their tenets were of a startling and some of them of an incomprehensible kind, and to the rigid Presbyterians especially they were exceedingly offensive. Hearing these novel opinions, not as simply stated and held by the Quakers, who were, generally speaking, no great logicians, but in their remote consequences, they regarded them with horror, and in the heat of their zeal, it must be confessed, often lost sight both of charity and truth. They thus gave their generally passive opponents great advantages over them. Barclay, who was a man of great talents, was certainly in this instance successful in refuting many false charges, and rectifying many forced constructions that had been put upon parts of their practice, and, upon the whole, setting the character of his silent brethren in a more favourable light than formerly; though he was far from having demonstrated, as these brethren fondly imagined, 'the soundness and Scripture verity of their principles.'" This publication was dated at Ury, the 19th of the second month, 1670, and in the eleventh month of the same year, he added to it, by way of appendix, "Some things of weighty concernment proposed in meekness and love, by way of queries, to the serious consideration of the inhabitants of Aberdeen, which also may be of use to such as are of the same mind with them elsewhere in this nation." These queries, twenty in number, were more particularly directed to Messrs. David Lyal, George Meldrum, and John Menzies, the ministers of Aberdeen, who had, not only from the pulpit forbidden their people to read the aforesaid treatise, but had applied to the magistrates of Aberdeen to suppress it. Mitchell wrote a reply to *Truth cleared of Calumnies*, and on the 24th day of the tenth month, 1671, Barclay finished a rejoinder at Ury, under the title of *William Mitchell Unmasked, or the Staggering Instability of the Pretended Stable Christian Discovered; his Omissions Observed, and Weakness Unveiled*, &c. This goes over the same ground with the former treatise, and is seasoned

with several severe strokes of sarcasm against these Aberdonians, who, "notwithstanding they had sworn to avoid a *detestable neutrality*, could now preach under the bishop, dispense with the doxology, forbear lecturing and other parts of the directorial discipline, at the bishop's order, and yet keep a reserve for presbytery in case it came again in fashion." He also turns some of William Mitchell's arguments against himself with great ingenuity, though still he comes far short of establishing his own theory. It is worthy of remark, that, in this treatise, he has frequent recourse to Richard Baxter's aphorisms on justification, whose new law scheme of the gospel seems to have been very much to the taste of the Quaker. It appears to have been on the appearance of this publication that, "for a sign and wonder to the generation," he walked through the chief streets of the city of Aberdeen, clothed in sackcloth and ashes; on which occasion he published (in 1672) a *Seasonable Warning and Serious Exhortation to, and Expostulation with, the Inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this present Dispensation and Day of God's Living Visitation towards them*.

His next performance was, *A Catechism and Confession of Faith*, the answers to the questions being all in the express words of Scripture; and the preface to it is dated, "From Ury, the place of my being, in my native country of Scotland, the 11th of the sixth month, 1673." This was followed by *The Anarchy of the Ranters*, &c.

We now come to his great work, "*An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the People called in scorn Quakers*:" being a full explanation and vindication of their principles and doctrines, by many arguments deduced from Scripture and right reason, and the testimonies of famous authors, both ancient and modern; with a full answer to the strongest objections usually made against them. Presented to the king. Written and published in Latin for the information of strangers, by Robert Barclay, and now put into our own language for the benefit of his countrymen." The epistle to the king, prefixed to this elaborate work, is dated, "From Ury, the place of my pilgrimage, in my native country of Scotland, the 25th of the month called November, 1675." This epistle is not a little curious, among other things, for the ardent anticipations which the writer indulges with regard to the increase and future prevalence of the doctrines of the Quakers, which he calls "the gospel now again revealed after a long and dark night of apostasy, and commanded to be preached to all nations." After some paragraphs, sufficiently complimentary to the peaceable habits of his silence-loving brethren, he tells his majesty that "generations to come will not more admire that singular step of Divine Providence, in restoring thee to thy throne without bloodshed, than they shall admire the increase and progress of this truth without all outward-help, and against so great opposition, which shall be none of the least things rendering thy memory remarkable." In looking back upon the atrocities that marked the reign of Charles II., the growth of Quakerism is scarcely ever thought of, and the sufferings of its professors are nearly invisible, by reason of the far greater sufferings of another branch of the Christian church. Though led by his enthusiasm in his own cause to overrate it, Barclay certainly had no intention of flattering the king. "God," he goes on to tell him, "hath done great things for thee; he hath sufficiently shown thee that it is by him princes rule, and that he can pull down and set up at his pleasure. Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country,

to be overruled as well as to rule and sit upon the throne, and being oppressed thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is, both to God and man. If after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation."

The *Apology* is a most elaborate work, indicating no small portion of both talent and learning. It contains, indeed, the sum of the author's thoughts in those treatises we have already mentioned, as well as in those which he afterwards published, digested into fifteen propositions, in which are included all the peculiar notions of the sect:—immediate revelation; the universal spiritual light; silent worship; perfection; the rejection of the Sabbath and the sacraments, &c. &c. This is done with great apparent simplicity, and many plausible reasons, a number of excellent thoughts being struck out by the way; yet they are far from being satisfactory, and never will be so to any who are not already strongly possessed with an idea of the internal light in man, to which the author holds even the Scriptures themselves to be subordinate. There are, indeed, in the book, many sophisms, many flat contradictions, and many assertions that are incapable of any proof. The appeals which he makes to his own experience for the proof of his doctrines are often not a little curious, and strongly illustrative of his character, as well as of the principles he had adopted.

The same year in which he published the *Apology*, he published an account of a dispute with the students of Aberdeen, which touches little besides the folly of such attempts to establish truth or confute error. The following year, in conjunction with George Keith, he put forth a kind of second part to the foregoing article, which they entitled *Quakerism Confirmed, being an answer to a pamphlet by the Aberdeen Students, entitled Quakerism Conquered*. This treats only of matters to be found in a better form in the *Apology*. In the first month of the year 1677, from Aberdeen prison, he wrote his treatise of *Universal Love*; and in the end of the same year he wrote from his house at Ury, *An Epistle of Love and Friendly Advice to the Ambassadors of the several Princes of Europe, met at Nimeguen, to consult the peace of Christendom so far as they are concerned; wherein the true cause of the present war is discovered, and the right remedy and means for a firm and settled peace is proposed*. This last was written in Latin, but published also in English for the benefit of his countrymen. Both of the above tracts deserve serious perusal. In 1679 he published a vindication of his *Apology*; and in 1686 his last work, *The Possibility and Necessity of the Inward and Immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God towards the foundation and ground of true faith; in a letter to a person of quality in Holland*; published both in Latin and English. In neither of these, in our opinion, has he added anything to his *Apology*, which, as we have already said, contains the sum of all that he has written or published.

In the latter part of his life, Barclay obtained, by the influence of his talents and the sincerity and simplicity of his character and professions, an exemption from that persecution which marked his early years. He had also contributed in no small degree, by the eloquence of his writings in defence of the Friends, to procure for them a considerable share of public respect. He is even found, strangely enough, to have latterly possessed some influence at the dissolute court of Charles II. In 1679 he obtained a charter from this monarch, under the great seal,

erecting his lands of Ury,¹ into a free barony, with civil and criminal jurisdiction to him and his heirs. This charter was afterwards ratified by an act of parliament, the preamble of which states it to be "for the many services done by Colonel David Barclay, and his son the said Robert Barclay, to the king and his most royal progenitors in times past." Another and more distinguished mark of court favour was conferred upon him in 1682, when he received the nominal appointment of governor of East Jersey, in North America, from the proprietors of that province, of whom his friend the Earl of Perth was one. He was also himself made a proprietor, and had allotted to him 5000 acres of land above his proprietary share, as inducements for his acceptance of the dignity, which, at the same time, he was permitted to depute. The royal commission confirming this grant states, that such are his known fidelity and capacity, that he has the government during life, but that no other governor after him shall have it for more than three years. One of his brothers settled in the province, but he never visited it himself. In this year we find him assisting the Laird of Swinton with his interest and purse at Edinburgh; thus answering practically and freely the apostolic expostulation (1 Cor. ix. 11), by permitting Swinton to reap carnal things, who had sown spiritual things to his family.

The remainder of his life is not marked with many instances of public action. Much of it appears to have been passed in tranquillity, and in the bosom of his family; yet he occasionally undertook journeys to promote his private concerns, to serve his relations and neighbours, or to maintain the cause of his brethren in religious profession. He was in London in 1685, and had frequent access to King James II., who had all along evinced a warm friendship towards him. Barclay, on the other hand, thinking James sincere in his faith, and perhaps influenced a little by the flattery of a prince's favour, appears to have conceived a real regard for this misguided and imprudent monarch. Liberty of conscience having been conceded to the Friends on the accession of James II., Barclay exerted his influence to procure some parliamentary arrangement, by which they might be exempted from the harsh and ruinous prosecutions to which they were exposed, in consequence of their peculiar notions as to the exercise of the law. He was again in London on this business in 1686, on which occasion he visited the seven bishops then confined in the Tower for having refused to distribute in their respective dioceses the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, and for having represented to the king the grounds of their objection to the measure. The popular opinion was in favour of the bishops; yet the former severities of some of the episcopal order against dissenters, particularly against the Friends, occasioned some reflections on them. This having come to the knowledge of the imprisoned bishops, they declared that "the Quakers had belied them, by reporting that they had been the death of some." Robert Barclay, being informed of this declaration, went to the Tower, and gave their lordships a well-substantiated account of some persons having been detained in prison till death by order of bishops, though they had been apprised of the danger by physicians who were not Quakers. He, however, observed to the bishops, that it was by no means the intention of the Friends to publish such events, and thereby give the king and their other adversaries any ad-

¹ His father had died in 1676, leaving him in possession of this estate.

vantage against them. Barclay was in London, for the last time, in the memorable year 1688. He visited James II., and being with him near a window, the king looked out, and observed that "the wind was then fair for the Prince of Orange to come over." Robert Barclay replied, "it was hard that no expedient could be found to satisfy the people." The king declared "he would do anything becoming a gentleman, except parting with liberty of conscience, which he never would whilst he lived." Barclay took a final leave of the unfortunate king, for whose disasters he was much concerned, and with whom he had been several times engaged in serious discourse.

Robert Barclay "laid down the body," says Andrew Jaffray, "in the holy and honourable truth, wherein he had served it about three and twenty years, upon the 3d day of the eighth month, 1690, near the forty and second year of his age, at his own house of Urie, in Scotland, and it was laid in his own burial ground there, upon the 6th day of the same month, before many friends and other people." His character has been thus drawn by another of the amicable fraternity to which he belonged:—

"He was distinguished by strong mental powers, particularly by great penetration, and a sound and accurate judgment. His talents were much improved by a regular and classical education. It does not, however, appear that his superior qualifications produced that elation of mind which is too often their attendant: he was meek, humble, and ready to allow to others the merit they possessed. All his passions were under the most excellent government. Two of his intimate friends, in their character of him, declare that they never knew him to be angry. He had the happiness of early perceiving the infinite superiority of religion to every other attainment; and the Divine grace enabled him to dedicate his life, and all that he possessed, to promote the cause of piety and virtue. For the welfare of his friends he was sincerely and warmly concerned: and he travelled and wrote much, as well as suffered cheerfully, in support of the society and the principles to which he had conscientiously attached himself. But this was not a blind and bigoted attachment. His zeal was tempered with charity; and he loved and respected goodness wherever he found it. His uncorrupted integrity and liberality of sentiment, his great abilities and suavity of disposition, gave him much interest with persons of rank and influence, and he employed it in a manner that marked the benevolence of his heart. He loved peace, and was often instrumental in settling disputes, and in producing reconciliations between contending parties. . . . In private life he was equally amiable. His conversation was cheerful, guarded, and instructive. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate and faithful husband, a tender and careful father, a kind and considerate master. Without exaggeration, it may be said, that piety and virtue were recommended by his example; and that, though the period of his life was short, he had, by the aid of divine grace, most wisely and happily improved it. He lived long enough to manifest, in an eminent degree, the temper and conduct of a Christian, and the virtues and qualifications of a true minister of the gospel."

BARCLAY, WILLIAM, an eminent civilian, and father of the still more celebrated author of the *Argenis*, was descended from one of the best families in Scotland under the rank of nobility, and was

born in Aberdeenshire, in 1541. He spent his early years in the court of Queen Mary, with whom he was in high favour. After her captivity in England, disgusted with the turbulent state of his native country, which promised no advantage to a man of learning, he removed to France (1573), and began to study the law at Bourges. Having in time qualified himself to teach the civil law, he was appointed by the Duke of Lorraine, through the recommendation of his kinsman Edmund Hay, the Jesuit, to be a professor of that science in the university of Pontamousson, being at the same time counsellor of state and master of requests to his princely patron. In 1581 he married Anne de Maleville, a young lady of Lorraine, by whom he had his son John, the subject of a preceding article. This youth showed tokens of genius at an early period, and was sought from his father by the Jesuits, that he might enter their society. The father, thinking proper to refuse the request, became an object of such wrath to that learned and unscrupulous fraternity, that he was compelled to abandon all his preferments, and seek refuge in England. This was in 1603, just at the time when his native sovereign had acceded to the throne of England. James I. offered him a pension, and a place in his councils, on condition that he would embrace the Protestant faith; but though indignant at the intrigues of the Jesuits, he would not desert their religion. In 1604 he returned to France, and became professor of civil law at Angers, where he taught for a considerable time with high reputation. It is said that he entertained a very high sense of the dignity of his office. He used to "go to school every day, attended by a servant who went before him, himself having a rich robe lined with ermine, the train of which was supported by two servants, and his son upon his right hand; and there hung about his neck a great chain of gold, with a medal of gold with his own picture." Such was, in those days, the pomp and circumstance of the profession of civil law. He did not long enjoy this situation, dying towards the close of 1605. He is allowed to have been very learned, not only in the civil and canon law, but in the classical languages, and in ecclesiastical history. But his prejudices were of so violent a nature as to obscure both his genius and erudition. He zealously maintained the absolute power of monarchs, and had an illiberal antipathy to the Protestant religion. His works are: 1. *A Controversial Treatise on the Royal Power, against Buchanan and other King-killers*, Paris, 1600; 2. *A Treatise on the Power of the Pope, showing that he has no Right of Rule over Secular Princes*, 1609; 3. *A Commentary on the Title of the Pandects de Rebus Creditis*, &c.; 4. *A Commentary on Tacitus' Life of Agricola*. All these works, as well as their titles, are in Latin.

BARNARD, LADY ANNE. This lady, who by a single song has immortalized her name, was the eldest daughter of the fifth Earl of Balcarres. She was born on the 8th of December, 1750, and under circumstances that were grievously subversive of a cherished prediction. "There had long existed a prophecy that the first child of the last descendant of the house of Balcarres was to restore the family of Stuart to those hereditary rights which the bigotry of James had deprived them of. The Jacobites seemed to have gained new life on the occasion; the wizards and witches of the party had found it in their books; the devil had mentioned it to one or two of his particular friends; old ladies had read it from the grounds of their coffee,—no wonder if the event was welcomed by the grasp of expiring hope. . . .

¹ *A Short Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Barclay*, London, 1802.

In due course of time the partizans of the Pretender, the soothsayers, wizards, witches, the bards, fortune-tellers, and old ladies, were all in a group, amazed, disconcerted, and enraged to learn that Lady Balcarres was brought to bed of a daughter after all,—absolutely but a daughter." Such is her own amusing account of the circumstances under which she was ushered into the world. "That child," she adds, "was the Anne Lindsay who now addresses you, and in the arms of my nurse I promised to be a little heiress, perhaps a heroine worthy of having my name posted on the front of a novel."

After an account of her infancy and youth written in the same lively style, Lady Anne Lindsay (for this was her maiden name) gives an account of the education by which her mind was formed. Not the least of her intellectual advantages was the society with which she was brought in contact, in her occasional visits to Edinburgh; and among the distinguished of the day whom she met in that city, may be mentioned, Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling*, Lord Monboddo, and in 1773 Dr. Johnson, when he visited the northern metropolis. One part of her self-education at her country-house in Fifeshire is too interesting to be omitted:—"Residing," she says, "in the solitude of the country, without other sources of entertainment than what I could draw from myself, I used to mount up to my little closet in the high winding staircase, which commanded the sea, the lake, the rock, the birds, the beach,—and, with my pen in my hand, and a few envelopes of old letters (which too often vanished afterwards), scribble away poetically and in prose, till I made myself an artificial happiness, which did very well *pour passer le temps*, though far better would my attempts have been had I had Margaret's judgment to correct them."

The fruits of such training was the song of *Auld Robin Gray*, which Lady Anne wrote in the beginning of 1772, when she was twenty-one years old. As every circumstance connected with such a matchless lyric is interesting, and as no account can be more interesting than that of the authoress, we give it in her own words:—"Robin Gray, so called from its being the name of the old herdsman at Balcarres, was born soon after the close of 1771. My sister Margaret had married, and accompanied her husband to London; I was melancholy, and endeavoured to amuse myself by attempting a few poetical trifles. There was an ancient Scotch melody of which I was passionately fond,—Sophy Johnston, who lived before your day, used to sing it to us at Balcarres; I longed to sing old Sophy's air to different words, and to give to its plaintive tones some little history of virtuous distress in humble life, such as might suit it. While attempting to effect this in my closet, I called to my little sister, now Lady Hardwicke, who was the only person near me—"I have been writing a ballad, my dear; I am oppressing my heroine with many misfortunes: I have already sent her Jamie to sea, and broken her father's arm, and made her mother fall sick, and given her auld Robin Gray for a lover, but I wish to load her with a fifth sorrow in the four lines, poor thing! help me to one, I pray."—"Steal the cow, sister Anne," said the little Elizabeth. The cow was immediately *lifted* by me, and the song completed. At our fireside, amongst our neighbours, *Auld Robin Gray* was always called for; I was pleased with the approbation it met with, but such was my dread of being suspected of writing anything, perceiving the shyness it created in those who could write nothing, that I carefully kept my own secret. . . . Meantime, little as this matter seems to have been worthy of dispute, it afterwards

became almost a party question between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries: *Robin Gray* was either a very, very ancient ballad, composed perhaps by David Rizzio, and a great curiosity; or a very, very modern matter, and no curiosity at all. I was persecuted to confess whether I had written it, or if not, where I had got it. Old Sophy kept my counsel, and I kept my own, in spite of the gratification of seeing a reward of twenty guineas offered in the newspapers to the person who should ascertain the point past a doubt, and the still more flattering circumstance of a visit from Mr. J——, secretary to the Antiquarian Society, who endeavoured to entrap the truth from me in a manner I took amiss. Had he asked me the question obligingly, I should have told him the fact distinctly, but confidentially; the annoyance, however, of this important ambassador from the antiquaries was amply repaid to me by the noble exhibition of the ballet of *Auld Robin Gray's Courtship*, as performed by dancing dogs under my windows:—it proved its popularity from the highest to the lowest, and gave me pleasure while I hugged myself in my obscurity." In the reticence of Lady Anne, that could keep the fact of her authorship concealed after her ballad had become the admired of all classes, and been translated into almost every European language, there was a power of secretiveness more remarkable than the talent by which such beautiful verses were created. It was only in 1823, fifty-two years after the song had been composed, that she broke silence, and confessed herself the author of the song. The occasion also was worthy of the acknowledgment. In that year, when the tale of the *Pirate* appeared, the author of *Waverley* compared the condition of Minna to that of Jeannie Gray, "the village-heroine in Lady Anne Lindsay's beautiful ballad:"—

"Nae langer she wept, her tears were a' spent,
Despair it was come, and she thought it content;
She thought it content—but her cheek it grew pale,
And she drooped like a snow-drop broke down by the hail."

This detection by the highest literary authority of the day, convinced Lady Anne that concealment was no longer possible; and in a letter to Sir Walter she wrote the confession from which we have quoted.

It was not until many years after *Auld Robin Gray* was written, that a second part was added to it. It was produced also to gratify the wishes of her mother the Countess of Balcarres, who had often said to her, "Annie, I wish you would tell me how that unlucky business of Jeanie and Jamie ended." Lady Anne had also got a hint for the development of the plot, of which she now availed herself. On hearing the song as it first appeared, the laird of Dalzell burst out wrathfully with, "Oh the villain! oh the auld rascal! / ken wha stealt the poor lassie's coo—it was Auld Robin Gray himsel!" In the second part therefore, "Auld Rob" is seized with remorse at the sight of his broken-hearted wife's repining; takes to his bed, and after confessing that he had stolen the cow for the purpose of furthering his suit, he dies, leaving Jamie his sole heir, and recommending that the pair should be married—an advice which they are not slow to follow. But like all such additions, the second part was a failure. The sequel was an abrupt intrusion upon the pleasing poetical sadness in which the first part left the hearers, and they were in no mood to be defrauded of such a sentimental luxury. The voice of the singer and the feelings of the audience were too much touched by the first part, to endure the details of the second.

Her sister Margaret, who had married very early and become a widow, was joined in London by Lady

Anne. The beauty and accomplishments of the two ladies procured them a choice society and many admirers, and the hand of Anne was sought in marriage by several men of the first distinction in the country. The house of the attractive sisters in London is described by Lord Balcarras, their brother, as having become "the meeting-place of great and good characters, literary and political;" and the most distinguished of these, Burke, Sheridan, Windham, and Dundas, confirm the assertion. The Prince of Wales was also their familiar guest and friend, and his attachment to Lady Anne ended only with his life. She remained single until 1793, when she gave her hand to Andrew Barnard, Esq., the son of the Bishop of Limerick, an accomplished but not wealthy gentleman, and younger than herself, whom she accompanied to the Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of his appointment as colonial secretary under Lord Macartney. The journals of her residence at the Cape, and of her excursions into the interior of the country, illustrated with drawings and sketches of the scenes described, are still preserved among the family manuscripts. When in South Africa, she had always a strong wish to visit Australia, then only known as "Botany Bay," "not," she humorously adds, "from a longing to commit a crime, but from a desire to rejoice with the angels over repenting sinners. If one reformed rogue gives to beatified spirits as much joy as the good conduct of ninety-nine righteous persons, what a feeling must be created by such a group!" Like other amiable enthusiasts of the period, she thought that Botany Bay was a blessed reformatory, instead of the wholesale Newgate which it in reality was. "But it would appear," she adds, "so strange a measure to go there from choice, that I believe it would be necessary to commit some peccadillo as an apology to my relations for going at all." Her desire for this trip would probably have been fulfilled, as her husband shared in the wish, and intended on his return to England to have taken her home by that very circuitous route; but the peace of 1802 compelled Mr. Barnard to remain behind at the Cape, to settle colonial business with the Dutch, while Lady Anne went to England to procure a situation for her husband under government, on his return—an application, however, which was unsuccessful.

By the death of Mr. Barnard at the Cape in 1807, Lady Anne was left a childless widow, and she again took up her residence with her sister Margaret, in Berkeley Square, London, until the latter was married for the second time in 1812 to Sir James Burgess. After this period she continued her honoured course in London, beloved by its choicest society, and maintaining at the age of threescore and ten, and even beyond it, that cheerfulness and conversational power which had made her through her whole life the charm of her numerous acquaintances. An amusing proof of this one day occurred when she was entertaining a party of her friends at dinner. Some difficulty had occurred in the kitchen arrangements, on which account an old servant, who knew the inexhaustible mental resources of her mistress, glided to her behind her chair, and whispered in her ear, "My lady, you must tell another story—the second course won't be ready for five minutes." Of the strong and abiding friendships she created in the hearts of others, a proof was given in that of the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.), who, on the death of her husband, wrote to her a letter of sympathy, of itself sufficient to redeem his character from the prevailing charge of selfishness. In his last illness he also sent for her, and after speaking to her affectionately, he said, "Sister Anne (the title with

which he usually addressed her), I wished to see you, to tell you that I love you, and wish you to accept this golden chain for my sake—I may never see you again." The chief literary occupation of her old age was in writing reminiscences of the Lindsays, to add to the family history—a task which her father, Earl James, had commenced, and which he wished his children to continue. "It was a maxim of my father's," she said, "that the person who neglects to leave some trace of his mind behind him, according to his capacity, fails not only in his duty to society, but in gratitude to the Author of his being, and may be said to have existed in vain. 'Every man,' said he, 'has felt or thought, invented or observed: a little of that genius which we receive from nature, or a little of that experience which we buy in our walk through life, if bequeathed to the community, would ultimately become a collection to do honour to the family where such records were preserved.'" Hence the large and valuable additions which she made to the *Lives of the Lindsays*, and the copious reminiscences of a long life which constitute the principal charm of that interesting work. Although she must have written much poetry as well as prose, her characteristic shyness where her verses were in question have made her productions of this kind unknown—with the exception of *Auld Robin Gray*, which of itself is sufficient to establish her lasting fame as a poetess. Lady Anne Barnard died on May 6th, 1825, in the seventy-fourth year of her age.

BARTON, ANDREW, High Admiral of Scotland. The fifteenth century was the great era of maritime adventure and discovery; and in these it might have been expected that Scotland would have taken her full share. The troubled state of the country, however, and the poverty of its sovereigns, prevented the realization of such a hope. There was no royal navy, and such ships as were to be found in the Scottish service were merchant vessels, and the property of private individuals. Still, there was no lack of stout hardy sailors and skilful commanders; and although the poverty of Scotland was unable to furnish means for remote and uncertain voyages of discovery, the same cause made them eager to enjoy the advantages of traffic with those countries that were already known. Another cause was the long peace with England during the reign of Henry VII., so that those daring spirits who could no longer find occupation in fight or foray by land, were fain to have recourse to the dangers of another element. The merchant, also, who embarked with his own cargo, was obliged to know something more than the gainful craft of a mere trader. He was captain as well as proprietor, and had to add the science of navigation and the art of warfare on sea, to that of skilful bargaining on shore, and thus, in every variety of ways, his intellectual powers were tried and perfected. This was an occupation well fitted to the Scottish mind, in which it consequently became so pre-eminent, that during the reigns of James III. and James IV., it seemed a doubtful question whether Scotland or England was to bear the "meteor flag" of the island; and of the merchant captains of this period, the most distinguished were Sir Andrew Wood, of Largo; Sir Alexander Mathieson; William Merrimonth, of Leith, who, for his naval skill, was called the "king of the sea;" and the Bartons.

This Barton family, which for two generations produced naval commanders of great celebrity, first appeared in Scottish history in 1476. This was in consequence of John Barton, the father of Andrew, having been plundered, and, it has been added,

murdered, by the Portuguese, who at that period were all-prevalent upon the ocean. The unfortunate mariner, however, had three sons, the eldest of whom was Andrew, all brought up from boyhood in his own profession, and not likely to allow their father's death to pass unquestioned. Andrew accordingly instituted a trial in Flanders, where the murder was perpetrated, and obtained a verdict in his favour; but the Portuguese refusing to pay the awarded penalty, the Bartons applied to their own sovereign for redress. James accordingly sent a herald to the King of Portugal; but this application having also been in vain, he granted to the Bartons letters of reprisal, by which they were allowed to indemnify themselves by the strong hand upon the ships of the Portuguese. And such a commission was not allowed to lie idle. The Bartons immediately threw themselves into the track of the richly-laden carracks and argosies of Portugal in their homeward way from India and South America; and such was their success, that they not only soon indemnified themselves for their losses, but won a high reputation for naval skill and valour. Among the rich Indian spoil that was brought home on this occasion, were several Hindoo and negro captives, whose ebony colour and strange features astounded, and also alarmed, the simple people of Scotland. James IV. turned these singular visitants to account, by making them play the part of Ethiopian queens and African sorcerers in the masques and pageants of his court. This was in itself a trifle, but it gave a high idea of the growing naval importance of Scotland, when it could produce such spectacles as even England, with all its superior wealth, power, and refinement, was unable to furnish.

It was not merely in such expeditions which had personal profit or revenge for their object that the Bartons were exclusively employed; for they were in the service of a master (James IV.) who was an enthusiast in naval affairs, and who more than all his predecessors understood the necessity of a fleet as the right arm of a British sovereign. This was especially the case in his attempts to subjugate the Scottish isles, that for centuries had persisted in rebellion under independent kinglings of their own, and in every national difficulty had been wont to invade the mainland, and sweep the adjacent districts with fire and sword. For the purpose of reducing them to complete obedience, James not only led against them an army in person, but employed John Barton, one of the three brothers, to conduct a fleet, and invade them by sea. The use of ships in such a kind of warfare was soon apparent: the islanders retreated from the royal army, as heretofore, in their galleys, and took refuge among their iron-bound coasts, but found these no longer places of safety when their fastnesses were assailed from the sea, and their strong castles bombarded. The chiefs, therefore, yielded themselves to the royal authority, and from thenceforth lived in most unwonted submission. While thus the Scottish flag waved over those islands that had hitherto been the strongholds of rebellion, another of the Bartons was employed to vindicate its dignity abroad and among foreigners. This was Andrew, who for some time had held with his brothers the chief direction of maritime affairs in Scotland, and been employed in the formation of a royal navy, as well as in cruises against the rich carracks of Portugal. The Hollanders, in the true spirit of piracy by which the maritime communities of Europe were at this time inspired, had attacked a small fleet of Scottish merchant vessels, and not only plundered them, but murdered the crews, and thrown their bodies into the sea. This outrage, from

a people with whom the Scots were at peace, was not to be tolerated, and Andrew Barton was sent with a squadron to chastise the offenders. And this he did with a merciless severity that reminds us of the "Douglas Larder." He captured many of the piratical ships, and not only put their crews to death, but barrelled their heads in the empty casks which he found in the vessels, and sent them home to his sovereign, to prove how well he had discharged his duty.

The time had now arrived, however, when Andrew Barton, after having made so many successful cruises, was to fall upon the deck where he had so often stood a conqueror. His death, also, strangely enough, was mainly owing to the tortuous intrigues of a pontiff, about whom, it is probable, he had heard little, and cared still less. Julius II. having formed designs of political self-aggrandizement which a war between France and England would have prevented, was anxious to find the latter sufficient occupation at home, with its turbulent neighbours, the Scots. Portuguese envoys, therefore, at the English court represented to Henry VIII. the whole family of the Bartons as pirates, who indiscriminately plundered the ships of every country; and they charged Andrew, in particular, with these offences, and represented how desirable it would be if the English seas could be rid of his presence. Henry listened to these suggestions, and, with his wonted impetuosity, assented to their fulfilment, although a war with Scotland was at that time the least desirable event that could have befallen him. It has also been alleged by English writers, that Andrew Barton, in his war against the Portuguese, had not been over-scrupulous in confining himself to his letters of reprisal, but had also over-hauled and pillaged English vessels, under the pretext that they had Portuguese goods on board. Such, at least, was generally believed in England; and the Earl of Surrey, to whom the naval affairs of the kingdom chiefly belonged, is declared to have sworn that the narrow seas should no longer be thus infested, while his estate could furnish a ship or his family a son to command it.

The threat of Surrey was not an idle one. He fitted out two men-of-war, one of them the largest in the English navy, and sent them under the command of his sons, Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Edward Howard, afterwards lord high-admiral, to find and encounter the terrible Scottish seaman. They had not long to seek, for in the Downs they were apprized of his neighbourhood by the captain of a merchant vessel which he had plundered on the preceding day. Barton had just returned from a cruise against the Portuguese, with two ships, one the *Lion*, which himself commanded, and the other a small armed pinnace. When the Howards approached, they hoisted no war signal, but merely put up a willow-wand on their masts, as if they were peaceful traders; but when Andrew Barton approached, they hoisted their national flag, and fired a broadside into his vessel. On finding that he had enemies to deal with, although they were of superior force, he fearlessly advanced to the encounter. Distinguished by his rich dress, his splendid armour of proof, and the gold chain around his neck, to which was attached a whistle of the same metal, the emblem of his office as high admiral of Scotland, he took his stand upon the highest part of the deck, and encouraged his men to fight bravely. The battle commenced, and continued on both sides with the utmost desperation. One manœuvre of Scottish naval warfare which Barton used, was derived from an old Roman practice used against

the Carthaginians, although he had, perhaps, never read their history; this was, to drop large weights or beams from the yard-arms of his vessel into that of the enemy, and thus sink it while the two ships were locked together; but, to accomplish this feat, it was necessary for a man to go aloft to let the weight fall. The English commander, apprised of this, had appointed the best archer of his crew to keep watch upon the movement, and shoot every man who attempted to go aloft for the purpose. The archer had already brought down two Scottish seamen who had successively ventured to ascend, when Andrew Barton, seeing the danger, resolved to make the attempt himself. As he ascended the mast for this purpose, Lord Howard cried to his archer, "Shoot, villain, and shoot true, on peril of thy life." "An' I were to die for it," replied the man despondingly, "I have but two arrows left." These, however, he used with his utmost strength and skill. The first shaft bounded from Barton's coat of proof, but the second entered the crevice of his armour, as he stretched up his hand in the act of climbing the mast, and inflicted a mortal wound through the arm-pit. He descended as if unhurt, and exclaimed, "Fight on, my merry men; I am but slightly wounded, and will rest me awhile, but will soon join you again; in the meantime, stand you fast by the cross of Saint Andrew!" He then blew his whistle during the combat, to encourage his followers, and continued to sound it as long as life remained. After his death the conflict terminated in the capture of the *Lion*, and also the pinnace, called the *Jenny Piruen*, which were brought in triumph into the Thames. The *Lion* was afterwards adopted into the English navy, and was the second largest ship in the service, the *Great Henry*, the first vessel which the English had expressly constructed for war, being the largest.

Such was the end of Andrew Barton, a bright name in the early naval history of Scotland. While his death was felt as a great national calamity, it was particularly affecting to James IV., whose nautical studies he had directed, and whose infant navy he had made so distinguished among the European maritime powers. Rothesay herald was instantly despatched to London, to complain of this breach of peace, and demand redress; but to this appeal Henry VIII. arrogantly replied, that Barton was a pirate, and that the fate of pirates ought never to be a subject of contention between princes. Here, however, the matter was not to rest. Robert Barton, one of Andrew's brothers, was immediately furnished with letters of reprisal against the English; and thus commissioned, he swept the narrow seas so effectually, that he soon returned to Leith with thirteen English prizes. War by sea between England and Scotland was soon followed by war by land, and in the letter of remonstrance and defiance to Henry VIII., with which James preceded the invasion of England, the unjust slaughter of Andrew Barton, and the capture of his ships, were stated among the principal grievances for which redress was thus sought. Even when battle was at hand, also, Lord Thomas Howard sent a message to the Scottish king, boasting of his share in the death of Barton, whom he persisted in calling a pirate, and adding, that he was ready to justify the deed in the vanguard, where his command lay, and where he meant to show as little mercy as he expected to receive. And then succeeded the battle of Flodden, in which James and the best of the Scottish nobility fell; and after Flodden, a loss occurred which Barton would rather have died than witnessed. This was the utter extinction of the Scottish fleet, which was

allowed to lie rotting in the harbours of France, or to be trucked away in inglorious sale, like common firewood. From that period, Scotland so completely ceased to be a naval power, that even at the time of the union she not only had no war vessels whatever, but scarcely any merchant ships—the few that lay in her ports being chiefly the property of the traders of Holland;—and full three centuries have to elapse before we find another distinguished Scottish seaman in the naval history of Great Britain.

BASSANTIN, OR BASSANTOUN, JAMES, astronomer and mathematician, was the son of the laird of Bassantin, in Berwickshire, and probably born in the early part of the sixteenth century. Being sent to study at the university of Glasgow, he applied himself almost exclusively to mathematics, to the neglect of languages and philosophy, which were then the most common study. In order to prosecute mathematics more effectually than it was possible to do in his own country, he went abroad, and travelled through the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany; fixing himself at last in France, where for a considerable time he taught his favourite science with high reputation in the university of Paris. In that age, the study of astronomy was inseparable from astrology, and Bassantin became a celebrated proficient in this pretended science, which was then highly cultivated in France, inasmuch that it entered more or less into almost all public affairs, and nearly every court in Europe had its astrologer. Bassantin, besides his attainments in astrology, understood the laws of the heavens to an extent which excited the wonder of the age—especially when it was considered that he had scarcely any knowledge of the Greek or Latin languages, in which all that was formerly known of this science had been embodied. But, as may be easily conceived, astronomy was as yet a most imperfect science; the Copernican system, which forms the groundwork of modern astronomy, was not yet discovered or acknowledged; and all that was really known had in time become so inextricably associated with the dreams of astrology, as to be entitled to little respect. Bassantin returned to his native country in 1562, and in passing through England met with Sir Robert Melville of Mordecayrny, who was then engaged in a diplomatic mission from Mary to Elizabeth, for the purpose of bringing about a meeting between the two queens. A curious account of this rencontre is preserved by Sir James Melville in his memoirs, and, as it is highly illustrative of the character and pretensions of Bassantin, we shall lay it before the reader. "Ane Bassantin, a Scottis man, that had been travellit, and was learnit in high scyences, cam to him [Sir Robert Melville] and said, 'Gud gentilman, I hear sa gud report of you that I love you hartly, and therefore canot forbear to shaw you, how all your upright dealing and your honest travell will be in vain, where ye believe to obtain a weall for our quen at the Quen of Englands handis. You bot tyme your tyme; for, first, they will never meit together, and next, there will never be bot dissembling and secret hattrent for a while, and at length captivity and utter wrak for our quen by England.' My brother's answer again was, that he lyked not to heir of sic devilish newes, nor yet wald he credit them in any sort, as false, ungodly, and unlawful for Christians to medle them with. Bassantin answered again, 'Gud Mester Melvill, tak not that hard opinion of me; I am a Christian of your religion, and fears God, and purposes never to cast myself in any of the unlawful artis that ye mean of, bot sa far as Melanthon, wha was a godly

theologue, has declared and written anent the natural sciences, that are lawfull and daily red in dyvers Christian universities; in the quihilks, as in all othir artis, God geves to some less, to some mair and clearer knowledge than till others; be the quihilk knowledge I have also that at length, that the kingdom of England sall of rycht fall to the crown of Scotland, and that ther are some born at this instant that sall bruik lands and heritages in England. Bot alace it will cost many their lyves, and many bludy battailes wilbe foughten first, or [ere] it tak a sattled effect; and be my knowledge,' said he, 'the Spaniards will be helpers, and will tak a part to themselves for ther labours, quihilk they wilbe laith to leve again.'" If the report of this conference be quite faithful, we must certainly do Bassantin the justice to say, that the most material part of his prophecy came to pass; though it might be easy for him to see that, as the sovereign of Scotland was heiress-presumptive to the crown of England, she or her heirs had a near prospect of succeeding. How Bassantin spent his time in Scotland does not appear; but, as a good Protestant, he became a warm supporter of the Earl of Murray, then struggling for the ascendancy. He died in 1568. His works are—

1. *A System of Astronomy*, published for the third time in 1593, by John Tornæsius.
2. *A Treatise of the Astrolabe*, published at Lyons in 1555, and reprinted at Paris in 1617.
3. *A Pamphlet on the Calculation of Nativities*.
4. *A Treatise on Arithmetic*.
5. *Music on the Principles of the Platonists*.
6. *On Mathematics in General*. It is understood that, in the composition of these works, he required considerable literary assistance, being only skilled in his own language, which was never then made the vehicle of scientific discussion.

BASSOL, JOHN, a distinguished disciple of the famous Duns Scotus, is stated by Mackenzie to have been born in the reign of Alexander III. He studied under Duns at Oxford, and with him, in 1304, removed to Paris, where he resided some time in the university, and in 1313 entered the order of the Minorites. After this he was sent by the general of his order to Rheims, where he applied himself to the study of medicine, and taught philosophy for seven or eight years. In 1322 he removed to Mechlin in Brabant, and after teaching theology in that city for five and twenty years, died in 1347.

Bassol's only work was one entitled *Commentaria seu Lecturæ in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, to which were attached some miscellaneous papers on philosophy and medicine. The book was published in folio at Paris, in 1517. Bassol was known by the title *Doctor Ordinatusimus*, or the Most Methodical Doctor, on account of the clear and accurate method in which he lectured and composed. The fashion of giving such titles to the great masters of the schools was then in its prime. Thus, Duns Scotus himself was styled *Doctor Subtilis*, or the Subtle Doctor. St. Francis of Assis was called the *Seraphic Doctor*; Alexander Hales, the *Irrefragable Doctor*; Thomas Aquinas, the *Angelical Doctor*; Hendricus Bonicollus, the *Solemn Doctor*; Richard Middleton, the *Solid Doctor*; Francis Mayron, the *Acute Doctor*; Durandus à S. Portiano, the *Most Resolute Doctor*; Thomas Bredwardin, the *Profound Doctor*; Joannes Ruysbrokuius, the *Divine Doctor*, and so forth; the title being in every case founded upon some extravagant conception of the merit of the particular individual, adopted by his contemporaries and disciples. In this extraordinary class of literati John Bassol, as implied by his *soubriquet*, shines conspicuous for order and method; yet we are told that his works

contain most of the faults which are generally laid to the charge of the schoolmen. The chief of these is an irrational devotion to the philosophy of Aristotle, as expounded by Thomas Aquinas. In the early ages of modern philosophy, this most splendid exertion of the human mind was believed to be irreconcilable with the Christian doctrines; and at the very time when the Angelical Doctor wrote his commentary, it stood prohibited by a decree of Pope Gregory IX. The illustrious Thomas not only restored Aristotle to favour, but inspired his followers with an admiration of his precepts, which, as already mentioned, was not rational. Not less was their admiration of the "angelical" commentator, to whom it was long the fashion among them to offer an incense little short of blasphemy. A commentator upon an original work of Thomas Aquinas endeavours, in a prefatory discourse, to prove, in so many chapters, that he wrote his books not without the special infusion of the Spirit of God Almighty; that, in writing them, he received many things by revelation; and that Christ had given anticipatory testimony to his writings. By way of bringing the works of St. Thomas into direct comparison with the Holy Scriptures, the same writer remarks, "that, as in the first general councils of the church, it was common to have the Bible unfolded upon the altar, so, in the last general council (that of Trent), St. Thomas' *Sum* was placed beside the Bible, as an inferior rule of Christian doctrine." Peter Labbé, a learned Jesuit, with scarcely less daring flattery, styles St. Thomas an angel, and says that, as he learned many things from the angels, so he taught the angels some things; that St. Thomas had said what St. Paul was not permitted to utter; and that he speaks of God as if he had seen him, and of Christ as if he had been his voice. One might almost suppose that these learned gentlemen, disregarding the sentiment afterwards embodied by Gray, that flattery soothes not the cold ear of death, endeavoured by their praises to make interest with the "angelical" shade, not doubting that he was able to obtain for them a larger share of paradise than they could otherwise hope for. In the words of the author of the *Reflections on Learning*, "the sainted Thomas, if capable of hearing these inordinate flatteries, must have blushed to receive them."

Bassol was also characterized, in common with all the rest of the schoolmen, by a ridiculous nicety in starting questions and objections. Overlooking the great moral aim of what they were expounding, he and his fellows lost themselves in minute and subtle inquiries after physical exactness, started at every straw which lay upon their path, and measured the powers of the mind by grains and scruples. It must be acknowledged, in favour of this singular class of men, that they improved natural reason to a great height, and that much of what is most admired in modern philosophy is only borrowed from them. At the same time, their curiosity in raising and prosecuting frivolous objections to the Christian system is to be regretted as the source of much scepticism and irreligion. To many of their arguments, ridicule only is due; and it would perhaps be impossible for the gravest to restrain a smile at the illustrissimo mentioned by Cardan, one of whose arguments was declared to be enough to puzzle all posterity, and who himself wept in his old age because he had become unable to understand his own books.

The works of Bassol have been long forgotten, like those of his brethren; but it is not too much to say regarding this great man of a former day, that the same powers of mind which he spent upon the endless intricacies of the school philosophy, would

certainly, in another age and sphere, have tended to the permanent advantage of his fellow-creatures. He was so much admired by his illustrious preceptor, that that great man used to say, "If only Joannes Bassioliis be present, I have a sufficient auditory."

BAXTER, ANDREW, an ingenious moral and natural philosopher, was the son of a merchant in Old Aberdeen, and of Mrs. Elizabeth Fraser, a lady connected with some of the considerable families of that name in the north of Scotland. He was born at Old Aberdeen, in 1686 or 1687, and educated at the King's College, in his native city. His employment in early life was that of a preceptor to young gentlemen; and among others of his pupils were Lord Gray, Lord Blantyre, and Mr. Hay of Drummelzier. In 1723, while resident at Dunse Castle, as preceptor to the last-mentioned gentleman, he is known, from letters which passed between him and Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kaimes, to have been deeply engaged in both physical and metaphysical disquisitions. As Mr. Home's paternal seat of Kaimes was situated within a few miles of Dunse Castle, the similarity of their pursuits appears to have brought them into an intimate friendship and correspondence. This, however, was soon afterwards broken off. Mr. Home, who was a mere novice in physics, contended with Mr. Baxter that motion was necessarily the result of a succession of causes. The latter endeavoured, at first with much patience and good temper, to point out the error of this argument; but, teased at length with what he conceived to be sophistry purposely employed by his antagonist to show his ingenuity in throwing doubts on principles to which he himself annexed the greatest importance, and on which he had founded what he believed to be a demonstration of those doctrines most material to the happiness of mankind, he finally interrupted the correspondence, saying, "I shall return you all your letters; mine, if not already destroyed, you may likewise return; we shall burn them and our philosophical heats together."

About this time, Mr. Baxter married Alice Mabane, daughter of a respectable clergyman in Berwickshire. A few years afterwards he published his great work, entitled *An Inquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, wherein its Immateriality is evinced from the Principles of Reason and Philosophy*. This work was originally without date; but a second edition appeared in 1737, and a third in 1745. It has been characterized in the highest terms of panegyric by Bishop Warburton. "He who would see," says this eminent prelate, "the justest and precisest notions of God and the soul, may read this book; one of the most finished of the kind, in my humble opinion, that the present times, greatly advanced in true philosophy, have produced." The object of the treatise is to prove the immateriality, and consequently the immortality, of the soul, from the acknowledged principle of the *vis inertia* of matter. His argument, according to the learned Lord Woodhouselee, is as follows: "There is a resistance to any change of its present state, either of rest or motion, essential to matter, which is inconsistent with its possessing any active power. Those, therefore, which have been called the natural powers of matter, as gravity, attraction, elasticity, repulsion, are not powers implanted in matter, or possible to be made inherent in it, but are impulses or forces impressed upon it *ab extra*. The consequence of the want of active power in matter is, that all those effects commonly ascribed to its active powers must be produced upon it by an immaterial being. Hence we discover the necessity for the agency of a constant and universal

Providence in the material world, who is God; and hence we must admit the necessity of an immaterial mover in all spontaneous motions, which is the *soul*; for that which can arbitrarily effect a change in the present state of matter, cannot be matter itself, which resists all change of its present state: and since this change is effected by willing, that thing which wills in us is not matter, but an immaterial substance. From these fundamental propositions, the author deduces, as consequences, the necessary immortality of the soul, as being a simple un compounded substance, and thence incapable of decay, and its capacity of existing, and being conscious, when separated from the body." In 1741, leaving his family in Berwick, he went abroad with his pupil Mr. Hay, and resided for several years at Utrecht. In the course of various excursions which he made through Holland, France, and Germany, he was generally well received by the literati. He returned to Scotland in 1747, and, till his death, in 1750, resided constantly at Whittingham, in East Lothian, a seat of his pupil Mr. Hay. His latter works were *Matho, sive Cosmotheoria puerilis*, *Dialogus*, a piece designed for the use of his pupil; and *An Appendix to his Inquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul*, wherein he endeavoured to remove some difficulties which had been started against his notions of the *vis inertia* of matter by Maclaurin, in his *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries*. In 1779 the Rev. Dr. Duncan of South Warrborough published *The Evidence of Reason in proof of the Immortality of the Soul, independent on the more abstruse inquiry into the nature of matter and spirit—collected from the MSS. of the late Mr. Baxter*.

The learning and abilities of Mr. Baxter are sufficiently displayed in his writings, which, however, were of more note in the literary world during his own time than now. He was very studious, and sometimes sat up whole nights reading and writing. His temper was cheerful; he was a friend to innocent merriment, and of a disposition truly benevolent. In conversation he was modest, and not apt to make much show of the extensive knowledge he possessed. In the discharge of the several social and relative duties of life, his conduct was exemplary. He had the most reverential sentiments of the Deity, of whose presence and immediate support he had always a strong impression upon his mind. He paid a strict attention to economy, though he dressed elegantly, and was not parsimonious in his other expenses. It is known also that there were several occasions on which he acted with remarkable disinterestedness; and so far was he from courting preferment, that he repeatedly declined offers of that kind that were made to him, on the condition of his taking orders in the Church of England. The French, German, and Dutch languages were spoken by him with much ease, and the Italian tolerably; and he read and wrote them all, together with the Spanish. His friends and correspondents were numerous and respectable; among them are particularly mentioned Mr. Pointz, preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, and Bishop Warburton.

BAYNE, OR **BAINE**, JAMES, A.M., a divine of some note, was the son of the Rev. Mr. Bayne, minister of Bonhill in Dumbartonshire, and was born in 1710. His education, commenced at the parish school, was completed at the university of Glasgow, and in due time he became a licensed preacher of the Established Church of Scotland. In consequence of the respectability of his father, and his own talents as a preacher, he was presented by the Duke of Montrose to the church of Killearn,

the parish adjoining that in which his father had long ministered the gospel, and memorable as the birthplace of Buchanan. In this sequestered and tranquil scene he spent many years, which he often referred to in after-life as the happiest he had ever known. He here married Miss Potter, daughter of Dr. Michael Potter, professor of divinity in the Glasgow university, by whom he had a large family. His son, the Rev. James Bayne, was licensed in the Scottish Establishment, but afterwards received episcopal ordination, and died in the exercise of that profession of faith at Alloa.

The reputation of Mr. Bayne as a preacher soon travelled far beyond the rural scene to which his ministrations were confined. His people, in allusion to the musical sweetness of his voice, honoured him with the poetical epithet of "the swan of the west." He was appointed to a collegiate charge in the High Church of Paisley, where his partner in duty was the celebrated Mr. Wotherspoon, afterwards president of the Nassau Hall College, Princetown, New Jersey. The two colleagues, however, did not co-operate harmoniously, although both enjoyed a high degree of popularity. Mr. Bayne displayed great public spirit during his connection with the Established Church, defending her spiritual liberties and independence in the church courts, and offering a determined opposition to the policy of the moderate or ruling party. The deposition of Mr. Thomas Gillespie of Carnock, the founder of the Relief church, made a powerful impression on his mind, and undoubtedly had a strong influence in inducing him to resign his pastoral charge in Paisley. But the immediate cause of that resolution was a keen dispute which took place in the kirk-session of his parish, respecting the appointment of a session-clerk. The session contested the right of appointment with the town-council; the whole community took an interest in the dispute; and the case came at last to be litigated in the court of session, which decided in favour of the town-council. Unhappily, Mr. Bayne and his colleague took opposite sides in this petty contest, and a painful misunderstanding was produced betwixt them, followed by consequences probably affecting the future destinies of both. Mr. Bayne refers to these differences in his letter of resignation, addressed to the Presbytery, dated 10th February, 1766:—"They (the Presbytery) know not how far I am advanced in life, who see not that a house of worship, so very large as the High Church, and commonly so crowded too, must be very unequal to my strength; and this burden was made more heavy by denying me a session to assist me in the common concerns of the parish, which I certainly had a title to. But the load became quite-intolerable, when, by a late unhappy process, the just and natural right of the common session was wrested from us, which drove away from acting in it twelve men of excellent character." Mr. Bayne joined the Relief church, then in its infancy, having, even whilst in the Establishment, held ministerial communion with Mr. Simpson, minister of Bellshill congregation, the first Relief church in the west of Scotland. In his letter of resignation already quoted, Mr. Bayne assured his former brethren that the change of his condition, and the charge he had accepted, would make no change in his creed, nor in his principles of Christian and ministerial communion—"Nay (he adds), none in my cordial regard to the constitution and interests of the Church of Scotland, which I solemnly engaged to support some more than thirty years ago, and hope to do so while I live. At the same time I abhor persecution in every form, and that abuse of church power of late, which to me appears incon-

sistent with humanity, with the civil interests of the nation, and destructive of the ends of our office as ministers of Christ." On the 24th December, Mr. Bayne accepted a call to become minister of the College Street Relief Church, Edinburgh, and his induction took place on the 13th February, 1766, three days after his resignation of his charge in Paisley. As his demission fell to be adjudicated upon by the General Assembly, in May of that year, his name remained for the present upon the roll of the Establishment, and so little did he yet consider himself separated from the communion of that church, that when the half-yearly sacrament of the Lord's supper came round in Edinburgh, soon after his settlement, after preaching in his own church in the forenoon, he went over in the afternoon, at the head of his congregation, to the New Greyfriars' Church, and joined in the ordinance with the congregation of the Rev. Dr. Erskine. At the Assembly in May, Mr. Bayne, in obedience to a citation, appeared at the bar, and was declared to be no longer a minister of the Church of Scotland, and all clergymen of that body were prohibited from holding ministerial communion with him. Mr. Bayne defended the course he had taken in a review of the proceedings of the Assembly, entitled *Memoirs of Modern Church Reformation, or the History of the General Assembly, 1766, and occasional reflections upon the proceedings of said Assembly; with a brief account and vindication of the Presbytery of Relief*, by James Bayne, A.M., minister of the gospel at Edinburgh. He denounces, with indignant severity, the injustice of his having been condemned by the Assembly without a libel, merely for having accepted a charge in another church, "in which (says he), I presumed, they could find nothing criminal; for often had ministers resigned their charge upon different accounts, and justifiable; nay, some have given it up for the more entertaining and elegant employ of the stage, who were not called in question or found delinquents." This was a palpable hit at Home, the author of *Douglas*, who sat in the Assembly as a ruling elder, to aid Dr. Robertson in punishing Bayne.

After a ministry of sixty years, Mr. Bayne died at Edinburgh, on the 17th January, 1790, in his eightieth year. He was twenty-four years minister of the College Street Relief congregation, Edinburgh. His popularity as a preacher, his talents for ecclesiastical affairs, his acquirements as a scholar and a theologian, and his sound judgment and weight of character, gave him great influence; and it was mainly to his large and enlightened views that the Relief church was indebted for the position to which it attained, even during his lifetime, as well as for retaining, till it was finally merged in the United Presbyterian Church, the catholic constitution on which it had been founded by Gillespie and Boston. Mr. Bayne was an uncompromising opponent of whatever he considered to be a violation of public morality. In 1770 he published a discourse, entitled *The Theatre Licentious and Perverted*, administering a stern rebuke to Mr. Samuel Foote for his *Minor*, a drama in which the characters of Whitefield and other zealous ministers were held up to profane ridicule. The dramatist considered it necessary to reply to Mr. Bayne's strictures, in an *Apology for the Minor*, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Bayne, resting his defence upon the plea that he only satirized the vices and follies of religious pretenders. A volume of Mr. Bayne's discourses was published in 1778.

BEATON, or BEATOUN, (CARDINAL) DAVID, who held the rectory of Campsie, the abbacy of

Aberbrothick, the bishopric of Mirepoix in France, the cardinalship of St. Stephen in Monte Celio, and the chancellorship of Scotland, and who was the chief of the Roman Catholic party in Scotland in the earlier age of the Reformation, was descended from an ancient family in Fife, possessed of the barony of Balfour, and was born in the year 1494. He was educated at the college of St. Andrews, where he completed his courses of polite literature and philosophy, but was sent afterwards to the university of Paris, where he studied divinity for several years. Entering into holy orders, he had the rectory of Campsie and the abbacy of Aberbrothick bestowed upon him by his uncle James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who retained one-half of the rents of the abbacy to his own use. Possessing good abilities and a lively fancy, David Beaton became a great favourite with James V., who in 1519 sent him as his ambassador to the court of France. He returned to Scotland in 1525, and, still growing in the king's favour, was in 1528 made lord privy-seal.

In the year 1533 he was again sent on a mission to the French court. Beaton on this occasion was charged to refute certain calumnies which it was supposed the English had circulated against his countrymen, to study the preservation of the ancient league between the two nations, and to conclude a treaty of marriage between James and Magdalene, the daughter of Francis I. If unsuccessful in any of these points, he was to repair to Flanders, for the purpose of forming an alliance with the emperor. In every part of his embassy, Beaton seems to have succeeded, the marriage excepted, which was delayed on account of the declining health of Magdalene. How long Beaton remained at the French court at this time has not been ascertained; but it is certain that he was exceedingly agreeable to Francis, who, perceiving his great abilities, and aware of the influence he possessed over the mind of the Scottish king, used every expedient to attach him to the interests of France.

In 1536, finding a second embassy also unsuccessful, King James set sail for France, and proceeded to the court, where he was most cordially welcomed; and his suit being agreeable to Magdalene herself, Francis consented to their union, which was celebrated on the 1st of January, 1537. On the 28th of May following, the royal pair landed in Scotland, being conveyed by a French fleet. Magdalene was received by the Scots with the utmost cordiality; but she was already far gone in a decline, and died on the 7th of July following, to the inexpressible grief of the whole nation. It was on the death of this queen that mournings were first worn in Scotland. James, however, in expectation of this event, had fixed his attention upon Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville; and Beaton, who by this time had returned to Scotland, was despatched immediately to bring her over. On this occasion he was appointed by the King of France Bishop of Mirepoix, to which see he was consecrated December 5th, 1537. The following year he was, at the recommendation of the French king, elevated to the cardinalship by the pope, which was followed by a grant on the part of the French king for services already done, and for those which he might afterwards do to his majesty, allowing his heirs to succeed to his estate in France, though the said heirs should be born and live within the kingdom of Scotland. The cardinal returned to Scotland with Mary of Guise, and shortly after obtained the entire management of the diocese and primacy of St. Andrews, under his uncle James Beaton, whom he eventually succeeded in that office.

A severe persecution was commenced at this time by the cardinal against all who were suspected of favouring the reformed doctrines. Many were forced to recant, and two persons, Norman Gourlay and David Straiton, were burned at the Rood of Green-side, near Edinburgh. Being appointed by the pope *legatus a latere*, Beaton held a conclave of noblemen, prelates, and church dignitaries at St. Andrews, and harangued them from his chair of state on the dangers that hung over the true catholic church from the proceedings of King Henry in England, and particularly from the great increase of heresy in Scotland, where it had found encouragement even in the court of the king. As he proceeded, he denounced Sir John Borthwick, provost of Linlithgow, as one of the most industrious incendiaries, and caused him to be cited before them for maintaining that the pope had no greater authority over Christians than any other bishop or prelate—that indulgences granted by the pope were of no force or effect, but devised to amuse the people and deceive poor ignorant souls—that bishops, priests, and other clergymen may lawfully marry—that the heresies commonly called the heresies of England and their new liturgy were to be commended by all good Christians, and to be embraced by them—that the people of Scotland are blinded by their clergy, and profess not the true faith—that churchmen ought not to enjoy any temporalities—that the king ought to convert the superfluous revenues of the church unto other pious uses—that the Church of Scotland ought to be reformed after the same manner as that of England was—that the canon law was of no force, being contrary to the law of God—that the orders of friars and monks should be abolished, as had been done in England—that he had openly called the pope a Simoniac, because he had sold spiritual things—that he had read heretical books and the New Testament in English, with treatises written by Melancthon, Cocolampadius, and other heretics, and that he not only read them himself, but distributed them among others—and lastly, that he openly disowned the authority of the Roman see. These articles being read, and Sir John neither appearing in person nor by proxy, he was set down as a confessed heretic, and condemned as an heresiarch. His goods were ordered to be confiscated and himself burned in effigy, if he could not be apprehended, and all manner of persons forbidden to entertain or converse with him, under the pain of excommunication or forfeiture. This sentence was passed against him on the 28th of May, and executed the same day so far as was in the power of the court, his effigy being burned in the market-place of St. Andrews, and two days after at Edinburgh. This was supposed by many to be intended as a gratifying spectacle to Mary of Guise, the new queen, who had only a short time before arrived from France. In the meantime, Sir John fled into England, where he was received with open arms by Henry VIII., by whom he was sent on an embassy to the Protestant princes of Germany, for the purpose of forming with them a defensive league against the pope. Johnston, in his *Heroes of Scotland*, says that "John Borthwick, a noble knight, was as much esteemed by King James V. for his exemplar and amiable qualities, as he was detested by the order of the priesthood on account of his true piety, for his unfeigned profession of which he was condemned; and, though absent, his effects confiscated, and his effigy, after being subjected to various marks of ignominy, burned," as we have above related; "this condemnation," Johnston adds, "he answered by a most learned apology, which may yet be seen in the records of the martyrs

[Fox]; and having survived many years, at last died in peace in a good old age."

During these events, Henry, anxious to destroy that interest which the French government had so long maintained in Scotland, sent into that kingdom the Bishop of St. David's with some books written in the vulgar tongue upon the doctrines of Christianity, which he recommended to his nephew carefully to peruse. James, who was more addicted to his amusements than to study, gave the books to be perused by some of his courtiers, who, being attached to the clerical order, condemned them as pestilent and heretical. There were, however, other matters proposed by this embassy than the books, though the clerical faction endeavoured to persuade the people that the books were all that was intended; for, shortly after, the same bishop, accompanied by William Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, came to the king at Stirling so suddenly, that he was not aware of their coming till they were announced as arrived in the town. This, no doubt, was planned by Henry to prevent the intriguing of the priests and the French faction beforehand. His offers were so advantageous, that James acceded to them without scruple, and readily agreed to meet with his uncle Henry on an appointed day, when they were to settle all matters in dependence between them for the welfare of both kingdoms. Nothing could be more terrible to the clergy, of which Beaton was now confessedly the head in Scotland, than the agreement of the two kings; and they hastened to court from all quarters to weep over their religion, about to be betrayed by an unholy conference, which could not fail, they said, to end in the ruin of the kingdom. Having by these representations made a strong impression upon the king, they then bribed the courtiers who had the most powerful influence over him, to dissuade him from the promised journey, which they successfully did, and so laid the foundation of a war, the disastrous issue of which, preying upon the mind of James, brought him to an untimely end.

In the whole of these transactions, Beaton, a zealous churchman and the hired tool of France, was the chief actor; and knowing that the king was both covetous and needy, he overcame his scruples, by persuading the clergy to promise him a yearly subsidy of 30,000 gold crowns. As he had no design, however, that the church should defray the cost, he pointed out the estates of those who rebelled against the authority of the pope and the king as proper subjects for confiscation, whereby there might be raised annually the sum of 100,000 crowns of gold. In order to attain this object, he requested that, for himself and his brethren, they might only be allowed to name, as they were precluded themselves from sitting in judgment in criminal cases, a lord chief-justice, before whom, were he once appointed, there could be neither difficulty in managing the process, nor delay in procuring judgment, since so many men hesitated not to read the books of the New and Old Testaments, and to treat the church and churchmen with contempt. This wicked counsel was complied with, and they nominated for this new court of inquisition a judge every way according to their own hearts, James Hamilton (a natural brother of the Earl of Arran), whom they had attached to their interests by large gifts, and who was willing to be reconciled to the king, whom he had lately offended, by any service, however cruel.

The suspicions which the king entertained against his nobility from this time forward were such as to paralyze his efforts whether for good or evil. The inroads of the English, too, occupied his whole

attention, and the shameful overthrow of his army which had entered England by the Solway, threw him into such a state of rage and distraction, that he died at Falkland on the 13th of December, 1542, leaving the kingdom, torn by faction, and utterly defenceless, to his only surviving legitimate child, Mary, then no more than five days old. The sudden demise of the king, while it quashed the old projects of the cardinal, only set him upon forming new ones still more daring and dangerous. Formerly he had laboured to direct the movements of the king by humouring his passions, flattering his vanity, and administering to his vicious propensities; he now conceived that it would be easy for him to seize upon the government in the name of the infant queen. Accordingly, with the assistance of one Henry Balfour, a mercenary priest, whom he suborned, he is said to have forged a will for the king, in which he was himself nominated regent, with three of the nobility as his assessors or assistants. According to Knox, these were Argyle, Huntley, and Murray; but Buchanan, whom we think a very sufficient authority in this case, says that he also assumed as an assessor his cousin by the mother's side, the Earl of Arran, who was, after Mary, the next heir to the crown, but was believed to be poorly qualified for discharging the duties of a private life, and still less for directing the government of a kingdom. Aware of the danger that might arise from delay, the cardinal lost not a moment in idle deliberation. The will which he had forged he caused to be proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh on the Monday immediately succeeding the king's death.

Arran, had he been left to himself, would have peaceably acquiesced in the cardinal's arrangements. But his friends, the Hamiltons, incessantly urged him not to let such an occasion slip out of his hands. Hatred, too, to the cardinal, who, from his persecuting and selfish spirit, was very generally detested, and the disgrace of living in bondage to a priest, procured them many associates. The near prospect which Arran now had of succeeding to the crown, must also have enlisted a number of the more wary and calculating politicians upon his side. But what was of still more consequence to him, Henry of England, who had carried all the principal prisoners taken in the late battle to London, marched them in triumph through that metropolis, and given them in charge to his principal nobility, no sooner heard of the death of the king than he recalled the captives to court, entertained them in the most friendly manner, and having taken a promise from each of them that they would promote as far as possible, without detriment to the public interests, or disgrace to themselves, a marriage between his son and the young queen, he sent them back to Scotland, where they arrived on the 1st of January, 1543. Along with the prisoners the Earl of Angus and his brother were restored to their country, after an exile of fifteen years, and all were received by the nation with the most joyful gratulations. It was in vain that the cardinal had already taken possession of the regency. Arran, by the advice of the laird of Grange, called an assembly of the nobility, and finding the will upon which the cardinal had assumed the regency forged, they set him aside and elected Arran in his place. This was peculiarly grateful to a great proportion of the nobles and gentlemen, three hundred of whom, with Arran at their head, were found in a proscription list among the king's papers, furnished to him by the cardinal. Arran, it was well known, was friendly to the reformers, and his imbecility of mind being unknown, the greatest expectations were formed from the moderation of his character. In the

parliament that met in the month of March following, public affairs put on a much more promising appearance than could have been expected. The king of England, instead of an army, sent an ambassador to negotiate a marriage between the young queen and his son, and a lasting peace upon the most advantageous terms. The cardinal, who saw in this alliance with Protestant England the downfall of his church in Scotland, opposed himself with the whole weight of the clergy, and all the influence of the queen-dowager, to everything like pacific measures, and that with so much violence, that he was, by the general consent of the house, shut up in a separate chamber while the votes were taken; after which everything was settled in the most amicable manner, and it was agreed that hostages should be sent into England for the fulfilment of the stipulated articles.

The cardinal in the meantime was committed as a prisoner into the hands of Lord Seton, but was afterwards suffered to resume his own castle at St. Andrews. In the great confusion of public affairs that had prevailed for a number of years, trade had been at a stand, and now that a lasting peace seemed to be established, a number of vessels were sent to sea laden with the most valuable merchandise. Edinburgh itself fitted out twelve, and the other towns on the eastern coast in proportion to their wealth, all of them coasting the English shores, and entering their harbours with the most undoubting confidence. Restored, however, to liberty, the cardinal strained every nerve to break up the arrangements that had been so happily concluded. He prevailed on a portion of the clergy to give all their own money, their silver plate, and the plate belonging to their churches; and aided by this money, with which he wrought upon the avarice and the poverty of the nobles and excited the clamours of the vulgar, who hated the very name of an English alliance, the cardinal soon found himself at the head of a formidable party, which treated the English ambassador with the greatest haughtiness, in the hope of forcing him out of the country before the arrival of the day stipulated by the treaty with the regent for the delivery of the hostages. The ambassador, however, braved every insult till the day arrived, when he waited on the regent, and complained in strong terms of the manner in which he had been used, and demanded the fulfilment of the treaty. With respect to the affronts, the regent stated them to have been committed without his knowledge, and promised to punish the offenders. With regard to the hostages, however, he was obliged to confess, that, through the intrigues of the cardinal, it was impossible for him to furnish them. The treaty being thus broken off, the noblemen who had been captives only a few months before, ought, according to agreement, to have gone back into England, having left hostages to that effect. Wrought upon, however, by the cardinal and the clergy, they refused to redeem the faith they had pledged, and abandoned the friends they had left behind them to their fate. The only exception to this baseness was the Earl of Cassilis, who had left two brothers as hostages. Henry was so much pleased with this solitary instance of good faith, that he set him free along with his brothers, and sent him home loaded with gifts. He at the same time seized upon all the Scottish vessels, a great number of which had been lately fitted out, and were at this time in the English harbours, confiscated the merchandise, and made the merchants and the mariners prisoners of war. This, while it added to the domestic miseries of Scotland, served also to fan the flames of dissension, which burned more fiercely than

ever. The faction of the cardinal and the queen-dowager, entirely devoted to France, now sent ambassadors thither to state their case as utterly desperate, unless they were supported from that country. In particular, they requested that Matthew Earl of Lennox might be ordered home, in order that they might set him up as a rival to the Hamiltons, who were already the objects of his hatred, on account of their having waylaid and killed his father at Linlithgow.

Arran laboured to strengthen his party by possessing himself of the infant queen, who had hitherto remained at Linlithgow in the charge of her mother the queen-dowager. The cardinal, however, was too wary to be thus circumvented, and occupied Linlithgow. Lennox, in the meantime, arrived from France, and having informed his friends of the expectations he had been led to form, he proceeded to join the queen at Linlithgow, accompanied by upwards of 4000 men. Arran, who had assembled all his friends in and about Edinburgh for the purpose of breaking through to the queen, now found himself completely in the back-ground, having, by the imbecility of his character, entirely lost the confidence of the people, and being threatened with a lawsuit by the friends of Lennox to deprive him of his estates, his father having married his mother, Janet Beaton, an aunt of the cardinal, while his first wife, whom he had divorced, was still alive. He now thought of nothing but making his peace with the cardinal. To this the cardinal was not at all averse, as he wished to make Arran his tool rather than his victim. Delegates of both parties met at Kirkliston, and agreed that the queen should be carried to Stirling; the Earl of Montrose, with the Lords Erskine, Lindsay, and Livingstone, being nominated to take the superintendence of her education. Having been put in possession of the infant queen, these noblemen proceeded with her direct to Stirling Castle, where she was solemnly inaugurated with the usual ceremonies on the 9th of Sept. 1543. The feeble regent soon followed, and, before the queen-mother and the principal nobility in the church of the Franciscans at Stirling, solemnly abjured the Protestant doctrines, by the profession of which alone he had obtained the favour of so large a portion of the nation, and for the protection of which he had been especially called to the regency. In this manner the cardinal, through the cowardice of the regent and the avarice of his friends, obtained all that he intended by the forged will, and enjoyed all the advantages of ruling, while all the odium that attended it attached to the imbecile Arran. There was yet, however, one thing wanting to establish the power of the cardinal—the dismissal of Lennox, who was now a serious obstacle in the way of both the cardinal and the queen-mother. They accordingly wrote to the King of France, entreating that, as Scotland had been restored to tranquillity by his liberality and assistance, he would secure his own good work and preserve the peace which he had procured, by recalling Lennox, without which it was impossible it could be lasting.

Though they were thus secretly labouring to undermine this nobleman, the queen-mother and the cardinal seemed to honour him before the people, and by a constant succession of games and festivals the court presented one unbroken scene of gaiety. Day after day was spent in tournaments, and night after night in masquerades. In these festivities, of which he was naturally fond, Lennox found a keen rival in James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, who had been banished by James V., but had returned after his decease, and was now labouring to obtain the queen-

dowager in marriage by the same arts that Lennox fancied himself to be so successfully employing. Both these noblemen were remarkable for natural endowments, and in the gifts of fortune they were nearly upon a level. Finding himself inferior, however, in the sportive strife of arms, Bothwell withdrew from the court in chagrin, leaving the field to his rival undisputed. Lennox now pressed his suit upon the queen, but learned with astonishment that she had no intention of taking him for a husband, and so far from granting him the regency, she had agreed with the cardinal to preserve it in the possession of his mortal enemy Arran, whom they expected to be more pliant. Exasperated to the highest degree, Lennox swore to be amply revenged, but uncertain as yet what plan to pursue, departed for Dunbarton, where he was in the midst of his vassals and friends. Here he received 30,000 crowns, sent to increase the strength of his party by the King of France, who had not yet been informed of the real state of Scotland. Being ordered to consult with the queen-dowager and the cardinal in the distribution of this money, Lennox divided part of it among his friends, and part he sent to the queen. The cardinal, who had expected to have been intrusted with the greatest share of the money, under the influence of rage and disappointment, persuaded the vacillating regent to raise an army and march to Glasgow, where he might seize upon Lennox and the money at the same time. Lennox, however, warned of their intentions, raised on the instant among his vassals and friends upwards of 10,000 men, with whom he marched to Leith, and sent a message to the cardinal at Edinburgh, that he desired to save him the trouble of coming to fight him at Glasgow, and would give him that pleasure any day in the fields between Edinburgh and Leith.

This was a new and unexpected mortification to the cardinal, who had gained only the regent and his immediate dependants, the great body of the people, who had originally given him weight and influence, having now deserted his standard. The cardinal, therefore, delayed coming to action from day to day under various pretexts, but in reality that he might have time to seduce the adherents of his rival, who could not be kept for any length of time together. Lennox, finding the war thus protracted, made an agreement with the regent, and, proceeding to Edinburgh, the two visited backwards and forwards, as if all their ancient animosity had been forgotten. Lennox, however, being advised of treachery, withdrew in the night secretly to Glasgow, where he fortified, provisioned, and garrisoned the bishop's castle, but retired himself to Dunbarton. Here he learned that the Douglasses had agreed with the Hamiltons, and that, through the influence of his enemies, the French king was totally estranged from him. Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, and Robert Maxwell, in the meantime, came to Glasgow with the view of mediating between Lennox and the regent. The regent, however, seized them both in a clandestine manner by the way, and made them close prisoners in the castle of Cadzow. While the two factions were thus harassing one another to the ruin of their common country, Henry was demanding by letters satisfaction for the breach of treaties and the insults that had been heaped upon him in the person of his late ambassador. No notice being taken of these letters, Henry ordered a large armament, which he had prepared to send against the coast of France, to proceed directly to Leith, and to visit Edinburgh and the adjacent country with all the miseries of war; and with so much secrecy and

celerity did this armament proceed, that the first tidings heard of it in Scotland was its appearance in Leith Roads. Ten thousand men were disembarked on the 4th May, 1544, a little above Leith, who took possession of that place without the smallest opposition. The regent and the cardinal were both at the time in Edinburgh, and, panic-stricken at the appearance of the enemy, and still more at the hatred of the citizens, fled with the utmost precipitation towards Stirling. The English in the meantime marched towards Edinburgh, which they sacked and set on fire; then dispersing themselves over the neighbouring country, they burned towns, villages, and gentlemen's seats to the ground, and returning by Edinburgh to Leith, embarked aboard their ships and set sail with a fair wind, carrying with them an immense booty, and with the loss on their part of only a few soldiers.

The cardinal and his puppet the regent, in the meantime, raised a small body of forces in the north, with which, finding the English gone, they laid siege to the castle of Glasgow, which surrendered. Defeated at Glasgow, in a fresh encounter with the Hamiltons, the friends of Lennox refused to risk another engagement, but they insisted that he should keep the impregnable fortress of Dunbarton, where he might in safety await another revolution in the state of parties, which they prognosticated would take place in a very short time. Nothing, however, could divert him from his purpose; and, committing the charge of the castle of Dunbarton to George Stirling, he sailed for England, where he was honourably entertained by King Henry, who settled a pension upon him, and gave him to wife his niece, Margaret Douglas, a princess in the flower of her age, and celebrated for every accomplishment becoming the female character. Arran was delighted to be delivered from such a formidable rival; and in the next parliament, which met at Linlithgow, he succeeded in causing Lennox to be declared a traitor, and in having his estates and those of his friends confiscated.

The English, during these domestic broils, made a furious inroad into Scotland, burned Jedburgh and Kelso, and laid waste the whole surrounding country. Thence proceeding to Coldingham, they fortified the church and the church-tower, in which they placed a garrison on retiring home. This garrison, from the love of plunder as well as to prevent supplies for a besieging army, wasted the neighbouring district to a wide extent. Turning their attention at last to general interests, the Scottish government, at the head of which was the cardinal, the queen-dowager, and the nominal regent Arran, issued a proclamation for the nobles and the more respectable of the commons to assemble armed, and with provisions for eight days, to attend the regent. Eight thousand men were speedily assembled, and though it was the depth of winter, they proceeded against the church and tower of Coldingham without delay. When they had been before the place only one day and one night, the regent, informed that the English were advancing from Berwick, took horse, and with a few attendants galloped in the utmost haste to Dunbar. This inexplicable conduct threw the whole army into confusion, and but for the bravery of one man, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, the whole of their tents, baggage, and artillery would have been abandoned to the enemy. But although Angus and a few of his friends, at the imminent hazard of their lives, saved the artillery and brought it in safety to Dunbar, the conduct of the army in general, and of the regent in particular, was pusillanimous in the extreme. The spirit of the nation sunk, and the courage of the enemy rose in proportion. Ralph

Ivers and Brian Latoun, the English commanders, overran, without opposition, the districts of Merse, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale, and the Forth only seemed to limit their victorious arms. Angus, who alone of all the Scottish nobility at this time gave any indication of public spirit, indignant at the nation's disgrace, and deeply affected with his own losses—for he had extensive estates both in Merse and Teviotdale—made a vehement complaint to the regent upon his folly, and the regent was roused to a momentary exertion, so that, in company with Angus, he set out the very next day for the borders, their whole retinue not exceeding 300 horse. The English, who were at Jedburgh to the number of 5000 men, having ascertained the situation and small number of their forces, marched on the instant to surprise them before their expected supplies should come up. The Scots, however, apprised of their intentions, withdrew to the neighbouring hills, whence, in perfect security, they watched the movements of their enemies, who, disappointed in not finding them, wandered about during the night in quest of such spoils as a lately ravaged town could supply, and with the returning dawn marched back to Jedburgh. The Scots, now joined by Norman Leslie, a youth of great promise, son to the Earl of Rothes, and 300 men from Fife, withdrew to the hills which overlook the village of Ancrum, where they were joined by the laird of Balcleugh, an active and experienced commander, with a few of his vassals, who assured him that the remainder would follow immediately. By the advice of Balcleugh the troops were dismounted, and the horses, under the care of servants, sent to an adjoining hill. The army was formed in the hollow in the order of battle. The English, as had been anticipated, seeing the horses going over the hill, supposed the Scots to be in full retreat, and eager to prevent their escape, rushed after them, and ere they were aware fell upon the Scottish spears. Taken by surprise, the English troops, though they fought with great bravery, were thrown into disorder, and sustained a signal defeat, losing in killed and captured upwards of 1300 men. The loss on the part of the Scots was two men killed and a few wounded.

By this victory and the alliance with France, Beaton now supposed himself fully established in the civil as well as the ecclesiastic management of the kingdom, and proceeded on a progress through the different provinces for the purpose of quieting the seditions which, as he alleged, had arisen in various places, but in reality to repress the Protestants, who, notwithstanding his having so artfully identified the cause of the Catholic religion with that of national feeling, had still been rapidly increasing. Carrying Arran along with him, as also the Earl of Argyle, lord justice-general, Lord Borthwick, the Bishops of Orkney and Dunblane, &c., he came to Perth, or, as it was then more commonly called, St. Johnston, where several persons were summoned before him for disputing upon the sense of the Scriptures, which, among all true Catholics, was a crime to be punished by the judge. Four unhappy men, accused of having eaten a goose upon a Friday, were condemned to be hanged, which rigorous sentence was put into execution. A woman, Helen Stark, for having refused to call upon the Virgin for assistance in her labour, was drowned, although again pregnant. A number of the burghesses of the city, convicted or suspected (for in those days they were the same thing) of smaller peccadilloes, were banished from the city. He also deposed the Lord Ruthven from the provostry of the city, for being somewhat attached to the new opinions, and bestowed the office upon the laird of Kinfauns, a relation to the Lord Gray, who was

neither supposed to be averse to the new religion nor friendly to the cardinal; but he hoped by this arrangement to lay a foundation for a quarrel between these noblemen, by which at least one of them would be cut off. This act of tyranny, by which the citizens were deprived of their privilege of choosing their own governor, was highly resented by them, as well as by the Lord Ruthven, whose family had held the place so long that they almost considered it to be hereditary in their family. The new provost, Kinfauns, was urged by the cardinal and his advisers to seize upon the government of the city by force, but the Lord Ruthven, with the assistance of the citizens, put him to the rout, and slew sixty of his followers. That Ruthven was victorious must have been a little mortifying to the cardinal; but as the victims were enemies of the church, the defeat was the less to be lamented.

From St. Johnston the cardinal proceeded to Dundee, in order to bring to punishment the readers of the New Testament, which about this time began to be taught to them in the original Greek, of which the Scottish priesthood knew so little that they held it forth as a new book written in a new language, invented by Martin Luther, and of such pernicious qualities, that whoever had the misfortune to look into it became infallibly tainted with deadly heresy. Here, however, their proceedings were interrupted by the approach of Lord Patrick Gray and the Earl of Rothes. These noblemen being both friendly to the Reformation, the cardinal durst not admit them with their followers into a town that was notorious for attachment to that cause above all the cities of the kingdom; he therefore sent the regent back to Perth, whither he himself also accompanied him. Even in Perth, however, he durst not meet them openly, and the regent requiring them to enter separately, they complied, and were both committed to prison. Rothes was soon dismissed, but Gray, whom the cardinal was chiefly afraid of, remained in confinement a considerable time. The cardinal, having gone over as much of Angus as he found convenient at the time, returned to St. Andrews, carrying along with him a black friar, named John Rogers, who had been preaching the reformed doctrine in Angus. This individual he committed to the sea-tower of St. Andrews, where, it is alleged, he caused him to be privately murdered and thrown over the wall, giving out that he had attempted to escape over it, and in the attempt had fallen and broke his neck. Keeping Arran still in his company, the cardinal set out to Edinburgh, where he convened an assembly of the clergy to devise means for putting a stop to the disorders that threatened the total ruin of the church. In this meeting it was proposed to allay the public clamours by taking measures for reforming the open profligacy of the priests, which was the chief source of complaint. Their deliberations, however, were cut short by intelligence that George Wishart, the most eminent of the reformed preachers, was residing with Cockburn of Ormiston, only about seven miles from Edinburgh. They calculated that, if they could cut off this individual, they should perform an action more serviceable to the cause of the church, and also one of much easier accomplishment, than reforming the lives of the priests. A troop of horse were immediately sent off to secure him, but Cockburn refusing to deliver him, the cardinal himself and the regent followed, blocking up every avenue to the house, so as to render the escape of the reformer impossible. To prevent the effusion of blood, however, the Earl of Bothwell was sent for, who pledged his faith to Cockburn that he would stand by Wishart, and that no harm should befall

him; upon which he was peaceably surrendered. Bothwell, however, wrought upon by the cardinal, and especially by the queen-mother, with whom, Knox observes, "he was then in the glonders," after some shuffling to save appearances, delivered his prisoner up to the cardinal, who imprisoned him, first in the castle of Edinburgh, and soon after carried him to St. Andrews, where he was brought before the ecclesiastical tribunal, condemned for heresy, and most cruelly put to death, as the reader will find related in another part of this work under the article WISHART. Arran, pressed by his friends, and perhaps by his own conscience, wrote to the cardinal to stay the proceedings till he should have time to inquire into the matter, and threatened him with the guilt of innocent blood. But the warning was in vain, and the innocent victim was only the more rapidly hurried to his end for fear of a rescue.

This act of tyranny and murder was extolled by the clergy and their dependants as highly glorifying to God and honourable to the actor. The people in general felt far otherwise, and regarded the cardinal as a monster of cruelty and lust, whom it would be a meritorious action to destroy. Beaton was not ignorant of this general hatred, nor of the devices that were forming against him; but he supposed his power to be now so firmly established as to be beyond the reach of faction. In the meantime he thought it prudent to strengthen his interest, which was already great, by giving his daughter in marriage to the Master of Crawford. For this purpose he proceeded to Angus, where the marriage was celebrated with almost royal splendour, the bride receiving from her father the cardinal no less than four thousand marks of dowry. From these festivities he was suddenly recalled by intelligence that Henry of England was collecting a great naval force, with which he intended to annoy Scotland, and especially the coast of Fife. To provide against such an exigency, the cardinal summoned the nobility to attend him in a tour round the coast, where he ordered fortifications to be constructed, and garrisons placed in the most advantageous positions. In this tour he was attended by the Master of Rothes, Norman Leslie, who had formerly been one of his friends, but had of late, from some private grudge, become cold towards him. Some altercation of course ensued, and they parted in mortal enmity. The cardinal determined secretly to take off or imprison Norman, with his friends the lairds of Grange, elder and younger, Sir James Learmont, provost of St. Andrews, and the laird of Raith, all whom he feared; and Norman resolved to slay the cardinal, be the consequences what they would.

The cardinal was in the meantime in great haste to repair and strengthen his castle, upon which a large number of men were employed almost night and day. The conspirators having lodged themselves secretly in St. Andrews on the night of May the 28th, 1546, were, ere the dawn of the next morning, assembled to the number of ten or twelve persons in the neighbourhood of the castle, and the gates being opened to let in the workmen with their building materials, Kirkaldy of Grange entered, and with him six persons, who held a parley with the porter. Norman Leslie and his company, having then entered, passed to the middle of the court. Lastly came John Leslie and four men with him, at whose appearance the porter, suspecting some design, attempted to lift the drawbridge, but was prevented by Leslie, who leaped upon it, seized the keys, and threw the janitor into the ditch. The place thus secured, the workmen, to the number of a hundred, ran off the walls, and were put forth at the wicket gate unhurt.

Kirkaldy then took charge of the privy postern, the others going through the different chambers, from which they ejected upwards of fifty persons, who were quietly permitted to escape. The cardinal, roused from his morning slumbers by the noise, threw up his window and asked what it meant. Being answered that Norman Leslie had taken his castle, he ran to the postern, but finding it secured, returned to his chamber, drew his two-handed sword, and ordered his chamberlain to barricade the door. In the meantime, John Leslie demanded admittance, but did not gain it till a chimneyful of burning coals was brought to burn the door, when the cardinal or his chamberlain (it is not known which) threw it open. Beaton, who had in the meantime hidden a box of gold under some coals in a corner of the room, now sat down in a chair, crying, "I am a priest, I am a priest; you will not slay me." But he was now in the hands of men to whom his priestly character was no recommendation. John Leslie, according to his vow, struck him twice with his dagger, and so did Peter Carmichael; but James Melville, perceiving them to be in a passion, withdrew them, saying, "This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be gone about with gravity." Then, admonishing the cardinal of his wicked life, particularly his shedding the blood of that eminent preacher, Mr. George Wishart, Melville struck him thrice through with a stog [or short] sword, and he fell, exclaiming, "Fie, fie, I am a priest; all's gone!" Before this time the inhabitants of St. Andrews were apprised of what was going on, and began to throng around the castle, exclaiming, "Have ye slain my Lord Cardinal? What have ye done with my Lord Cardinal?" As they refused to depart till they saw him, his dead body was hung out in a sheet by the assassins at the same window from which he had but a short time before witnessed the burning of Mr. George Wishart. Having no opportunity to bury the body, they afterwards salted it, wrapped it in lead, and consigned it to the ground floor of the sea-tower, the very place where he was said to have caused Rogers the preaching friar to be murdered.

In this manner fell Cardinal David Beaton, in the height of prosperity, and in the prime of life, for he had only reached the fifty-second year of his age. His death was deeply lamented by his own party, to whom it proved an irreparable loss, and the authors of it were regarded by them as sacrilegious assassins; but by numbers, who, on account of difference in religion, were in dread of their lives from his cruelty, and by others who were disgusted by his insufferable arrogance, they were regarded as the restorers of their country's liberties, and many did not hesitate to hazard their lives and fortunes along with them. Whatever opinion may be formed regarding the manner of his death, there can be only one regarding its effects; the Protestant faith, which had quailed before his powerful intellect and persecuting arm, from this moment began to prosper in the land. It is probable, as his enemies alone have been his historians, that the traits of his character, and even the tone and bearing of many of his actions, have been to some degree exaggerated; yet there seems abundant proof of his sensuality, his cruelty, and his total disregard of principle in his exertions for the preservation of the Romish faith. Nothing, on the other hand, but that barbarism of the times which characterizes all Beaton's policy, as well as his actions, could extenuate the foul deed by which he was removed from the world, or the unseemly sympathy which the reforming party in general manifested towards its perpetrators. As a favourable view of his character, and at the same time a fine specimen of

old English composition, we extract the following from the supplement to Dempster:—

"It frequently happens that the same great qualities of mind which enable a man to distinguish himself by the splendour of his virtues are so overstrained or corrupted as to render him no less notorious for his vices. Of this we have many instances in ancient writers, but none by which it is more clearly displayed than in the character of the cardinal archbishop of St. Andrews, David Beaton, who, from his very childhood, was extremely remarkable, and whose violent death had this in it singular, that his enemies knew no way to remove him from his absolute authority but that [of assassination]. When he was but ten years of age, he spoke with so much ease and gravity, with so much good sense and freedom from affectation, as surprised all who heard him. When he was little more than twenty, he became known to the Duke of Albany and to the court of France, where he transacted affairs of the greatest importance, at an age when others begin to become acquainted with them only in books. Before he was thirty he had merited the confidence of the regent, the attention of the French king, and the favour of his master, so that they were all suitors to the court of Rome in his behalf. He was soon after made lord privy-seal, and appointed by act of parliament to attend the young king, at his majesty's own desire. Before he attained the forty-fifth year of his age he was Bishop of Mirepoix in France, Cardinal of the Roman Church, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, to which high dignities he added, before he was fifty, those of lord high-chancellor, and legate *a latere*. His behaviour was so tacking, that he never addicted himself to the service of any prince or person but he absolutely obtained their confidence; and this power he had over the minds of others he managed with so much discretion, that his interest never weakened or decayed. He was the favourite of the regent, Duke of Albany, and of his pupil James V., as long as they lived; and the French king and the governor of Scotland equally regretted his loss. He was indefatigable in business, and yet managed it with great ease. He understood the interests of the courts of Rome, France, and Scotland better than any man of his time; and he was perfectly acquainted with the temper, influence, and weight of all the nobility in his own country. In time of danger he showed great prudence and steadiness of mind, and in his highest prosperity discovered nothing of vanity or giddiness. He was a zealous churchman, and thought severity the only weapon that could combat heresy. He loved to live magnificently, though not profusely; for at the time of his death he was rich, and yet had provided plentifully for his family. But his vices were many, and his vices scandalous. He quarrelled with the old Archbishop of Glasgow in his own city, and pushed this quarrel so far that their men fought in the very church. His ambition was boundless, for he took into his hands the entire management of the affairs of the kingdom, civil and ecclesiastical, and treated the English ambassador as if he had been a sovereign prince. He made no scruple of sowing discord among his enemies, that he might reap security from their disputes. His jealousy of the governor [Arran] was such, that he kept his eldest son as a hostage in his house, under pretence of taking care of his education. In point of chastity he was very deficient; for, though we should set aside as calumnies many of those things which his enemies have reported of his intrigues, yet the posterity he left behind him plainly proves that he violated those vows, to gratify his passions, which he obliged others to hold sacred on the penalty of their lives. In

a word, had his probity been equal to his parts, had his virtues come up to his abilities, his end had been less fatal, and his memory without blemish. As it is, we ought to consider him as an eminent instance of the frailty of the brightest human faculties, and the instability of what the world calls fortune."

He wrote, according to Dempster, *Memoirs of his own Embassies, A Treatise of Peter's Primacy, and Letters to Several Persons.*

BEATON, JAMES, uncle to the preceding, and himself an eminent prelate and statesman, was a younger son of John Beaton of Balfour, in Fife, and of Mary Boswell, daughter of the Laird of Balmouto. Having been educated for the church, he became, in 1503, provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell, by the favour, it has been almost necessarily supposed, of the house of Douglas, who were patrons of the establishment. His promotion was very rapid. In 1504 he was made abbot of the rich and important abbacy of Dunfermline, which had previously been held by a brother of the king; and in 1505, on the death of his uncle, Sir David Beaton, who had hitherto been his chief patron, he received his office of high treasurer, and became, of course, one of the principal ministers of state. On the death of Vaus, Bishop of Galloway, in 1508, James Beaton was placed in that see, and next year he was translated to the archi-episcopate of Glasgow. He now resigned the treasurer's staff, in order that he might devote himself entirely to his duties as a churchman. While Archbishop of Glasgow, he busied himself in what were then considered the most pious and virtuous of offices, namely, founding new altars in the cathedral, and improving the accommodations of the episcopal palace. He also entitled himself to more lasting and rational praise by such public acts as the building and repairing of bridges within the regality of Glasgow. Upon all the buildings, both sacred and secular, erected by him, were carefully blazoned his armorial bearings. During all the earlier part of his career, this great prelate seems to have lived on the best terms with the family of Douglas, to which he must have been indebted for his first preferment. In 1515, when it became his duty to consecrate the celebrated Gavin Douglas as Bishop of Dunkeld, he testified his respect for the family by entertaining the poet and all his train in the most magnificent manner at Glasgow, and defraying the whole expenses of his consecration. Archbishop Beaton was destined to figure very prominently in the distracted period which ensued upon the death of James IV. As too often happens in the political scene, the violence of faction broke up his old attachment to the Douglasses. The Earl of Angus, chief of that house, having married the widow of the king, endeavoured, against the general sense of the nation, to obtain the supreme power. Beaton, who was elevated by the regent Albany to the high office of lord-chancellor, and appointed one of the governors of the kingdom during his absence in France, attached himself to the opposite faction of the Hamiltons, under the Earl of Arran. On the 29th of April, 1520, a convention having been called to compose the differences of the two parties, the Hamiltons appeared in military guise, and seemed prepared to vindicate their supremacy with the sword. Beaton, their chief counsellor, sat in his house at the bottom of the Blackfriars' Wynd,¹ with armour under his robes, ready, apparently, to have joined the forces of the Hamiltons, in the event of a quarrel. In this crisis Gavin Douglas was deputed by his nephew the Earl of Angus to remonstrate with the archbishop against the hostile preparations of his

¹ Lane.

party. Beaton endeavoured to gloss over the matter, and concluded with a solemn asseveration upon his conscience that he knew not of it. As he spoke, he struck his hand upon his breast, and caused the mail to rattle under his gown. Douglas replied, with a cutting equivocal, "Methinks, my lord, your conscience clatters,"—as much as to say, your conscience is unsound, at the same time that the word might mean the undue disclosure of a secret. In the ensuing conflict which took place upon the streets, the Hamiltons were worsted, and Archbishop Beaton had to take refuge in the Blackfriars' Church. Being found there by the Douglasses, he had his rochet torn from his back, and would have been slain on the spot but for the interposition of the Bishop of Dunkeld. Having with some difficulty escaped, he lived for some time in an obscure way, till the return of the Duke of Albany, by whose interest he was appointed, in 1523, to the metropolitan see of St. Andrews. On the revival of the power of the Douglasses in the same year, he was again obliged to retire. It is said that the insurrection of the Earl of Lennox, in 1525, which ended in the triumph of the Douglasses and the death of the earl at Linlithgow Bridge, was stirred up by Archbishop Beaton, as a means of emancipating the king. After this unhappy event, the Douglasses persecuted him with such keenness that, to save his life, he assumed the literal guise and garb of a shepherd, and tended an actual flock upon Bogrian-Knowe in Fife. At length, when James V. asserted his independence of these powerful tutors, and banished them from the kingdom, Beaton was reinstated in all his dignities, except that of chancellor, which was conferred upon Gavin Dunbar, the king's preceptor. He henceforward resided chiefly at St. Andrews, where, in 1527, he was induced, by the persuasions of other churchmen less mild than himself, to consent to the prosecution and death of Patrick Hamilton, the proto-martyr of the Scottish Reformation. He was subsequently led on to various severities against the reformers, but rather through a want of power to resist the clamours of his brethren, than any disposition to severity in his own nature. It would appear that he latterly intended much of the administration of his affairs to his less amiable nephew. The chief employment of his latter years was to found and endow the New College of St. Andrews, in which design, however, he was thwarted in a great measure by his executors, who misapplied the greater part of his funds. He died in 1539.

BEATON, JAMES, Archbishop of Glasgow, was the second of the seven sons of John Beaton, or Bethune, of Balfour, elder brother of Cardinal Beaton. He received the chief part of his education at Paris, under the care of his celebrated uncle, who was then residing in the French capital as ambassador from James V. His first preferment in the church was to be chanter of the cathedral of Glasgow, under Archbishop Dunbar. When his uncle attained to nearly supreme power, he was employed by him in many important matters, and in 1543 succeeded him as Abbot of Aberbrothick. The death of the cardinal does not appear to have materially retarded the advancement of his nephew; for we find that, in 1552, he had sufficient interest with the existing government to receive the second place in the Scottish church, the archbishopric of Glasgow, to which he was consecrated at Rome. He was now one of the most important personages in the kingdom; he enjoyed the confidence of the governor, the Earl of Arran; his niece, Mary Beaton, one of the "Four Maries," was the favourite of the young Queen Mary, now residing in France; and he was also esteemed very

highly by the queen-dowager, Mary of Lorraine, who was now aspiring to the regency. During the subsequent sway of the queen regent, the Archbishop of St. Andrews enjoyed her highest confidence. It was to him that she handed the celebrated letter addressed to her by John Knox, saying, with a careless air, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil." In 1557, when the marriage of the youthful Mary to the Dauphin of France was about to take place, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, stood the first of the parliamentary commissioners appointed to be present at the ceremony, and to conduct the difficult business which was to precede it. He and his companions executed this duty in a most satisfactory manner. After his return in 1558 he acted as a privy-councillor to the queen regent, till she was unable any longer to contend with the advancing tide of the Reformation. In November, 1559, his former friend, the Earl of Arran, who had now become a leading reformer, came with a powerful retinue to Glasgow, and, to use a delicate phrase of the time, "took order" with the cathedral, which he cleared of all the images, placing a garrison at the same time in the archbishop's palace. Beaton soon after recovered his house by means of a few French soldiers; but he speedily found that neither he nor his religion could maintain a permanent footing in the country.

In June, 1560, the queen regent expired, almost at the very moment when her authority became extinct. Her French troops, in terms of a treaty with the reformers, sailed next month for their native country; and in the same ships was the Archbishop of Glasgow, along with all the plate and records of the cathedral, which he said he would never return till the Catholic faith should again be triumphant in Scotland. Some of these articles were of great value. Among the plate, which was very extensive and rich, was a golden image of Christ, with silver images of his twelve apostles. Among the records, which were also very valuable, were two chartularies, one of which had been written in the reign of Robert III., and was called *The Red Book of Glasgow*. All these objects were deposited by the archbishop in the Scots College at Paris, where the manuscripts continued to be of use to Scottish antiquaries up to the period of the French Revolution, when, it is believed, they were destroyed or dispersed. Beaton was received by Queen Mary at Paris with the distinction due to a virtuous and able counsellor of her late mother. On her departure next year, to assume the reins of government in Scotland, she left him in charge of her affairs in France. He spent the whole of the subsequent part of his life as ambassador from the Scottish court to his most Christian Majesty. This duty was one of extreme delicacy during the brief reign of Queen Mary, when the relation of the two courts was of the most important character. Mary addressed him frequently in her own hand, and a letter in which she details to him the circumstances of her husband's death is a well-known historical document.

It is not probable that Beaton's duty as an ambassador during the minority of James VI. was anything but a titular honour; but that prince, on taking the government into his own hands, did not hesitate, notwithstanding the difference of religion, to employ a statesman who had already done faithful service to the two preceding generations. James also, in 1587, was able to restore to him both his title and estates as Archbishop of Glasgow—a proceeding quite anomalous, when we consider that the presbyterian religion was now established in Scotland. The archbishop died, April 24, 1603, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and a full jubilee of years from his consecration. He had been ambassador to three genera-



JAMES HUNTER, Esq.

ALDERMAN, &c. &c. &c.

tions of the Scottish royal family, and had seen in France a succession of six kings, and transacted public affairs under five of them. He also had the satisfaction of seeing his sovereign accede to the English throne. James learned the intelligence of his death while on his journey to London, and immediately appointed the historian Spottiswoode to be his successor in the cathedral chair of Glasgow. Archbishop Spottiswoode characterizes him as "a man honourably disposed, faithful to the queen while she lived, and to the king her son; a lover of his country, and liberal, according to his means, to all his countrymen." His reputation, indeed, is singularly pure, when it is considered with what vigour he opposed the Reformation. He appears to have been regarded by the opposite party as a conscientious, however mistaken man, and to have been spared accordingly all those calumnies and sarcasms with which party rage is apt to bespatter its opponents. Having enjoyed several livings in France, besides the less certain revenues of Glasgow, he died in possession of a fortune amounting to 80,000 livres, all of which he left to the Scots College, for the benefit of poor scholars of Scotland—a gift so munificent, that he was afterwards considered as the second founder of the institution, the first having been a Bishop of Moray, in the year 1325. Besides all this wealth, he left an immense quantity of diplomatic papers, accumulated during the course of his legation at Paris; which, if they had been preserved to the present time, would unquestionably have thrown a strong light upon the events of his time.

BEATSON, ROBERT, LL.D. an ingenious and useful author, was a native of Dysart, where he was born in 1742. Being educated with a view to the military profession, he obtained an ensigncy in 1756 at the commencement of the Seven Years' war. He served next year in the expedition to the coast of France, and afterwards, as lieutenant, in the attack on Martinique, and the taking of Guadaloupe. In 1766 he retired on half-pay, and did not again seek to enter into active life till the breaking out of the American war. Having failed on this occasion to obtain an appointment suitable to his former services, he resolved to apply himself to another profession—that of literature—for which he had all along had considerable taste. His publications were: 1. *A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1 vol. 8vo, 1786, of which a third edition, in 3 volumes, was published at a late period of his life. This work consists chiefly of accurate and most useful lists of all the ministers and other principal officers of the state, from the earliest time to the period of its publication. 2. *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to the present time*, 3 vols. 8vo, 1790; 2d edition, 6 vols. 1804. 3. *View of the Memorable Action of the 27th July, 1778*, 8vo, 1791. 4. *Essay on the Comparative Advantages of Vertical and Horizontal Windmills*, 8vo, 1798. 5. *Chronological Register of both Houses of Parliament, from 1706 to 1807*, 3 vols. 8vo, 1807. Also some communications to the board of agriculture, of which he was an honorary member. This laborious author enjoyed in his latter years the situation of barrack-master at Aberdeen, where, if we are not mistaken, he received his degree of LL.D. He died at Edinburgh, January 24, 1818.

BEATTIE, JAMES, poet and moral philosopher, was born on the 25th October, 1735, at Laurencekirk, then an obscure hamlet in Kincardineshire. His father, James Beattie, was a small shop-keeper in the village, and at the same time rented a little

farm in the neighbourhood. His mother's name was Jean Watson, and they had six children, of whom the subject of this article was the youngest. The father was a man of information and of character superior to his condition, and the mother was also a person of abilities; on the early death of her husband, she carried on the business of his shop and farm, with the assistance of her eldest son, and thus was able to rear her family in a comfortable manner.

Young Beattie, who, from his earliest years, was considered a child of promise, received the rudiments of a classical education at the parish school, which had been taught forty years before by Ruddiman, and was at this time a seminary of considerable reputation. His avidity for books, which, in such a scene might have otherwise remained unsatisfied, was observed by the minister, who kindly admitted him to the use of his library. From a copy of Ogilvy's Virgil, obtained in this way, he derived his first notions of English versification. Even at this early period, his turn for poetry began to manifest itself, and among his school-fellows he went by the name of *the Poet*. In 1749, being fourteen years of age, he commenced an academical course at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and was distinguished by Professor Blackwell as the best scholar in the Greek class. Having entitled himself by this superiority to a bursary, he continued at the college for three years more, studying philosophy under the distinguished Gerard, and divinity under Dr. Pollock. His original destination being for the church, he read a discourse in the hall, which met with much commendation, but was at the same time remarked to be *poetry in prose*. Before the period when he should have taken his trials before the presbytery, he relinquished all thoughts of the clerical profession, and settled as school-master of the parish of Fordoun, near his native village.

In this humble situation, Beattie spent the years between 1753 and 1758. In the almost total want of society, he devoted himself alternately to useful study and to poetical recreation. It was at this period of life his supreme delight to saunter in the fields the livelong night, contemplating the sky, and marking the approach of day. At a small distance from the place of his residence, a deep and extensive glen, finely clothed with wood, runs up into the mountains. Thither he frequently repaired; and there several of his earliest pieces were written. From that wild and romantic spot he drew, as from the life, some of the finest descriptions and most beautiful pictures of nature that occur in his poetical compositions. It is related that, on one occasion, having lain down early in the morning on the bank of his favourite rivulet, adjoining to his mother's house, he had fallen asleep; on awaking, it was not without astonishment that he found he had been walking in his sleep, and that he was then at a considerable distance (about a mile and a half) from the place where he had lain down. On his way back to that spot, he passed some labourers, and inquiring of them if they had seen him walking along, they told him that they had, with his head hanging down, as if looking for something he had lost. Such an incident, though by no means unexampled, shows to what a degree Beattie was now the creature of impulse and imagination. He was, indeed, exactly the fanciful being whom he has described in *The Minstrel*. Fortunately for Beattie, Mr. Garden, advocate (afterwards Lord Gardenstone), who at that time resided in the neighbourhood, found him one day sitting in one of his favourite haunts, employed in writing with a pencil. On discovering that he was engaged in

the composition of poetry, Mr. Garden became interested, and soon found occasion to honour the young bard with his friendship and patronage. Beattie at the same time became acquainted with Lord Monboddo, whose family seat was within the parish.

In 1757, when a vacancy occurred in the place of usher to the grammar-school of Aberdeen, Beattie applied for it, and stood an examination, without success. On the place becoming again vacant next year, he had what he considered the good fortune to be elected. This step was of some importance to him, as it brought him into contact with a circle of eminent literary and professional characters, who then adorned the colleges of Aberdeen, and to whom he soon made himself favourably known.

In 1760 one of the chairs in the Marischal College, became vacant by the death of Dr. Duncan, professor of natural philosophy. Beattie, whose ambition had never presumed to soar to such an object, happened to mention the circumstance in conversation, as one of the occurrences of the day, to his friend Mr. Arbuthnot, merchant in Aberdeen;¹ who surprised him with a proposal that he should apply for the vacant situation. With a reluctant permission from Beattie, he exerted his influence with the Earl of Errol to apply, by means of Lord Milton, to the Duke of Argyll, who then dispensed the crown patronage of Scotland; and to the astonishment of the subject of the application, he received the appointment. By an accommodation, however, with the nominee to another vacant chair, he became professor of moral instead of natural philosophy; an arrangement suitable to the genius and qualifications of both the persons concerned.

By this honourable appointment, Beattie found himself, through an extraordinary dispensation of fortune, elevated in the course of two years from the humble and obscure situation of a country parish schoolmaster, to a place of very high dignity in one of the principal seats of learning in the country, where he could give full scope to his talents, and indulge, in the greatest extent, his favourite propensity of communicating knowledge. His first business was to prepare a course of lectures, which he began to deliver to his pupils during the session of 1760-1, and which, during subsequent years, he greatly improved. In the discharge of his duties he was indefatigable; not only delivering the usual lectures, but taking care, by frequent recapitulations and public examinations, to impress upon the minds of his auditors the great and important doctrines which he taught.

So early as the year 1756 Dr. Beattie had occasionally sent poetical contributions to the *Scots Magazine* from his retirement at Fouldun. Some of these, along with others, he now arranged in a small volume, which was published at London, 1760, and dedicated to the Earl of Errol, his recent benefactor. His *Original Poems and Translations*—such was the title of the volume—made him favourably known to the public as a poet, and encouraged him to further exertions in that branch of composition. He also studied verse-making as an art, and in 1762 wrote his *Essay on Poetry*, which was published in 1776, along with the quarto edition of his *Essay on Truth*. In 1763 he visited London from curiosity, and in 1765 he published a poem of considerable length, but unfortunate design, under the title of *The Judgment of Paris*, which threatened to be as fatal to his poetical career, as its subject had been to the Trojan state. In 1766 he published an enlarged edition of his

poems, containing among other compositions *The Judgment of Paris*; but this poem he never afterwards reprinted. His object was to make the classical fable subservient to the cause of virtue, by personifying wisdom, ambition, and pleasure in the characters of three goddesses, an idea too metaphysical to be generally liked, and which could scarcely be compensated by the graces of even Beattie's muse.

Gray, the author of the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, visited Scotland in the autumn of 1765, and lived for a short time at Glamis Castle with the Earl of Strathmore. Beattie, whose poetical genius was strongly akin to that of Gray, wrote to him, intreating the honour of an interview; and this was speedily accomplished by an invitation for Dr. Beattie to Glamis Castle, where the two poets laid the foundation of a friendship that was only interrupted by the death of Gray in 1771.

Some time previous to September, 1766, Beattie commenced a poem in the Spenserian stanza; a description of verse to which he was much attached, on account of its harmony, and its admitting of so many fine pauses and diversified terminations. The subject was suggested to him by the dissertation on the old minstrels, which was prefixed to Dr. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, then just published. In May, 1767, he informs his friend Blacklock at Edinburgh, that he wrote 150 lines of this poem some months before, and had not since added a single stanza. His hero was not then even born, though in the fair way of being so; his parents being described and married. He proposed to continue the poem at his leisure, with a description of the character and profession of his ideal minstrel; but he was wofully cast down by the scantiness of the poetical taste of the age.

On the 28th of June, 1767, Dr. Beattie was married, at Aberdeen, to Miss Mary Dun, the only daughter of Dr. James Dun, rector of the grammar-school of that city. The heart of the poet had previously been engaged in honourable affection to a Miss Mary Lindsay, whom, so late as the year 1823, the writer of this memoir heard recite a poem written by Beattie in her praise, the lines of which commenced with the letters of her name in succession. The venerable lady was the widow of a citizen of Montrose, and in extreme though healthy old age.

At this period infidelity had become fashionable to a great extent in Scotland, in consequence of the *éclat* which attended the publication of Hume's metaphysical treatises. Attempts had been made by Drs. Reid and Campbell, in respective publications, to meet the arguments of the illustrious sceptic; but it was justly remarked by the friends of religion, that the treatises of these two individuals assumed too much of that deferential tone towards the majesty of Mr. Hume's intellect and reputation, which was to be complained of in society at large, and no doubt was one of the causes why his sceptical notions had become so fashionable. It occurred to Dr. Beattie, and he was encouraged in the idea by his friends Dr. Gregory, Sir William Forbes, and other zealous adherents of Christianity, that a work treating Hume a little more roughly, and not only answering him with argument, but assailing him and his followers with ridicule, might meet the evil more extensively, and be more successful in bringing back the public to a due sense of religion. Such was the origin of his *Essay on Truth*, which was finished for the press in autumn, 1769.

It is curious that this essay, so powerful as a defence of religion, was only brought into the world by means of a kind of pious fraud. The manuscript was committed to Sir William Forbes and Mr.

¹ Father to Sir William Arbuthnot, Bart., who was lord-provost of Edinburgh at the visit of George IV. in 1822.

Arbuthnot, at Edinburgh, with an injunction to dispose of it to any bookseller who would pay a price for it, so as to insure its having the personal interest of a tradesman in pushing it forward in the world. Unfortunately, however, the publisher to whom these gentlemen applied, saw so little prospect of profit in a work on the unfashionable side of the argument, that he positively refused to bring it forth unless at the risk of the author; a mode to which it was certain that Dr. Beattie would never agree. "Thus," says Sir William Forbes, "there was some danger of a work being lost, the publication of which, we flattered ourselves, would do much good in the world."

"In this dilemma it occurred to me," continues Beattie's excellent biographer, "that we might, without much artifice, bring the business to an easy conclusion by our own interposition. We therefore resolved that we ourselves should be the purchasers, at a sum with which we knew Dr. Beattie would be well satisfied, as the price of the first edition. But it was absolutely necessary that the business should be glossed over as much as possible, otherwise we had reason to fear that he would not consent to our taking on us a risk which he himself had refused to run."

"I therefore wrote him (nothing surely but the truth, although, I confess, not the whole truth), that the manuscript was sold for fifty guineas, which I remitted to him by a bank-bill; and I added that we had stipulated with the bookseller who was to print the book that we should be partners in the publication. On such trivial causes do things of considerable moment often depend; for had it not been for this interference of ours in this somewhat ambiguous manner, perhaps the *Essay on Truth*, on which all Dr. Beattie's future fortunes hinged, might never have seen the light."

In the prosecution of his design, Dr. Beattie has treated his subject in the following manner: he first endeavours to trace the different kinds of evidence and reasoning up to their first principles; with a view to ascertain the standard of truth, and explain its immutability. He shows, in the second place, that his sentiments on this head, how inconsistent soever with the genius of scepticism, and with the principles and practice of sceptical writers, are yet perfectly consistent with the genius of true philosophy, and with the practice and principles of those whom all acknowledge to have been the most successful in the investigation of truth; concluding with some inferences or rules, by which the most important fallacies of the sceptical philosophers may be detected by every person of common sense, even though he should not possess acuteness of metaphysical knowledge sufficient to qualify him for a logical confutation of them. In the third place, he answers some objections, and makes some remarks, by way of estimate of scepticism and sceptical writers.

The essay appeared in May, 1770, and met with the most splendid success. It immediately became a shield in the hands of the friends of religion, wherewith to intercept and turn aside the hitherto resistless shafts of the sceptics. A modern metaphysician may perhaps find many flaws in the work; but, at the time of its publication, it was received as a complete and triumphant refutation of all that had been advanced on the other side. Under favour of the *état* which attended the publication, religion again raised its head, and for a time infidelity was not nearly so fashionable as it had been.

After getting this arduous business off his mind, Beattie returned to his long Spenserian poem, and in 1771 appeared the first part of *The Minstrel*,

without his name. It was so highly successful that he was encouraged to republish this, along with a second part, in 1774; when his name appeared in the title-page. "Of all his poetical works, *The Minstrel* is, beyond all question, the best, whether we consider the plan or the execution. The language is extremely elegant, the versification harmonious; it exhibits the richest poetic imagery, with a delightful flow of the most sublime, delicate, and pathetic sentiment. It breathes the spirit of the purest virtue, the soundest philosophy, and the most exquisite taste. In a word, it is at once highly conceived and admirably finished."¹ Lord Lyttleton thus expressed his approbation of the poem—one of the most warmly conceived compliments that was ever perhaps paid by a poet to his fellow: "I read *The Minstrel* with as much rapture as poetry, in her sweetest, noblest charms, ever raised in my mind. It seemed to me, that my once most beloved minstrel, Thomson, was come down from heaven, refined by the converse of purer spirits than those he lived with here, to let me hear him sing again the beauties of nature and finest feelings of virtue, not with human but with angelic strains!" It is to be regretted that Beattie never completed this poem. He originally designed that the hero should be employed in the third canto in rousing his countrymen to arms for defence against a foreign invasion, and that, overpowered and banished by this host, he should go forth to other lands in his proper character of a wandering minstrel. It must always be recollected, in favour of this poem, that it was the first of any length, in pure English, which had been published by a Scottish writer in his own country—so late has been the commencement of this department of our literature.

Beattie visited London a second time in 1771, and, as might be expected from his increased reputation, entered more largely into literary society than on the former occasion. Among those who honoured him with their notice, was Dr. Johnson, who had been one of the warmest admirers of the *Essay on Truth*. In 1773 he paid another visit to the metropolis, along with his wife, and was received into a still wider and more eminent circle than before. On this occasion the university of Oxford conferred upon him an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

The chief object of this tour was to secure a provision which his friends had led him to expect from the government, in consideration of his services in the cause of religion. Many plans were proposed by his friends for obtaining this object. A bishop is believed to have suggested to the king, that the author of the *Essay on Truth* might be introduced to the English church, and advanced according to his merits; to which the king, however, is said to have slyly replied, that as Scotland abounded most in infidels, it would be best for the general interests of religion that he should be kept there. George III., who had read and admired Beattie's book, and whose whole mind ran in favour of virtue and religion, suggested himself the more direct plan of granting him a pension of £200 a year, which was accordingly carried into effect. The king also honoured Dr. Beattie with his particular notice at a *levée*, and further granted him the favour of an interview in his private apartments at Kew for upwards of an hour. The agreeable conversation and unassuming manners of Dr. Beattie appear to have not only made a most favourable impression upon the king and queen—for her majesty also was present at this interview—but upon every member of

¹ Forbes' *Life of Beattie*.

that lofty circle of society to which he was introduced.

Even after he had been thus provided for, several dignified clergymen of the Church of England continued to solicit him to take orders; and one bishop went so far as directly to tempt him with the offer of a rectorate worth £500 a year. He had no disinclination to the office of a clergyman, and he decidedly preferred the government and worship of the English church to the Presbyterian system of his own country. But he could not be induced to take such a reward for his efforts in behalf of religion, lest his enemies might say that he had never contemplated any loftier principle than that of bettering his own circumstances. Nearly about the same time, he further proved the total absence of a mercenary tinge in his character, by refusing to be promoted to the chair of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. His habits of life were now, indeed, so completely associated with Aberdeen and its society, that he seems to have contemplated any change, however tempting, with a degree of pain.

About this time, some letters passed between him and Dr. Priestley, on occasion of an attack made by the latter on the *Essay on Truth*. In his correspondence with this ingenious but petulant adversary, Dr. Beattie shows a great deal of candour and dignity. He had at first intended to reply, but this intention he appears afterwards to have dropped: "Dr. Priestley," says he, "having declared that he will answer whatever I may publish in my own vindication, and being a man who loves bustle and book-making, he wishes above all things that I should give him a pretext for continuing the dispute. To silence him by force of argument, is, I know, impossible."

In the year 1786, Beattie took a keen interest in favour of a scheme then agitated, not for the first time, to unite the two colleges of Aberdeen. In the same year, he projected a new edition of Addison's prose works, with a biographical and critical preface to the extent of half a volume, in which he meant to show the peculiar merits of the style of Addison, as well as to point out historically the changes which the English language has undergone from time to time, and the hazard to which it is exposed of being debased and corrupted by modern innovations. He was reluctantly compelled by the state of his health to retrench the better part of this scheme. The works of Addison were published under his care, in 1790, by Messrs. Creech and Sibbald, booksellers, Edinburgh, but he could only give Tickell's *Life*, together with some extracts from Dr. Johnson's *Remarks on Addison's Prose*, adding a few notes of his own, to make up any material deficiency in Tickell's narrative, and illustrating Johnson's critique by a few occasional annotations. Though these additions to his original stock of materials are very slight, the admirer of Addison is much gratified by some new information which he was ignorant of before, and to which Dr. Beattie has given a degree of authenticity, by adhering, even in this instance, to his general practice of putting his name to everything he wrote.

In 1787 Dr. Beattie made application to the Marischal College, while the project of the union was still pending, desiring that his eldest son, James Hay Beattie, then in his twentieth year, should be recommended to the crown as his assistant and successor in the chair of moral philosophy. The letter in which this application was made, sets forth the extraordinary qualifications of his son, with a delightful mixture of delicacy and warmth. The young

man was an excellent Greek and Latin scholar; wrote and talked beautifully in the latter language, as well as in English; and, to use the language of his father, the best of his genius lay entirely towards theology, classical learning, morals, poetry, and criticism. The college received the application with much respect, and, after a short delay on account of the business of the union, gave a cordial sanction to the proposal.

Unfortunately for the peace of Dr. Beattie's latter years, his son, while in the possession of the highest intellectual qualifications, and characterized by every virtue that could be expected from his years, was destined by the inherent infirmity of his constitution for an early death. After his demise, which happened on the 19th of November, 1790, when he had just turned two and twenty, Dr. Beattie published a small collection of his writings, along with an elaborate preface, entering largely into the character and qualifications of the deceased. In this, he was justified by the admiration which he heard everywhere expressed of the character and intellect of his son; but, as posterity appears to have reduced the prodigy to its proper limits, which were nothing wonderful, it is unnecessary to bring it further into notice.

Dr. Beattie bore the loss of his son with an appearance of fortitude and resignation. Yet, although his grief was not loud, it was deep. He said, in a subsequent letter, alluding to a monument which he had erected for his son, "I often dream of the grave that is under it: I saw, with some satisfaction, on a late occasion, that it is very deep, and capable of holding my coffin laid on that which is already in it;" words that speak more eloquently of the grief which this event had fixed in the heart of the writer, than a volume could have done.

Another exemplification of the rooted sorrow which this event planted in the mind of Beattie, occurs in a letter written during a visit in England, in the subsequent summer. Speaking of the commemoration music, which was performed in Westminster Abbey, "by the greatest band of musicians that ever were brought together in this country," he tells that the state of his health could not permit him to be present. Then recollecting his son's accomplishment as a player on the organ, he adds, "Perhaps this was no loss to me. Even the organ of Durham Cathedral was too much for my feelings; for it brought too powerfully to my remembrance another organ, much smaller indeed, but more interesting, which I can never hear any more."

In 1790 Dr. Beattie published the first volume of his *Elements of Moral Science*, the second volume of which did not make its appearance till 1793. He had, in 1776, published a series of *Essays* on poetry and music, on laughable and ludicrous composition, and on the utility of classical learning. In 1783 had appeared *Dissertations, Moral and Critical*; and in 1786 a small tract entitled *The Evidences of the Christian Religion briefly and plainly stated*. All of these minor productions originally formed part of the course of prelections which he read from his chair in the university; his aim in their publication being "to inure young minds to habits of attentive observation; to guard them against the influence of bad principles; and to set before them such views of nature, and such plain and practical truths, as might at once improve the heart and the understanding, and amuse and elevate the fancy." His *Elements of Moral Science* was a summary of the whole of that course of lectures, a little enlarged in the doctrinal parts, with the addition of a few illustrative examples. In a certain degree, this work may be

considered as a text-book; it is one, however, so copious in its extent, so luminous in its arrangement and language, and so excellent in the sentiments it everywhere inculcates, that if the profound metaphysician and logician do not find in it that depth of science which they may expect to meet with in other works of greater erudition, the candid inquirer after truth may rest satisfied that, if he has studied these *Elements* with due attention, he will have laid a solid foundation on which to build all the knowledge of the subject necessary for the common purposes of life. Of such of the lectures as had already appeared in an extended shape, under the name of *Essays*, particularly those on the theory of language, and on memory and imagination, Dr. Beattie has made this abridgment as brief as was consistent with any degree of perspicuity; while he bestowed no less than seventy pages on his favourite topic, the abolition of the slave-trade, and the subject of slavery connected with it.

While delighting the world with the quick succession and variety of his productions, Dr. Beattie was himself nearly all the while a prey to the severest private sufferings. Mrs. Beattie had unfortunately inherited from her mother a tendency to madness. Though this did not for a considerable time break out into open insanity, yet in a few years after their marriage it showed itself in caprices and follies, which embittered every hour of her husband's life. Dr. Beattie tried for a long time to conceal her disorder from the world, and if possible, as he has been heard to say, from himself; but at last, from whim, caprice, and melancholy, it broke out into downright frenzy, which rendered her seclusion from society absolutely necessary. During every stage of her illness, he watched and cherished her with the utmost tenderness and care; using every means at first that medicine could furnish for her recovery, and afterwards, when her condition was found to be perfectly hopeless, procuring for her, in an asylum at Musselburgh, every accommodation and comfort that could tend to alleviate her sufferings. "When I reflect," says Sir William Forbes, "on the many sleepless nights and anxious days which he experienced from Mrs. Beattie's malady, and think of the unwearied and unremitting attention he paid to her, during so great a number of years in that sad situation, his character is exalted in my mind to a degree which may be equalled, but I am sure never can be excelled, and makes the fame of the poet and the philosopher fade from my remembrance."

The pressure of this calamity—slow but certain—the death of his eldest son, and the continued decline of his health, made it necessary, in the session of 1793–4, that he should be assisted in the duties of his class. From that period till 1797, when he finally relinquished his professorial duties, he was aided by Mr. George Glennie, his relation and pupil. He experienced an additional calamity in 1796, by the sudden death of his only remaining son, Montague, a youth of eighteen, less learned than his brother, but of still more amiable manners, and whom he had designed for the English church. This latter event unhinged the mind of Beattie, who, it may be remarked, had always been greatly dependent on the society, and even on the assistance, of his children. The care of their education, in which he was supposed to be only over-indulgent, had been his chief employment for many years. This last event, by rendering him childless, dissolved nearly the last remaining tie which bound him to the world, and left him a miserable wreck upon the shores of life. Many days had not elapsed after the death of

Montague Beattie, ere he began to display symptoms of a decayed intellect, in an almost total loss of memory respecting his son. He would search through the whole house for him, and then say to his niece and housekeeper, Mrs. Glennie, "You may think it strange, but I must ask you, if I have a son, and where he is." This lady would feel herself under the painful necessity of bringing to his recollection the death-bed sufferings of his son, which always restored him to reason. And he would then, with many tears, express his thankfulness that he had no child, saying, with allusion to the malady they might have derived from their mother, "How could I have borne to see their elegant minds mangled with madness?" When he looked for the last time on the dead body of his son, and thought of the separation about to take place between himself and the last being that connected him with this sublunary scene, he said, "Now, I have done with the world!" After this, he never bent his mind again to study, never touched the violoncello, on which he used to be an excellent and a frequent player, nor answered the letters of his friends, except perhaps a very few.

In March, 1797, Dr. Beattie became completely crippled with rheumatism, and in the beginning of 1799 he experienced a stroke of palsy, which for eight days so affected his speech that he could not make himself understood, and even forgot several of the most material words of every sentence. At different periods after this, he had several returns of the same afflicting malady: the last, in October, 1802, deprived him altogether of the power of motion. He lingered for ten months in this humiliating situation, but was at length relieved from all his sufferings by the more kindly stroke of death, August 18, 1803. He expired without the least appearance of suffering. His remains were deposited close to those of his two sons in the ancient cemetery of St. Nicolas, and were marked soon after by a monument, for which Dr. James Gregory of Edinburgh supplied an elegant inscription.

The eminent rank which Dr. Beattie holds as a Christian moral philosopher is a sufficient testimony of the public approbation of his larger literary efforts. It may, however, be safely predicted that his reputation will, after all, centre in his *Minstrel*, which is certainly his most finished work, and, everything considered, the most pleasing specimen of his intellect.

The mind of Beattie is so exactly identified with his works, and is so undisguisedly depicted in them, that when his works are described, so also is his character. His whole life was spent in one continued series of virtuous duties. His piety was pure and fervent; his affection for his friends enthusiastic; his benevolence unwearied; and the whole course of his life irreproachable. The only fault which his biographer, Sir William Forbes, could find in the whole composition of his character, was one of a contingent and temporary nature: he became, towards the end of his life, a little irritable by continued application to metaphysical controversy. To a very correct and fine taste in poetry he added the rare accomplishment of an acquaintance, to a considerable extent, with both the sister arts of painting and music: his practice in drawing never went, indeed, beyond an occasional grotesque sketch of some friend, for the amusement of a social hour. In music he was more deeply skilled, being not only able to take part in private concerts on the violoncello, but capable of appreciating the music of the very highest masters for every other instrument. In his person, he was of the middle height, though not elegantly, yet not awkwardly formed, but with something of a slouch in his

gait. His eyes were black and piercing, with an expression of sensibility somewhat bordering on melancholy, except when engaged in cheerful conversation and social intercourse with his friends, when they were exceedingly animated. Such was "the Minstrel."

BELL, ANDREW, D.D., author of the *Madras System of Education*, was born at St. Andrews, in 1753, and educated at the university of that place. The circumstances of his early life, and even the date of his entering into holy orders, are not known; but it is stated that he was remarkable in youth for the exemplary manner in which he fulfilled every public and private duty. After having spent some time in America, we find him, in 1786, officiating as one of the ministers of St. Mary's, at Madras, and one of the chaplains of Fort St. George.

In that year the directors of the East India Company sent out orders to Madras that a seminary should be established there for the education and maintenance of the orphans and distressed male children of the European military. The proposed institution was at first limited to the support of a hundred orphans: half the expense was defrayed by the Company, and half by voluntary subscriptions; and the Madras government appropriated Egmore Redoubt for the use of the establishment. The superintendence of this asylum was undertaken by Dr. Bell, who, having no object in view but the gratification of his benevolence, refused the salary of 1200 pagodas (£480) which was attached to it. "Here," he reasoned with himself, "is a field for a clergyman to animate his exertion, and encourage his diligence. Here his success is certain, and will be in proportion to the ability he shall discover, the labour he shall bestow, and the means he shall employ. It is by instilling principles of religion and morality into the minds of the young that he can best accomplish the ends of his ministry: it is by forming them to habits of diligence, industry, veracity, and honesty, and by instructing them in useful knowledge, that he can best promote their individual interest, and serve the state to which they belong—two purposes which cannot, in sound policy, or even in reality, exist apart.

With these feelings, and with this sense of duty, Dr. Bell began his task. He had to work upon the most unpromising materials; but the difficulties he had to encounter led to that improvement in education with which his name is connected. Failing to retain the services of properly qualified ushers, he resorted to the expedient of conducting his school through the medium of the scholars themselves. It is in the mode of conducting a school by means of mutual instruction that the discovery of Dr. Bell consists; and its value, as an abbreviation of the mechanical part of teaching, and where large numbers were to be taught economically, could not be easily over-estimated at the time, although later educationists have improved upon the plan; and the Madras system is now less in use than formerly. The first new practice which Dr. Bell introduced into his school was that of teaching the letters by making the pupils trace them in sand, as he had seen children do in a Malabar school. The next improvement was the practice of syllabic reading. The child, after he had learned to read and spell monosyllables, was not allowed to pronounce two syllables till he acquired by long practice a perfect precision. From the commencement of his experiment he made the scholars, as far as possible, do everything for themselves: they ruled their own paper, made their own pens, &c., with the direction only of their teacher. The maxim

of the school was, that no boy could do anything right the first time, but he must learn when he first set about it, by means of his teacher, so as to be able to do it himself ever afterwards. Every boy kept a register of the amount of work which he performed, so that his diligence at different times might be compared. There was also a black book, in which all offences were recorded: this was examined once a week; and Dr. Bell's custom, in almost every case of ill-behaviour, was to make the boys themselves judges of the offender. He never had reason, he says, to think their decision partial, biassed, or unjust, or to interfere with their award otherwise than to mitigate or remit the punishment, when he thought the formality of the trial and of the sentence was sufficient to produce the effect required. But the business of the teachers was to preclude punishment by preventing faults; and so well was this object attained, that for months together it was not found necessary to inflict a single punishment.

An annual saving of not less than £960 upon the education and support of two hundred boys was produced in the institution at Madras by Dr. Bell's regulations and improvements. This, however, he justly regarded as an incidental advantage: his grand aim was to redeem the children from the stigma under which they laboured, and the fatal effect which that stigma produced, and to render them good subjects, good men, and good Christians. After superintending the school for seven years, he found it necessary for his health to return to Europe. The directors of the charity passed a resolution for providing him a passage in any ship which he might wish to sail in, declaring at the same time that, under "the wise and judicious regulations which he had established, the institution had been brought to a degree of perfection and promising utility far exceeding what the most sanguine hopes could have suggested at the time of its establishment; and that he was entitled to their fullest approbation for his zealous and disinterested conduct." The language in which Dr. Bell spoke of the institution, on leaving it, will not be read without emotion by those who are capable of appreciating what is truly excellent in human nature. During seven years which he had devoted to this office, he had "seen the vices incident to the former situation of these orphans gradually vanishing, their morals and conduct approaching nearer and nearer every year to what he wished them to be, and the character of a race of children in a manner changed." "This numerous family," said he, "I have long regarded as my own. These children are, indeed, mine by a thousand ties. I have for them a parental affection, which has grown upon me every year. For them I have made such sacrifices as parents have not always occasion to make for their children; and the nearer the period approaches when I must separate myself from them, the more I feel the pang I shall suffer in tearing myself from this charge, and the anxious thoughts I shall throw back upon these children when I shall cease to be their protector, their guide, and their instructor." Eleven years after he had left India, Dr. Bell received a letter, signed by forty-four of these pupils, expressing, in the strongest terms, their gratitude for the instruction and care which he had bestowed upon them in childhood.

On his arrival in Europe, Dr. Bell published, in 1797, a pamphlet, entitled *An Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum of Madras; suggesting a System by which a School or Family may teach itself, under the Superintendence of the Master or Parent*. The first place in England where the system was adopted was the charity school of St. Bodolph's,

Aldgate. Dr. Briggs, then of Kendal, the second who profited by Dr. Bell's discovery, introduced it into the Kendal schools of industry. These occurrences took place in 1798. In 1801 the system was fully and successfully acted upon in the schools of the society for bettering the condition of the poor.

In 1803 Mr. Joseph Lancaster first appeared before the public. He published a pamphlet with the following title:—*Improvements in Education, as it respects the Industrious Classes of the Community; containing a short Account of its Present State, Hints towards its Improvement, and a Detail of some Practical Experiments conducive to that end.* "The institution," he says, "which a benevolent Providence has been pleased to make me the happy instrument of bringing into usefulness, was begun in the year 1798. The intention was to afford the children of mechanics, &c., instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, at about half the usual price." The peculiarity of his plan seems to have consisted chiefly in introducing prizes and badges of merit, together with a mode of teaching spelling, which was said to economize time and trouble: he also called in the assistance of boys, as monitors. In his pamphlet of 1803 he freely accords to Bell the priority of the mutual system, acknowledging also that the published account of it had furnished him with several useful hints. Eventually, Mr. Lancaster put forward a claim, obviously unfounded, to be considered the sole inventor of the system. One of his advertisements in the newspapers was thus introduced:—"Joseph Lancaster, of the Free School, Borough Road, London, having invented, under the blessing of divine Providence, a new and mechanical system of education for the use of schools, feels anxious to disseminate the knowledge of its advantages through the United Kingdom. By this system, paradoxical as it may appear, above 1000 children may be taught and governed by one master only." And on another occasion he writes:—"I stand forward before the public, at the bar of mankind, to the present, and for the future ages, avowing myself the inventor of the British or Royal Lancasterian System."—(*Morning Post*, 4th September.) Again: "I submit the plan, original as it is, to the country. The same cannot be found in any other work unless copied or pirated."—(Preface to edition of 1808.)

But however unfounded Lancaster's claim to originality may be, there can be no doubt that, through his exertions chiefly, the system was extensively reduced to practice in England. Belonging to the sect of Quakers—a body whose exertions in the cause of philanthropy are universally known—he did not apply to them in vain for pecuniary support and personal exertion. Lancasterian schools were rapidly established in all parts of the kingdom.

Dr. Bell lived long enough to witness the introduction of his system into 12,973 national schools, educating 900,000 of the children of his English countrymen, and to know that it was employed extensively in almost every other civilized country. He acquired in later life the dignity of a prebendary of Westminster, and was master of Sherborn Hospital, Durham. He was also a member of the Asiatic Society, and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He employed himself during his latter years in writing several works on education, among which the most valuable were, *The Elements of Tuition, The English School, and a Brief Manual of Mutual Instruction and Discipline.* The evening of his pious and useful life was spent at Cheltenham, in the practice of every social and domestic virtue. Previously to his death, he bestowed £120,000, three per cent. stock, for the purpose of founding an academy on an extensive and liberal scale in his native city. He

also bequeathed a considerable sum for purposes of education in Edinburgh; which, however, to the everlasting disgrace of the individuals intrusted with the public affairs of that city at the time, was compromised among the general funds of that corporation a few months before its bankruptcy.

Dr. Bell died on the 27th of January, 1832, in the eightieth year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London acting as chief mourners.

BELL, BENJAMIN, a distinguished surgical author, was born in Dumfries in 1749. He received an excellent classical education at the grammar-school of that town, under Dr. Chapman, the rector. The property of Blackett House, in Dumfriesshire, having devolved to him on the death of his grandfather, he gave a remarkable instance of generosity by disposing of it, and applying the proceeds in educating himself and the younger branches of the family—fourteen in number.

Mr. Bell had early made choice of medicine as a profession, and accordingly he was bound apprentice to Mr. Hill, surgeon in Dumfries, whose practice was in that quarter very extensive. It was a distinguishing feature in Mr. Bell's character, that whatever he had once engaged in was prosecuted with extreme ardour and assiduity. He therefore went through the drudgery and fatigue necessarily connected with the detail of a surgeon-apothecary's shop with the greatest spirit. He, by degrees, materially assisted his master by attending his patients—to whom his correct behaviour, unfailing good humour, and agreeable manners recommended him in the most powerful manner. He repaired to Edinburgh in 1766, entered himself as a member of the university, and set himself, with the most serious application, to the prosecution of his medical studies. The Edinburgh medical school had just sprung into notice, and was beginning to make very rapid strides to its present eminence. The first and second Monro had already given evident tokens of the most distinguished genius. The first had now relinquished, in favour of his equally skilful son, the business of the anatomical theatre, and only occasionally delivered clinical lectures in the infirmary. Mr. Bell's ardour in the study of anatomy, in all its branches, was unabated. As he proposed to practise surgery, he was well aware that eminence in that department of the profession could only be arrived at by persevering industry. He was appointed house-surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, which afforded him every opportunity of improvement. It was here that he laid the foundation of that superior adroitness and dexterity which so peculiarly characterized him in the many hazardous but successful operations which he was called to perform.

Though Mr. Bell was more particularly designed for the profession of a surgeon, he neglected no department of medicine. Dr. Black, whose discoveries formed a new era in the science of chemistry, had been removed from Glasgow to Edinburgh during the year in which Mr. Bell entered the university. His lectures and experiments proved generally attractive, and powerfully interested the mind of Bell. Dr. Cullen was professor of the institutes of medicine, and his original genius excited the greatest ardour amongst the students. The practice of medicine was taught by Dr. John Gregory, and botany by Dr. John Hope. These were the professors whom Mr. Bell attended, and it must be confessed that they were men of distinguished talents, to whose lectures no diligent student could listen without deriving very great advantage.

Mr. Bell had resolved, in 1770, to visit Paris and London—the two great schools for surgical practice. Before doing so, however, he passed the examinations at Surgeons' Hall, and was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh. In those great cities he remained nearly two years, assiduously improving himself in surgery. Returning to his native country in 1772, he commenced business in Edinburgh. Few came better prepared than he did for the practice of surgery. His education was liberal and extensive. His appearance was much in his favour. His address was good, his manner composed and sedate. Mr. Bell had early formed the plan of composing a system of surgery—and this he at last accomplished. He did not publish the whole work at once; but in the year 1778, about six years after he had finally settled in Edinburgh, and become established in practice, the first volume was given to the world. The remaining volumes appeared from time to time until the work was completed in six volumes, 8vo, in 1788. In 1793 appeared his *Treatise on Gonorrhœa*, and in 1794 another *Treatise on Hydrocele*, which is understood to be the least popular of his works.

Mr. Bell married, in 1776, Miss Hamilton, daughter of Dr. Robert Hamilton, professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, by whom he had a numerous family. He died, April 4, 1806.

BELL, SIR CHARLES, was born at Edinburgh in 1774. His father was a minister of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and held a small living at Doune, in the county of Perth. As the minister died while still young, his family, consisting of four sons, were thrown upon the maternal care; but this, instead of being a disadvantage, seems to have produced a contrary effect, by the early development of their talents, so that they all attained distinguished positions in society, the first as a writer to the signet, the second as an eminent surgeon, and the third as professor of Scots law in the university of Edinburgh. Charles, the youngest, was less favourably situated than his brothers for a complete education, but his own observation and natural aptitude supplied the deficiency. "My education," he tells us, "was the example of my brothers." The care of his mother did the rest, so that her youngest and best-beloved child at last outstripped his more favoured seniors, and his grateful remembrance of her lessons and training continued to the end of his life. The history of such a family justifies the saying which the writer of this notice has often heard repeated by a learned professor of the university of Glasgow: "When I see," he said, "a very talented youth who makes his way in the world, I do not ask, Who was his father? but, Who was his mother?" On being removed to the high-school of Edinburgh—where, by the way, he made no distinguished figure—Charles was chiefly under the charge of his brother John, subsequently the eminent surgeon, and it was from him he derived that impulse which determined his future career. He studied anatomy, and with such proficiency that, even before he had reached the age of manhood, he was able to deliver lectures on that science, as assistant of his brother John, to a class of more than a hundred pupils. In 1799, even before he was admitted a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, he published the first part of his *System of Dissections*. Longing, however, for a wider field of action, and disgusted with the medical controversies in Edinburgh, he removed to London in 1804. It was a bold step; for at this time, owing to political causes, a Scotsman of education was regarded with suspicion and

dislike in this favourite field of Scottish adventure, and Charles Bell was looked upon as an interloper come to supplant the true children of the English soil. But he bravely held onward in his course, and won for himself the esteem of influential friends, the chief of whom were Sir Astley Cooper and Dr. Abernethy, and he soon extended the circle by his treatise on the *Anatomy of Expression*, which was published in London in 1806. "It was a work so admirably suited for painters, in their delineations of human feeling and passion, that the most distinguished artists of the day adopted it for their text-book, and were loud in their encomiums of its merits. Still, however, this was but the foundation-stone of his future distinction. Bell had determined to be "chief of his profession in character," and to attain this daring height much had to be surmounted. He commenced as a public lecturer, but upon a humble and disadvantageous scale, as he was still an alien in London; and his early discoveries upon the nervous system, which he was patiently maturing, as his future highest claims to distinction, were as yet but little esteemed by the public, and would be compelled to force their way slowly into notice, if they should ever chance to be noticed. In 1807, the same year in which he commenced his course of lectures, he published his *System of Operative Surgery*, a work where all the operations described in it were the result not of mere theory or reading, but of personal experience.

It was amidst this disheartening amount of unthanked, unappreciated toil and disappointment that Charles Bell sought a comforter of his cares; and in 1811 he married Miss Shaw, who not only justified his choice, but made him brother-in-law to two men whose pursuits were congenial to his own. These were John and Alexander Shaw, whom his lessons and example raised into distinguished anatomists and physiologists, while the latter ultimately became the most effective champion of his preceptor's claims to originality in his physiological and anatomical discoveries. Bell's darkened horizon now began to clear, and his worth to be properly estimated. In 1811, the happy year of his marriage, after he had long remained unconnected with any medical school or association, he was allied to the Hunterian School in Windmill Street, as joint-lecturer with Mr. Wilson. The extent of his knowledge and power of illustrating it, exhibited in his prelections, and the happy facility of demonstration and language, which he had always at command, soon made his lectures popular, so that in 1814 he was appointed surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital; and here his remarkable skill as an operator, combined with his style of lecturing, which although not eloquent, was full of thought very strikingly expressed, made him a favourite both with patients and pupils. The result of his labours there, which continued till 1836, enabled him to make the honest boast at his departure, that he had left the institution, which at his entrance was but of small account, "with full wards, and £120,000 in the funds."

As the whole of the preceding period, up to the date of Napoleon's banishment to St. Helena, had been a season of war, the professional talents of Bell had been in request in our military hospitals, and upon the Continent, as well as in London, so that in 1809, immediately after the battle of Corunna, he quitted the metropolis, to attend upon the wounded of the British army. Here his opportunities of acquiring fresh knowledge were eagerly embraced, and the result of his experience was an essay on gun-shot wounds, which appeared as an appendix to his *System of Operative Surgery*, published in 1807.

After the battle of Waterloo, he also repaired to Brussels, and took the charge of an hospital; and here he was engaged for three successive days and nights in operating upon and dressing the wounds of three hundred soldiers. Of these cases he made various drawings in water-colouring, which are reckoned among the best specimens of such productions in our anatomical school.

The time at length arrived when Bell was to acquire that full amount of reputation for which he had toiled so long and laboriously, and amidst such unmerited neglect. From an early period his favourite subject of investigation was the nervous system, upon which the most erroneous opinions had hitherto prevailed. Even professional men of high medical and anatomical knowledge rested satisfied in the belief that all the nerves were alike, and that the superior amount of susceptibility in any organ merely depended upon the greater number of nerves allotted to it. But even before he left Edinburgh, a suspicion had grown upon the mind of Bell, that this prevalent opinion was erroneous, and further inquiry satisfied him that his suspicion was right. He found that the nerves were distributed into different classes, to each of which belonged its proper function; and that the same puncture which, applied to any other of these conductors to the senses, would produce a sensation of pain, when applied to the eye would give only the impression of a flash of light. He saw, also, that the two roots by which the spinal nerves are connected with the vertebral medulla, impart two different powers, the one of motion, the other of sensation. In this way he accounted for those cases in which the motive or sensitive powers are singly or severally lost. This discovery, which was as wonderful as that of the circulation of the blood, astonished the whole medical world: it was a revelation that had remained unknown till now, and when announced could not be controverted; and under this new guidance, practical anatomists were directed to the proper seat of the ailments that came under their notice, as well as taught the right mode of cure. His theory, which was published in 1821 in the *Philosophical Transactions*, in the form of an essay on the "Nervous System," produced immediate attention, and when its value was appreciated, attempts were made to deny him the merit of the discovery. Fortunately, however, for his claims, he had printed a pamphlet for distribution among his friends as early as 1811, in which the principal points of his theory were already announced; while his letters, written to his brother upon the subject, were sufficient to put to flight the numerous pretenders who claimed the discovery as their own. His subsequent publications on the *Nervous Circle*, and *On the Eye*, completely established the existence of a sixth sense, by which we are enabled to ascertain and estimate the qualities of size, weight, form, distance, texture, and resistance.

Bell had now reached the summit of his ambition, and established for himself a European reputation. His improvements were adopted in every country where the healing art was studied as a science, while the leading men of the Continent united in testifying to the value of his labours. In 1824 he was appointed to the senior chair of anatomy and surgery in the London College of Surgeons, while his treatises on *Animal Mechanics*, and *On the Hand*, and his *Illustrations of Paley's Natural Theology*, secured that professional distinction which seemed capable of no further extension. On the accession of William IV. to the throne, it was resolved to commemorate this event by conferring the honour of knighthood upon a few of the most eminent scientific men of the

period, and in this chosen number Bell was included, with his countrymen Brewster, Leslie, and Ivory. An opportunity now occurred for Sir Charles Bell to return to Scotland, after an absence of thirty-two years, by an offer in 1836 of the professorship of surgery in the university of Edinburgh, which he accepted. It was his prevailing desire, notwithstanding his wide and lucrative practice in London, to have leisure for prosecuting his scientific researches, and to prosecute them among the friends of his youth, and in the place where they had commenced. But unfortunately he found Edinburgh too limited a field for his purposes, and especially for a new and great work upon the *Nervous System*, which he wished to publish, with numerous splendid illustrations. Instead of this he was obliged to content himself with a new edition of the *Anatomy of Expression*, which he greatly extended and improved, in the course of a tour through Italy, during the interval of a college session. He also published his *Institutes of Surgery*, containing the substance of his lectures delivered in the university. In 1842 during the vacation of summer, Sir Charles left Edinburgh on a journey to London; but, on reaching Hallow Park on the 27th of May, he died suddenly the same night. The cause of his death was *angina pectoris*, brought on, as was supposed by his friends, from disappointment, chiefly arising from the new medical reform bill, which he believed was hostile to the best interests of the profession. His intellectual originality, acuteness of perception, and steady perseverance, by which he attained such distinguished reputation and success, were connected with an amenity and gentleness of disposition, that endeared him to the circle of his friends and the society in which he moved. An excellent portrait and striking likeness of Sir Charles Bell was painted by B. Mantyne, of which an engraving by Thomson will be found in the third volume of Pettigrew's *Medical Portrait Gallery*.

BELL, HENRY, the first successful applier of steam to the purposes of navigation in Europe, was born at Torphichen in Linlithgowshire, April 7, 1767. He was sprung from a race of mechanics, being the fifth son of Patrick Bell and Margaret Easton, whose ancestors, through several descents, were alike well known in the neighbourhood as ingenious mill-wrights and builders; some of them having also distinguished themselves in the erection of public works, such as harbours, bridges, &c., not only in Scotland, but also in the other divisions of the United Kingdom. Henry Bell, after receiving a plain education at the parish school, began in 1780 to learn the handicraft of a stone-mason. Three years after he changed his views in favour of the other craft of the family, and was apprenticed to his uncle, who practised the art of a mill-wright. At the termination of his engagement he went to Borrowstounness for the purpose of being instructed in ship-modelling; and in 1787 he engaged with Mr. James Inglis, engineer at Bells-hill, with the view of completing his knowledge of mechanics. He afterwards went to London, where he was employed by the celebrated Mr. Rennie; so that his opportunities of acquiring a practical acquaintance with the higher branches of his art were altogether very considerable.

About the year 1790 Bell returned to Scotland, and it is said that he practised for several years at Glasgow the unambitious craft of a house-carpenter. He was entered, October 20, 1797, as a member of the corporation of wrights in that city. It was his wish to become an undertaker of public works in Glasgow; but either from a deficiency of capital, or

from want of steady application, he never succeeded to any extent in that walk. "The truth is," as we have been informed, "Bell had many of the features of the enthusiastic projector—never calculated means to ends, or looked much farther than the first stages or movements of any scheme. His mind was a chaos of extraordinary projects, the most of which, from his want of accurate scientific calculation, he never could carry into practice. Owing to an imperfection in even his mechanical skill, he scarcely ever made one part of a model suit the rest, so that many designs, after a great deal of pains and expense, were successively abandoned. He was, in short, the hero of a thousand blunders and one success." It may easily be conceived that a mechanic open to this description could not succeed, to any great extent, as either a designer or executor of what are called public works. The idea of propelling vessels by means of steam early took possession of his mind. "In 1800 (he writes) I applied to Lord Melville, on purpose to show his lordship and the other members of the admiralty the practicability and great utility of applying steam to the propelling of vessels against winds and tides, and every obstruction on rivers and seas where there was depth of water. After duly thinking over the plan, the lords of that great establishment were of opinion that the plan proposed would be of no value in promoting transmarine navigation." He repeated the attempt in 1803, with the same result, notwithstanding the emphatic declaration of the celebrated Lord Nelson, who, addressing their lordships on the occasion, said, "My lords, if you do not adopt Mr. Bell's scheme, other nations will, and in the end vex every vein of this empire. It will succeed (he added), and you should encourage Mr. Bell." Having obtained no support in this country, Bell forwarded copies of the prospectus of his scheme to the different nations of Europe, and to the United States of America. "The Americans," he writes, "were the first who put my plan into practice, and were quickly followed by other nations." Mr. Watt himself had no faith in the practicability of applying his own great discovery to the purpose of navigation. In a letter addressed to Mr. Bell he said, "How many noblemen, gentlemen, and engineers have puzzled their brains, and spent their thousands of pounds, and none of all these, nor yourself, have been able to bring the power of steam in navigation to a successful issue." The various attempts which preceded that of Bell are briefly noticed in the following extract from the *Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Steamboats*, June, 1822: *Sir Henry Parnell, Chairman.* Mentioning the following as experimenters, namely, Mr. Jonathan Hulls, in 1736; the Duke of Bridgewater, on the Manchester and Runcorn canal; Mr. Miller of Dalswinton; the Marquis de Jouffroy (a French nobleman), in 1781; Lord Stanhope, in 1795; and Mr. Symington and Mr. Taylor, on the Forth and Clyde Canal, in 1801-2; the *Report* proceeds:—"These ingenious men made valuable experiments, and tested well the mighty power of steam. Still no practical uses resulted from any of these attempts. It was not till the year 1807, when the Americans began to use steamboats on their rivers, that their safety and utility was first proved. But the merit of constructing these boats is due to natives of Great Britain. Mr. Henry Bell of Glasgow gave the first model of them to the late Mr. Fulton of America, and corresponded regularly with Fulton on the subject. Mr. Bell continued to turn his talents to the improving of steam apparatus, and its application to various manufactures about Glasgow; and in 1811 constructed the *Comet* steamboat, the first of the kind in Europe, to navigate

the Clyde, from Glasgow to Port-Glasgow, Greenock, Helensburgh, and Inverness." An interesting recollection of Mr. Miller's experiments on Dalswinton Lake has been preserved by Mr. James Nasmyth, the eminent engineer, on the authority of his father, who was present on the occasion. "The parties in the boat on that memorable occasion," writes Mr. Nasmyth to Mr. D. O. Hill, the landscape painter, who has introduced the lake into his picture of the valley of the Nith, "were Miller (of Dalswinton), Taylor (the engineer), Robert Burns (the poet), Henry Brougham (the future lord-chancellor), and Alexander Nasmyth (the father of landscape painting in Scotland)—a fit and worthy crew to celebrate so great an event. Many a time (adds the writer) I have heard my father describe the delight which this first and successful essay at steam-navigation yielded the party in question. I only wish Burns had immortalized it in rhyme, for indeed it was a subject worthy of his muse."

In 1808 Bell removed to the modern village of Helensburgh, on the Firth of Clyde, where his wife undertook the superintendence of the public baths, and at the same time kept the principal inn, whilst he continued to prosecute his favourite scheme, without much regard to the ordinary affairs of the world. In 1812 he produced his steamboat, the *Comet*, of 30 tons burden, with an engine of three horse-power. The *Comet*, so called from the celebrated comet which appeared at that time, was built by Messrs. John Wood and Co., at Port-Glasgow, and made her trial trip on the 18th of January, when she sailed from Glasgow to Greenock, making five miles an hour against a head-wind. In August of the same year we find Bell advertising the *Comet* to ply upon the Clyde three times a week from Glasgow, "to sail by the power of air, wind, and steam." In September the voyage was extended to Oban and Fort-William, and was to be accomplished to and from the latter place in four days. Mr. Bell lived to see his invention universally adopted. The Clyde, which first enjoyed the advantages of steam-navigation, became the principal seat of this description of ship-building; and, at the present time, Clyde-built steamers maintain their superiority in every port in the world. Steamships are now launched from the building-yards of Glasgow and Greenock of 2000 tonnage, and 800 horse-power; and Clyde-built ships, with Glasgow engines, make the voyage betwixt Liverpool and New-York in ten days. Steamboat building and marine-engine making received their first powerful impulse from the solution of the problem of ocean steam-navigation. From tables, constructed by Dr. Strang from returns furnished to him by the various ship-builders and engineers in Glasgow, Dumbarton, Greenock, and Port-Glasgow, it appears that, during the seven years from 1846 to 1852, there were constructed at Glasgow and in its neighbourhood 123 vessels, of which 1 was of wood, 122 of iron, 80 paddle, and 43 screw; consisting of 200 wooden tonnage; 70,441 iron tonnage; 6610 horse-power engines for wooden hulls, 22,539 horse-power engines for iron hulls, and 4720 horse-power engines for vessels not built on the Clyde. During the same period there were constructed in Dumbarton, 58 vessels, all of iron, 20 being for paddles and 38 for screws, and having a tonnage of 29,761; and during the last three years of the same period, 3615 horse-power engines were made there for iron hulls, and 200 horse-power engines for vessels not built on the Clyde. During the same period, from 1846 to 1852, there were constructed at Greenock and Port-Glasgow, 66 steam-vessels, of which 13 were of wood and 53 of iron, 41 paddle and 25 screw; consisting

of 18,131 wood tonnage and 29,071 iron tonnage, 129 horse-power engines for wooden hulls, 5439 horse-power engines for iron hulls, and 4514 horse-power engines for vessels not built on the Clyde. For the whole ports in the Clyde, the steam-vessels built and the marine engines made, from 1846 to 1852, were as follows:—Number of steam-vessels built—wood hulls, 14; iron hulls, 233; in all, 247; of these 141 were paddles, and 106 screws. The tonnage of the wooden steamers amounts to 18,331, of the iron to 129,273. The engines' horse-power in wood hulls was 6739, the engines' horse-power in iron hulls was 31,593; while there was of engines' horse-power for vessels not constructed on the Clyde, 9434, making a grand total of 247 steamers, amounting to 147,604 tons, and of engines 47,766 horse-power. Coming nearer to the present day, we may state that the ship-building yards on the Clyde alone turned out, in 1863, 170 vessels of 124,000 tonnage; in 1864, 242 vessels of 178,505 tonnage; and in 1865, 257 vessels of every size and character, with 151,297 of tonnage and 23,857 of horse-power. On the 1st of January, 1866, there were in the hands of the ship-builders orders for 178 vessels, with a tonnage of 291,270 tons, and a horse-power of 42,607. Such was the rapid progress in a few years of steam-ship building on the river where Henry Bell first tried his great experiment. The steam communication which has, for several years, existed betwixt our West Indian and North American colonies and the mother country, has recently been extended to Australia and the Cape of Good Hope, thus uniting Great Britain to her most distant dependencies by new and powerful ties, and literally realizing the vivid description of George Canning, who, dilating on the benefits of steam-navigation, several years before the death of Bell, described it as "that new and mighty power, new at least in the application of its might, which walks the water like a giant, rejoicing in its course, stemming alike the tempest and the tide—accelerating intercourse—shortening distances—creating, as it were, unexpected neighbourhoods, and new combinations of social and commercial relations, and giving to the fickleness of winds, and the faithlessness of waves, the certainty and steadiness of a highway upon the land." Whilst commerce and civilization were thus making rapid progress by means of his invention, Henry Bell reaped no personal advantage from it. He even approached the confines of old age in very straitened circumstances. Touched by his condition, the late Dr. Cleland, and a number of other benevolent individuals, commenced a subscription on his behalf, by which a considerable sum was raised. The trustees on the river Clyde granted him an annuity of £100, which was continued to his widow. This was but a becoming acknowledgment of the value of his great invention on the part of the trustees of a river whose annual revenue was increased, mainly by the impulse given to its trade by steam-navigation, from £6676 in 1810, the year before Bell commenced the construction of the *Comet*, to £20,296 in 1830, the year in which he died; and which has been more than tripled during the subsequent twenty-two years, being in 1852 £76,000. Within the same space of time, the channel of the river has undergone a corresponding improvement, being rendered navigable by ships of 700 and 800 tons burden; whereas, little more than half a century ago it was navigable only by coal gabbards and vessels of 30 to 45 tons. The average available depth of the Clyde at high water of neap tides is 16 feet, with an additional depth of two or three feet at spring-tides. At the Broomielaw, the harbour of Glasgow, there are now 10,000 lineal

feet of quayage, giving accommodation to hundreds of the largest ships belonging to the mercantile marine of this and foreign countries. Mr. Bell died at Helensburgh, March 14, 1830, aged sixty-three, and lies buried in the Row churchyard. An obelisk to his memory was erected on the rock of Dunglass, a promontory on the Clyde, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Dunbarton.

BELL, JAMES. This indefatigable geographer was born in 1769, in Jedburgh. His father, the Rev. Thomas Bell, minister of a Relief congregation in that town, and afterwards of Dovehill Chapel in Glasgow, was a man of great worth and considerable learning, and the author of a *Treatise on the Covenants*, and several other pieces of a theological kind. In his childhood and youth the subject of our memoir suffered much sickness, and gave little promise either of bodily or mental vigour; but, as he grew up, his constitution improved, and he began to evince that irresistible propensity to reading, or rather devouring all books that came in his way, which ever afterwards marked his character. It was fortunate for him that he was not bereft of his natural guardian until he was considerably advanced in life, for he was quite unfit to push his own way in the world, the uncommon simplicity of his character rendering him the easy dupe of the designing and knavish. He indeed entered into business for a short time, as a manufacturer, with his characteristic ardour, but finding himself unsuccessful, he betook himself to another and more laborious mode of making a livelihood, but one for which he was far better qualified, namely, the private teaching of Greek and Latin to advanced students. But as his father, with parental prudence, had settled a small annuity upon him, he was enabled to devote a considerable portion of his time to those studies and researches to which his natural inclination early led him, and which he only ceased to prosecute with his life. Mr. Bell used to advert with feelings of peculiar satisfaction to the meetings of a little weekly society which, during this period of his history, were held at his house and under his auspices, and at which the members read essays and debated questions for their mutual entertainment and improvement. On all these occasions, Mr. Bell never failed to contribute his full share to the evening's proceedings, and, when fairly excited, would astonish and delight his associates, particularly the younger part of them, with the extent and variety of his learning, and the astonishing volubility with which he poured forth the treasures of his capacious and well-furnished mind on almost every possible topic of speculation or debate.

Mr. Bell's first appearance as an author was made about the year 1815, when he contributed several valuable chapters to the *Glasgow Geography*—a work which had an extensive circulation, published in five volumes 8vo, by the house of Khull, Blackie, & Co., and which became the foundation of Mr. Bell's *System of Popular and Scientific Geography*. In 1824 he published—in conjunction with a young Glasgow linguist of great promise, named John Bell, who died January 1, 1826, but no relative of the subject of this memoir—a thin 8vo volume, entitled *Critical Researches in Philology and Geography*. The philologist contributed two articles to the volume, the one a "Review of Jones' Grammar," and the other a "Review of an Arabic Vocabulary and Index to Richardson's Arabic Grammar, by James Noble, Teacher of Languages, in Edinburgh," both of which are characterized by a minute acquaintance with the subjects under discussion. The geographer's

contribution consisted of a very elaborate "Examination of the Various Opinions that in Modern Times have been held respecting the Sources of the Ganges, and the Correctness of the Lamas' Map of Thibet," which elicited high encomiums from some of the leading periodicals of the day.

Geography was the science around which as a nucleus all his sympathies gathered, as if by an involuntary and irresistible tendency. To it he consecrated the labour of his life; it was the favourite study of his earlier years, and his old age continued to be cheered by it. In everything belonging to this science there was a marvellous quickness and accuracy of perception—an extreme justness of observation and inference about him. When the conversation turned upon any geographical subject, his ideas assumed a kind of poetical inspiration, and flowed on in such unbroken and close succession, as to leave no opportunity to his auditors of interposing a question or pursuing a discussion. Once engaged, there was no recalling him from his wild excursive range—on he went, revelling in the intensity of his own enjoyment, and bearing his hearers along with him over chains of mountains and lines of rivers, until they became utterly bewildered by the rapidity with which the physical features of every region of the globe were made to pass in panoramic succession before them.

From his childhood Mr. Bell had been subject to severe attacks of asthma. These gradually assumed a more alarming character, and ultimately compelled him to leave Glasgow for a residence in the country. The place which he selected for his retirement was a humble cottage in the neighbourhood of the village of Campsie, about twelve miles north of Glasgow. Here he spent the last ten or twelve years of his life in much domestic comfort and tranquility.

He was abstemious in his general habits; and his only earthly regret—at least the only one which he deemed of sufficient consequence to make matter of conversation—was the smallness of his library, and his want of access to books. Yet it is astonishing how little in the republic either of letters or of science he allowed to escape him. His memory was so retentive, that nothing which he had once read was ever forgotten by him. This extraordinary faculty enabled him to execute his literary commissions with a much more limited apparatus of books, than to others less gifted would have been an indispensable requisite.

The closing scene of Mr. Bell's life was calm and peaceful. He had, as already mentioned, long suffered violently from asthma. This painful disease gradually gained upon his constitution, and became more severe in its periodical attacks, and the exhausted powers of nature finally sunk in the struggle. He expired on the 3d of May, 1833, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried, at his own express desire, in the old churchyard of Campsie—a beautiful and sequestered spot.

In forming an estimate of Mr. Bell's literary character, we must always keep in view the difficulties with which he had to struggle in his unwearied pursuit of knowledge. He was without fortune, without powerful friends, and destitute, to a great extent, of even the common apparatus of a scholar. He laboured also under defects of physical organization which would have chilled and utterly repressed any mind less ardent and enthusiastic than his own in the pursuit of knowledge: yet he surmounted every obstacle, and gained for himself a distinguished place among British geographers, in despite both of his hard fortune and infirm health. Many men have made a more brilliant display with inferior talents and fewer accomplishments; but none ever possessed

a more complete mastery over their favourite science, and could bring to any related task a greater amount of accurate and varied knowledge. That he was an accomplished classical scholar is apparent from the immense mass of erudite allusions which his writings present; but he was not an exact scholar. He knew little of the niceties of language; his compositions are often inelegant and incorrect; he had no idea of elaborating the expression of his thoughts, but wrote altogether without attention to effect, and as if there were no such things as order in thinking and method in composition. It would be doing him injustice, however, while on this point, not to allow that his later writings exhibit a closer connection of ideas, and greater succinctness of mental habits than his earlier productions.

Besides the earlier publications already adverted to, Mr. Bell edited an edition of *Rollin's Ancient History* including the volume on the "Arts and Sciences of the Ancients." This work, published in Glasgow, in three closely printed octavo volumes, bears ample evidence to the industry, research, and sagacity of the editor. The notes are of great extent, and many of them, on the geography of the ancients, on the bearing of history on prophecy, more particularly the prophecies of Daniel, or such notes as those on the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, the march of Hannibal across the Alps, and the ruins of Babylon, amount to discussions of considerable length.

His other great work was his *System of Geography*, of which it is sufficient to say, that it has been pronounced decidedly superior as a popular work to that of Malte Brun, and on this account was subsequently republished in America. In this country it obtained a very extensive circulation. The preparation of these works, and of materials left incomplete for a *General Gazetteer*, occupied a great many years of Mr. Bell's life. He also took a lively interest in the success of several scientific periodicals, and aided their progress by numerous valuable contributions from his own pen. In all his writings, from the causes already assigned, there is too little effort at analysis and compression. Much might with advantage have been abridged, and much pared off. In his *System of Geography*, he occasionally borrowed the correcting pen of a friend, hence its composition is more regulated and chastened.

Mr. Bell's moral character was unimpeachable. He was remarkable for plain, undissembling honesty, and the strictest regard to truth. In all that constituted practical independence of character, he was well furnished; he could neither brook dependence nor stoop to complaint. He was in the strictest sense of the word a pious man. He concurred with his whole heart in that interpretation of the doctrines of the Bible commonly called the Calvinistic; but in no sense of the word was he sectarian in spirit; he had no bigotry or intolerance of opinion on religious points, although few could wield the massive weapons of theological controversy with greater vigour and effect.

BELL, JOHN, of Antermoney, a traveller of the eighteenth century, was the son of Patrick Bell, the representative of that old and respectable family, and of Anabel Stirling, daughter of Mungo Stirling of Craigharnet. He was born in 1691, and, after receiving a classical education, turned his attention to the study of medicine. On passing as physician, he determined to visit foreign countries, but we shall insert this part of his history in Mr. Bell's own words. "In my youth," says he, "I had a strong desire of seeing foreign parts; to satisfy which inclination, after having obtained, from some persons of worth,

recommendatory letters to Dr. Areskine, chief physician and privy counsellor to the Czar Peter I., I embarked at London, in the month of July, 1714, on board the *Prosperity* of Ramsgate, Captain Emerson, for St. Petersburg. On my arrival there, I was received by Dr. Areskine in a very friendly manner, to whom I communicated my intentions of seeking an opportunity of visiting some parts of Asia, at least those parts which border on Russia. Such an opportunity soon presented itself, on occasion of an embassy then preparing from his czarish majesty to the Sophy of Persia."—(*Preface to his Travels*.) The ambassador fortunately applied to Dr. Areskine to recommend some one skilled in physic and surgery to go in his suite, and Mr. Bell was soon afterwards engaged in the service of the Russian emperor. He accordingly left St. Petersburg on the 15th of July, 1715, and proceeded to Moscow, from thence to Kazan, and down the Volga to Astracan. The embassy then sailed down the Caspian Sea to Derbend, and journeyed by Mougan, Tauris, and Saba, to Ispahan, where they arrived on the 14th of March, 1717. They left that city on the 1st of September, and returned to St. Petersburg on the 30th December, 1718, after having travelled across the country from Saratoff. On his arrival in the capital, Mr. Bell found that his friend and patron Dr. Areskine had died about six weeks before, but he had now secured the friendship of the ambassador, and upon hearing that an embassy to China was preparing, he easily obtained an appointment in it through his influence. The account of his journey to Kazan, and through Siberia to China, is by far the most complete and interesting part of his travels. His description of the manners, customs, and superstitions of the inhabitants, and of the Delay-lama and Chinese wall, deserve particularly to be noticed. They arrived at Pekin "after a tedious journey of exactly sixteen months." Mr. Bell has left a very full account of occurrences during his residence in the capital of China. The embassy left that city on the 2d of March, 1721, and arrived at Moscow on the 5th of January, 1722.

The war between Russia and Sweden was now concluded, and the czar had determined to undertake an expedition into Persia, at the request of the sophy, to assist that prince against the Afghans, his subjects, who had seized upon Kandahar, and possessed themselves of several provinces on the frontiers towards India. Mr. Bell's former journey to Persia gave him peculiar advantages, and he was accordingly engaged to accompany the army to Derbent, from which he returned in December, 1722. Soon afterwards he revisited his native country, and returned to St. Petersburg in 1734. In 1737 he was sent to Constantinople by the Russian chancellor, and Mr. Rondeau the British minister at the Russian court.¹ He seems now to have abandoned the public service, and to have settled at Constantinople as a merchant. About 1746 he married Mary Peters, a Russian lady, and determined to return to Scotland. He spent the latter part of his life on his estate, and in the enjoyment of the society of his friends. At length, after a long life spent in active beneficence, and exertions for the good of mankind, he died at Anternomy on the 1st of July, 1780, at the advanced age of eighty-nine.

The only work written by Mr. Bell is his *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to various parts of Asia*, to which reference has already been made. It was printed in 2 volumes quarto by Robert and Andrew Foulis, in 1763, and published by subscrip-

tion. "The history of this book," says the *Quarterly Review*, "is somewhat curious, and not generally known. For many years after Mr. Bell returned from his travels, he used to amuse his friends with accounts of what he had seen, refreshing his recollection from a simple diary of occurrences and observations. The Earl Granville, then president of the council, on hearing some of his adventures, prevailed on him to throw his notes together into the form of a narrative, which, when done, pleased him so much that he sent the manuscript to Dr. Robertson, with a particular request that he would revise and put it into a fit state for the press. The literary avocations of the Scottish historian at that time not allowing him to undertake the task, he recommended Mr. Barron, a professor in the university of Aberdeen, and on this gentleman consulting Dr. Robertson as to the style and the book of travels which he would recommend him to adopt for his guide, the historian replied, 'Take *Gulliver's Travels* for your model, and you cannot go wrong.' He did so, and '*Bell's Travels*' have all the simplicity of *Gulliver*, with the advantage which truth always carries over fiction."²

BELL, JOHN, an eminent surgeon in Edinburgh, and of distinguished literary qualifications, was born in 1762. He was the second son of the Rev. William Bell, a clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal Church, established at Edinburgh. His mother was the daughter of Mr. Morrice, also a member of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Mr. John Bell, after receiving a liberal education, became the pupil of Mr. Alexander Wood, surgeon, who was long celebrated in Edinburgh as a medical practitioner. From the first, Mr. Bell devoted himself to his professional studies with that enthusiastic ardour so characteristic of genius, and almost always the precursor of distinction. After completing his professional education, he travelled for a short time in Russia and the north of Europe; and on his return commenced his professional duties by delivering lectures on surgery and midwifery. These lectures, which he delivered between the years 1786 and 1796, were very highly esteemed, and speedily brought him into practice as a consulting and operating surgeon. The increase of his private practice, indeed, rendered it necessary for him, in 1796, to discontinue his lectures, and from that time forward he devoted himself to his patients, and to the preparation of his several publications.

For upwards of twenty years Mr. Bell may be said to have stood at the head of his profession in Edinburgh as an operator. Patients came to him from all quarters, both of Scotland and England, and even from the Continent, and during that interval he performed some of the most delicate and difficult operations in surgery. Nor was his celebrity confined to Edinburgh. He was generally known, both in this country and throughout the world, as one of the most distinguished men in his profession; and his works show that his reputation was well founded.

Early in 1816 he was thrown by a spirited horse, and appears never to have entirely recovered from the effects of the accident. In the autumn of that year he made an excursion, partly on account of his health, to London; thence he proceeded to Paris, and afterwards pursued his journey southwards, visiting the most distinguished cities of Italy. During his residence on the Continent, he was treated in the most flattering manner by the members of his own science; and his countrymen, who, after the peace

¹ M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*, new edition, p. 115.

² *Quarterly Review* on M'Leod's *Voyage in the Alceste*, 1817, p. 464-65.

of 1815, had gone to the Continent in great numbers, gladly took his surgical assistance. In Paris, Naples, and Rome in particular, his numerous patients occupied him perhaps too exclusively; for his health continued to decline, and he died at Rome, April 15, 1820, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

Mr. Bell very early in life became impressed with a high notion of the advantage of combining general accomplishments with professional skill; he therefore spared no pains to qualify himself in every way to assume a favourable position in society. He was a good classical scholar, and so general a reader that there were few works of any note in literature, either ancient or modern, with which he was not familiar. This was remarkably shown in his library, in which there was hardly a volume on any subject which did not bear traces of having been carefully perused and noted by him. His practice was to make annotations on the margin as he read; and considering the engrossing nature of his professional labours, and the several works in which he was himself engaged, nothing is more extraordinary than the evidence which is still in existence of the extent and variety of his miscellaneous reading.

The information which he thus acquired was not lost upon him; he was polished and easy in his manners, his perception of the ludicrous was keen, and the tact with which he availed himself of his extensive reading and general knowledge of all the interesting topics of the day will be long remembered by those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His conversational powers, indeed, were of the very highest order; and as he had great urbanity and kindness of manner, and was happily free from that affectation by which good talkers are sometimes distinguished, there were few of his contemporaries whose society was more generally courted by the upper classes in Edinburgh, and none who were better fitted to adorn and enliven the circle in which he moved.

Mr. Bell's notions of the dignity of his profession were very high, and no man perhaps ever discharged his professional duties with more disinterested humanity and honourable independence. His generosity to those whose circumstances required pecuniary aid was well known, and his contempt for anything approaching to what he thought mean or narrow-minded was boundless, and frequently expressed in no very measured terms. The warmth of his temper, however, involved him in several misunderstandings with his professional brethren; the most remarkable of which was that which brought him and Dr. Gregory into collision. The question on which these two distinguished men took opposite sides related to the right of the junior members of the College of Surgeons of Edinburgh to perform operations in the Royal Infirmary. This dispute divided the medical men of Edinburgh towards the close of the last century; and Dr. Gregory and Mr. Bell wrote several volumes about it. But, although great wit and much happy sarcasm were displayed on both sides, it is impossible to look back to this dissension without feeling regret that two of the most eminent medical men of their day should have wasted their ingenuity and high talents in acrimonious and unprofitable controversy, on a topic of ephemeral interest and comparatively minor importance. Mr. Bell's principal publication in this controversy was entitled *Letters on Professional Character and Manners; on the Education of a Surgeon, and the Duties and Qualifications of a Physician; addressed to James Gregory, M.D.* Edinburgh, 1810. It is a large octavo volume, and is characterized by extraordinary acrimony.

In the fine arts, Mr. Bell's taste was very correct. As a painter and draughtsman his talents were far above mediocrity; and the anatomical drawings by which his works are illustrated have been much admired. He was also a proficient in music, with more taste, however, than execution; and as Mrs. Bell was also a highly accomplished musician, his musical parties, although conducted on a scale of expense which his circumstances hardly warranted, assembled at his house the *élite* of Edinburgh society. He had no family, and his whole house was laid out for this species of display—a *foible* which those who were inclined to laugh at his expense did not overlook, and which was to a certain extent censurable, since his income, although very large, was never equal to his expenditure.

Mr. Bell's personal appearance was good. Although considerably under the middle size, he was exceedingly well proportioned, very active and studiously elegant in his movements. His head was well formed, his features regular, his eyes keen and penetrating, and his whole expression intellectual and intelligent in no ordinary degree. He was also remarkable for the good taste which he exhibited in his dress; and was altogether a person whom even a stranger could not have passed without recognizing as no ordinary man.

The limits of this work do not admit of an analysis of Mr. Bell's writings. The best is his treatise on *Gunshot Wounds*, to enable him to prepare which he passed some weeks amongst the wounded men of Lord Duncan's fleet, after the battle of Camperdown.

The following is a complete list of his professional works:—1. *The Anatomy of the Human Body*, vol. i. 8vo, 1793, containing the *Bones, Muscles, and Joints*; vol. ii. 1797, containing the *Heart and Arteries*; vol. iii. 1802, containing the *Anatomy of the Brain, Description of the Course of the Nerves, and the Anatomy of the Eye and Ear*; with *Plates by Charles Bell*, third edition, 3 vols. 8vo, 1811. 2. *Engravings of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints*, illustrating the first volume of the *Anatomy of the Human Body*, drawn and engraved by himself, royal 4to, 1794, third edition. 3. *Engravings of the Arteries*, illustrating the second volume of the *Anatomy of the Human Body*, royal 4to, 1801; third edition, 8vo, 1810. 4. *Discourses on the Nature and Cure of Wounds*, 8vo, 1795; third edition, 1812. 5. *Answer for the Junior Members of the Royal College of Surgeons to the Memorial of Dr. James Gregory, to the Managers of the Royal Infirmary*, 8vo, 1800. 6. *The Principles of Surgery*, 3 vols. 4to, 1801–1808. 7. *Letters on Professional Character, &c.* His *Observations on Italy* is a posthumous work, which was edited by his respected friend Bishop Sandford of Edinburgh.

Mr. Bell married Miss Congleton, daughter of Dr. Congleton of Edinburgh. His eldest brother was Robert Bell, advocate, professor of conveying to the Society of Writers to the Signet; author of the *Scotch Law Dictionary*, and of several other works on the law of Scotland; who died in 1816. John Bell's immediately younger brothers were, George Joseph Bell, advocate, professor of the law of Scotland in the university of Edinburgh, and author of *Commentaries on the Law of Scotland*, a work of high authority; and Sir Charles Bell, F.R.S. of London, the distinguished anatomist and physiologist. It is rare to find so many members of the same family so favourably known to the public.

BELLENDEN, WILLIAM, more commonly known by his Latin name of Gulielmus Bellendenus, is one

of those Scotsmen of a former age, who are esteemed in the general literary world as an honour to their country, but with whom that country itself is scarcely at all acquainted. As there were many great but unrecorded heroes before Agamemnon, so may it be said that there have flourished, *out of Scotland*, many illustrious Scotsmen, whose names have not been celebrated in that country. It is time, however, that this should cease to be the case, at least in reference to William Bellenden, whose intellect appears to have been one of most extraordinary character, and whose intellectual efforts, if in a shape to command more extensive appreciation, would certainly be considered a great addition to those productions which reflect honour upon his native country.

William Bellenden was unquestionably a member of that family whose name has been variously spelled Ballenden, Ballantyn, and latterly Ballantyne, and which has produced several men eminent in Scottish literature. He lived in the reign of James VI., to whom he was *Magister Supplicum Libellorum*, or reader of private petitions, an office probably conferred upon him in consideration of his eminent learning. King James, whose many regal faults were in some measure redeemed by his love of literature and patronage of literary men, provided Bellenden with the means of leading a life of studious retirement at the French capital, where he is said to have afterwards become professor of humanity, and an advocate in the parliament of Paris.

Bellenden's first work, entitled *Ciceronis Princeps*, and published, apparently without his name, in 1608, is a treatise on the duties of a prince, formed out of passages of the works of Cicero referring to that subject. To the *Ciceronis Princeps*, in which Bellenden has only the merit of an ingenious collector, was prefixed an original essay, styled *Tractatus de Processu et Scripturibus Rei Politicæ*, in which there is a rich vein of masculine sense and fervent piety, while the origin of our errors in religion, and of our defects in policy and learning, is traced out with considerable accuracy and erudition. In this treatise, the author, while he condemns the monstrous tenets of ancient idolatry, and the gross corruptions of philosophy, bestows many just encomiums on the wisdom and patriotism of some ancient legislators.

Bellenden next published a treatise, formed like the foregoing from detached passages in Cicero, regarding the duties of the consul, senator, and senate among the Romans. It was entitled *Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Populusque Romanus: illustratus publici observatione juris, gravissimi usus disciplinæ, administrandi temperata ratione: notatis inclinationibus temporum in Rep. et actis rerum in Senatu: quæ a Ciceroniana nondum edita profluxere memoria, annorum DCCX. congesta in libros xvi. De statu rerum Romanorum unde jam manavit Ciceronis Princeps, dignus habitus summorum lectione principum*. Bellenden has here shown, not only the duties of a senator or statesman, but upon what basis the rights of a free but jealous people are erected, and the hallowed care those institutions demand which have descended to us from our ancestors. This work was published at Paris in 1612, and, like the former, was dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales. On the title-page the author is termed "*Magister Supplicum Libellorum augusti Regis Magnæ Britannicæ*," from which it would appear that either there is a mistake in describing him as master of requests to the King of Scotland, or he must have been subsequently preferred to the same office for Great Britain. The office, since he resided at Paris, must have been a sinecure, and was probably given to him as a means of sustaining him in literary leisure.

The next work of Bellenden was entitled *De Statu Prisci Orbis, in Religione, Re Politica, et Literis, liber unus*. It was printed, but may scarcely be described as published, in 1615. This is the most original of Bellenden's works. The expressions and sentiments are all his own, excepting the quotations which he takes occasion to introduce from his favourite Cicero. In this work he has "brought to light, from the most remote antiquity, many facts which had been buried in oblivion. Whatever relates to the discipline of the Persians and Egyptians, which was obscure in itself, and very variously dispersed, he has carefully collected, placed in one uniform point of view, and polished with diligent acuteness. In a manner the most plain and satisfactory, he has described the first origin of states, their progressive political advances, and how they differed from each other. Those fabulous inventions with which Greece has encumbered history, he explains and refutes. Philosophy owes him much. He has confuted all those systems which were wild and extravagant, and removed the difficulties from such as were in their operation subservient to religious piety. But he has in particular confirmed and dignified, with every assistance of solid argument, whatever tended to serve the great truths of revelation. Much, however, as he has been involved in the gloom of ancient times, he in no one instance assumes the character of a cold unfeeling antiquary; he never employs his talents upon those intricate and useless questions, in endeavouring to explain which many luckless and idle theologians torment themselves and lose their labour. The style of Bellendenus, in this performance, is perspicuous, and elegant without affectation. The different parts of the work are so well and so judiciously disposed, that we meet with nothing harsh and dissonant, no awkward interval or interruption, nothing placed where it ought not to remain."¹

All these three works—namely, the *Princeps*, the *Consul*, and the *De Statu Prisci Orbis*—were republished in 1616 in a united form, under the general title *De Statu, Libri Tres*. Prince Henry being now dead, the whole work was dedicated anew to his surviving brother Charles; a circumstance which afforded the author an opportunity of paying an ingenious compliment to the latter prince:

— "Uno avulso non deficit alter,
Aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo."

Of the justness of this eulogy the politician may have some doubt, but the man of feeling will be captivated by its elegance and pathos.

The last work which Bellenden himself published is of very small extent, consisting merely of two short poems: *Caroli Primi et Henricæ Mariæ, Regis et Reginæ Magnæ Britannicæ, &c. Epithalamium; et in ipsas augustissimas nuptias, Panegyricum Carmen et Elogia*. Paris, 1675, 4to. It would appear that Bellenden did not soon forget the kind patronage which he had experienced from King James, but transferred his gratitude, with his loyalty, to the descendants of that prince. This is the only known specimen of Bellenden's efforts in poetry.

The *De Statu, Libri Tres*, which perhaps were never very extensively diffused, had latterly become so extremely scarce, as only to be known by name to the most of scholars. From this obscurity the work was rescued in 1787, by Dr. Samuel Parr, the most eminent British Latinist of modern times. Dr. Parr republished it in an elegant form, with a preface, which, though embracing a singular jumble of subjects, and not free from the charge of pedantry, is

¹ Parr's Preface.

justly looked upon as one of the most admirable specimens of modern Latin which we possess. Imitating the example of Bellenden, who prefixed a dedication to each of his three books, the learned editor inscribed them anew to three great men of modern times, Edward Burke, Lord North, and Charles James Fox, who were then the leaders of his own party in British politics. In the preface he introduced a high allegorical eulogy upon these statesmen, which was admired as a singularly nervous piece of composition, though there were, of course, different opinions as to the justness of the panegyric. He also exposed the plagiarism which Middleton, in composing his *Life of Cicero*, had committed upon the splendid stores of Bellenden.

While Bellenden was employed in writing his tripartite work, *De Statu*, he had Cicero constantly before him. "His warmest attachment, and increasing admiration," to quote the words of Dr. Parr, "were necessarily attracted to the character whose writings were the object of his unremitting attention; whose expressions were as familiar to him as possible; and whose various and profound learning occupied all the faculties of his soul." He now commenced a still more extensive and laborious cento of the writings of the Roman orator, which he concluded in sixteen books, and which, with the addition of similar centoes of the writings of Seneca and Pliny the Elder, was to bear the name, *De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum*. The Ciceronian cento, the only one he lived to complete, is justly considered a most extraordinary performance. By an exertion of fictitious machinery, akin to the modern historical romance, Cicero is introduced as if he had spoken or written the whole from beginning to end. The first seven books give a very concise abstract of the Roman history, from the foundation of the city to the 647th year, in which he was born. Then he becomes more particular in the account of his own times, and enlarges very fully on all that happened after his first appearance in public business. He gives an account of the most remarkable of his orations and epistles, and the occasions on which they were written, as also of such of his philosophical works as have come down to us, and of some other pieces that are now lost, ending with a letter he is supposed to have written to Octavianus, afterwards named Augustus, which letter, however, is supposed to be spurious. There cannot be a more complete history of the life of Cicero, or of the tumultuous times in which he lived, than this work, all of which, by an exquisite ingenuity, is so faithfully compiled from the known works of the orator, that probably there is not in the whole book a single expression, perhaps not a single word, which is not to be found in that great storehouse of philosophical eloquence. Nor is there any incoherence or awkwardness in this re-arrangement of Cicero's language; but, on the contrary, the matter flows as gracefully as in the original. "Whatever we find," says Parr, "in the different writings of Cicero, elegantly expressed, or acutely conceived, Bellendenus has not only collected in one view, but elucidated in the clearest manner. He, therefore, who peruses this performance with the attention which it merits, will possess all the treasures of antiquity, all the energy of the mightiest examples. He will obtain an adequate knowledge of the Roman law and system of jurisprudence, and may draw, as from an inexhaustible source, an abundance of expressions, the most exquisite in their kind." In the opinion of another critic,¹ it is inconceivable that Bellenden could have

composed this singular work without having the whole of the writings of Cicero, and all the collateral authorities, in his mind at once, as it must have been quite impossible to perform such a task by turning over the leaves of the books, in order to find the different expressions suited to the various occasions where they were required.

After the death of Bellenden, the date of which is only known to have been posterior to 1625, the manuscript of his great work fell into the hands of one Toussaint du Bray, who printed it at Paris in 1631 or 1634, and dedicated it to King Charles I. of Great Britain. It is alleged that the principal part of the impression, about a thousand copies, was shipped for sale in Britain, and was lost on the passage, so that only a few copies survived. The work therefore fell at once into obscurity, and in a few years was scarcely known to exist. One copy having found its way to the Cambridge University Library, fell into the hands of Conyers Middleton, the keeper of that institution, who seems to have adopted the idea of making it the groundwork for a life of Cicero under his own name. Hence has arisen one of the most monstrous instances of literary *plagium* which modern times have witnessed. The work of Middleton at once attained to great reputation, and chiefly through that skilful arrangement of the writings of the orator himself which Bellenden had provided to his hands. The theft was first denounced by Warton, and subsequently made clear by Dr. Parr in his preface to the *De Statu*.

It is impossible to dismiss the life and singular writings of William Bellenden, without a passing expression of regret, that so much ingenuity, so much learning, so much labour, may be expended, without producing even the remuneration of a *name* — for Bellenden, to use a phrase of Buchanan, is a *light* rather than a *name*. His last work extended to 824 pages in folio, and he contemplated other two of similar size, and equal labour. Yet all this was so futile, that the very next generation of his own countrymen do not appear to have known that such a man ever existed. Even after all the care of bibliographers and others, which has searched out the few facts embraced by this imperfect narrative, the name of Bellenden is only known in connection with certain works, which are, it is true, *reputed* to be admirable of their kind, but, for every practical purpose, are almost as entirely lost to the world at large, as those *libri perditii* of Cicero, which he has himself alluded to with so much regret.

BERNARD, made abbot of Aberbrothock in 1303, and the first chancellor of King Robert Bruce, after his assumption of the crown in 1306, deserves a place in this work, as the supposed writer of that spirited remonstrance which the Scottish nobility and barons transmitted, in 1318, to the Roman pontiff, asserting the independency of their country. He held the great seal till his death in 1327. Crawford supposes that his surname was Linton.

BERRY, WILLIAM, an ingenious artist, was born about the year 1730, and bred to the business of a seal-engraver. After serving an apprenticeship under a Mr. Proctor at Edinburgh, he commenced business for himself in that city, and soon became distinguished for the elegance of his designs, and the clearness and sharpness of his mode of cutting. At this time the business of a stone-engraver in the Scottish capital was confined to the cutting of ordinary seals, and the most elaborate work of this kind to engraving the armorial bearings of the nobility. Mr. Berry's views were for several years confined to this common

¹ The late Earl of Buchan, who had the extraordinary fortune to possess a copy of this rare book.

drudgery of his art; but, by studying some ancient entaglios, he at length ventured into that higher walk which bears the same relation to seal-engraving that historical painting does to portrait-painting. The subject he chose for his first essay was a head of Sir Isaac Newton, which he executed with such precision and delicacy, as astonished all who had an opportunity of observing it. The modesty of Mr. Berry permitted him to consign this gem to the hands of a friend in a retired situation of life, who had few opportunities of showing it to others. He resumed his wonted drudgery, and for many years "narrowed his mind" to the cutting of heraldic seals, while in reality he must have known that his genius fitted him for a competition with the highest triumphs of Italian art. When he was occasionally asked to undertake somewhat finer work, he generally found that, though he only demanded perhaps half the money which he could have earned in humbler engraving during the same space of time, yet even that was grudged by his employers; and he therefore found that mere considerations of worldly prudence demanded his almost exclusive attention to the ordinary walk of his profession. Nevertheless, in the course of a few years, the impulse of genius so far overcame his scruples, that he executed various heads, any one of which would have been sufficient to insure him fame among judges of excellence in this department of art. Among these were heads of Thomson, author of *The Seasons*, Mary Queen of Scots, Oliver Cromwell, Julius Cæsar, a young Hercules, and Mr. Hamilton of Bangour, the well-known poet. Of these only two were copies from the antique; and they were executed in the finest style of those celebrated entaglios. The young Hercules, in particular, possessed an unaffected plain simplicity, a union of youthful innocence with strength and dignity, which struck every beholder as most appropriate to that mythological personage, while it was, at the same time, the most difficult of all expressions to be hit off by the faithful imitator of nature. Berry possessed this perceptive faculty to a degree which almost proved an obstruction, rather than a help, in his professional career. In his best performances he himself remarked defects which no one else perceived, and which he believed might have been overcome by greater exertion, if for that greater exertion he could have spared the necessary time. Thus, while others applauded his entaglios, he looked upon them with a morbid feeling of vexation, arising from the sense of that struggle which his immediate personal wants constantly maintained with the nobler impulses of art, and to which his situation in the world promised no speedy cessation. This gave him an aversion to the higher department of his art, which, though indulged to his own temporary comfort and the advantage of his family, was most unfortunate for the world.

In spite of every disadvantage, the works of Mr. Berry, few as they were in number, became gradually known in society at large; and some of his pieces were even brought into competition, by some distinguished cognoscenti, with those of Piccirat at Rome, who had hitherto been the unapproached sovereign of this department of the arts. Although the experience of Piccirat was that of a constant practitioner, while Mr. Berry had only attempted a few pieces at long intervals in the course of a laborious life; although the former lived in a country where every artificial object was attuned to the principles of art, while Mr. Berry was reared in a soil remarkable for the absence of all such advantages; the latter was by many good judges placed above his Italian contemporary. The respective works of the

two artists were well known to each other; and each declared, with that manly ingenuousness which very high genius alone can confer on the human mind, that the other was greatly his superior.

Mr. Berry possessed not merely the art of imitating busts or figures set before him, in which he could observe and copy the prominence or depression of the parts; but he possessed a faculty which presupposes a much nicer discrimination—that of being able to execute a figure in *relievo*, with perfect justness in all its parts, which was copied from a painting or drawing upon a flat surface. This was fairly put to the test in the head he executed of Hamilton of Bangour. That gentleman had been dead several years, when his relations wished to have a head of him executed by Berry. The artist had himself never seen Mr. Hamilton, and there remained no picture of him but an imperfect sketch, which was by no means a striking likeness. This was put into the hands of Mr. Berry by a person who had known the deceased poet, and who pointed out the defects of the resemblance in the best way that words can be made to correct things of this nature; and from this picture, with the ideas that Mr. Berry had imbibed from the corrections, he made a head which everyone who knew Mr. Hamilton allowed to be one of the most perfect likenesses that could be wished for. In this, as in all his works, there was a correctness in the outline, and a truth and delicacy in the expression of the features, highly emulous of the best antiques; which were, indeed, the models on which he formed his taste.

The whole number of heads executed by Mr. Berry did not exceed a dozen; but, beside these, he executed some full-length figures of both men and animals, in his customary style of elegance. His attention, however, to the interests of a numerous family made him forego those agreeable exertions, for the more lucrative though less pleasing employment of cutting heraldic seals, which formed his constant employment for forty years together. In this department he was, without dispute, the first artist of his time; but even here his modesty, and that invariable desire of giving perfection to everything he put out of his hand, prevented him from drawing such emoluments from his labours as they deserved. Of this the following anecdote will serve as an illustration, and as an additional testimony of his very great skill. Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, on succeeding to his title and estates, was desirous of having a seal cut, with his arms properly blazoned upon it. But, as there were no fewer than thirty-two compartments in the shield, which was of necessity confined to a very small space, so as to leave room for the supporters and other ornaments, within the compass of a seal of ordinary size, he found it a matter of great difficulty to get it executed. Though a native of Scotland himself, the noble duke had no idea that there was a man of first-rate eminence in this art in Edinburgh; and accordingly he had applied to the best seal-engravers in London and Paris, all of whom declared it to be beyond their skill. At this time Berry was mentioned to him with such powerful recommendations that he was induced to pay him a visit, and found him, as usual, seated at his wheel. The gentleman who had mentioned Mr. Berry's name to the duke accompanied him on his visit. This person, without introducing the duke, showed Mr. Berry the impression of a shield which the duchess-dowager had got cut a good many years before by a Jew in London, now dead, and which had been shown to others as a pattern; asking him if he would cut a seal the same as that. After examining it a little, Mr. Berry answered readily

that he would. The duke, at once pleased and astonished, exclaimed, "Will you, indeed!" Mr. Berry, who thought that this implied some doubt of his ability to perform what he undertook, was a little piqued, and turning round to the duke, whom he had never before seen, he said, "Yes, sir; if I do not make a better seal than this, I will charge no payment for it." The duke, highly pleased, left the pattern with Mr. Berry, and went away. The original contained, indeed, the various devices of the thirty-two, compartments distinctly enough to be seen; but none of the colours were expressed. Mr. Berry, in proper time, finished the seal; on which the figures were not only done with superior elegance, but the colours on every part so distinctly marked that a painter could delineate the whole, or a herald blazon it, with perfect accuracy. For this extraordinary and most ingenious labour he charged no more than thirty-two guineas, though the pattern seal had cost seventy-five. Thus it was, that, though possessed of talents unequalled in their kind, at least in Britain, and assiduity not to be surpassed—observing at the same time the strictest economy in his domestic arrangements—Mr. Berry died at last, in circumstances far from affluent, June 3, 1783, in the fifty-third year of his age, leaving a numerous family of children. It had been the lot of this ingenious man to toil unceasingly for a whole life, without obtaining any other reward than the common boon of mere subsistence, while his abilities, in another sphere, or in an age more qualified to appreciate and employ them, might have enabled him to attain at once to fame and fortune in a very few years. His art, it may be remarked, has made no particular progress in Scotland in consequence of his example. The genius of Berry was solitary, both in respect of place and time, and has never been rivalled by any other of his countrymen. It must be recorded, to the honour of this unrequited genius, that his character in private life was as amiable and unassuming as his talents were great; and that his conduct on all occasions was ruled by the strictest principles of honour and integrity.

BETHUNE, ALEXANDER. This man, and his younger brother John, were choice specimens of that intellectual class of Scottish peasantry in which our country happily abounds, and of which it is so justly proud. Alexander, the subject of the present notice, was born at Upper Rankellor, in the parish of Monimail, in July 1804. Such was the extreme domestic poverty in which he was reared, that he could not even obtain the ordinary share of a Scottish peasant's education; his whole portion in this respect being four or five months' attendance at a subscription school, when he was in his sixth year. But his mother was a remarkable woman, and it was from her that the two brothers mainly derived their education, as well as their energetic intellectual character. At the raw age of fourteen he was set to break stones on the highway, a strong man's occupation, by which his tender bones and muscles were sorely tried; and at the age of twenty-one he was enabled, from the savings of his scanty pay, to enrol himself in the evening classes of a school at the hamlet of Lochend, near Lindores. Naturally desirous of emerging from his uncomfortable position, he betook himself to weaving with his brother John, but scarcely had they managed to procure the necessary apparatus, when the mercantile depression of 1825 and 1826 compelled them to abandon their hopes of the loom, and take occupation as out-door labourers at the wages of a shilling a-day. Thus employed in such chance toil as he could obtain, Alexander, in

1829, while employed in a quarry, was thrown into the air by a blast of gunpowder, and so dreadfully mangled that his recovery was thought hopeless. Three years after a disaster of the same character befell him, but still more severe, by which he was frightfully disfigured, and the effects of which he felt till the end of his days.

Such a scanty education, and subsequent life of hardship and penury, were little calculated to foster the cultivation of literature: but Alexander Bethune was no ordinary character; and those difficulties which in others would have extinguished such ambition, only confirmed his resolution, and strengthened him for the work. Accordingly, while breaking stones on the highway, or blasting huge masses in the quarry, he had never failed at every interval to enlarge his knowledge by reading, and develop his intellectual faculties by composition. In 1835 several of his productions appeared in *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, and in 1838 he completed and published a series of *Tales and Sketches of the Scottish Peasantry*, part of which work was written by his brother John. After several struggles and changes, which will fall to be mentioned in the memoir of the latter, the two brothers feued a small piece of ground near Newburgh, and built there a cottage chiefly with their own hands. Here also they prepared and published their joint work, entitled *Lectures on Practical Economy*, which was issued from the press in 1839. After the death of John, during the same year, Alexander made a collection of his brother's poems, and published them in 1840, with an interesting memoir of the author. A copy of this work having fallen into the hands of Mrs. Hill, wife of Mr. Frederick Hill, inspector of prisons, that lady wrote to Alexander Bethune, offering to use her interest in procuring him a situation either as a teacher, or in some way connected with the prisons. It was a tempting offer to one in his situation, and Alexander so far complied with it as to try the office of a turnkey in the prison at Glasgow. But a week's experience sufficed him, and in March, 1841, he wrote a grateful answer to the lady, respectfully declining her offer, and stating that he did not wish an application to be made for one who had no qualifications above those of a common labourer.

In 1842 Alexander Bethune visited Edinburgh to make arrangements for the publication of *The Scottish Peasant's Fireside*, which appeared early in the following year. But this was the last of his intellectual efforts, and his life of struggle was drawing to a close. He had previously been attacked by fever, and although the disease had been partially cured, it had settled down into the more dangerous form of pulmonary consumption. In one of the delusive intervals of this insidious complaint, an offer was made to him of the editorship of the *Dumfriess Standard*, a paper about to be started in that town, while his salary as editor was to be £100 a year. Such a prospect of comfortable independence, and with occupation so much to his liking, was too tempting to be overlooked, and he signified his readiness to accept the situation should the recovery of his health be confirmed. But he rapidly grew worse, and died at Newburgh on the 13th of June, 1843, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His remains were interred in Abdie church-yard, in the grave of his brother John, with whom he had been so closely united during life by their mutual hardships, tastes, and intellectual pursuits; and an interesting volume of his *Life, Correspondence, and Literary Remains*, was published in 1845 by Mr. William McCombie, a farmer of Aberdeenshire, who like himself had been a writer on social economy.

BETHUNE, SIR HENRY LINDESAY, Bart. This gallant soldier, whose character and deeds are still cherished in the remembrance of the Persians, was born on the 12th April, 1787. He was of the ancient family of the Lords Lindsay of the Byres in Fifeshire, and son of Major Martin Eccles Lindesay Bethune, by a daughter of General Tovey. Embracing the military profession, he entered the East India Company's service as a cadet in 1804, and by successive steps rose to the rank of major. It was not however in India that his high reputation was to be won; but in Persia, to which country he was sent for the purpose of aiding Abbas-Mirza, crown-prince of Persia, in organizing his artillery; and he soon became the favourite not only of that distinguished prince, but of the whole Persian army. His personal presence indeed was enough to secure the admiration of such an imaginative, half-civilized people as the Persians; for he was about seven feet in height, while his successful deeds of daring seemed to realize those wonderful tales of ancient heroism to which they loved to listen. One of his exploits may serve as a specimen. During the war of the Persians against Russia, and while the armies of the two countries were in the field, Prince Abbas had set out one day on a hunting excursion, accompanied by his staff, and taking with him the artillery horses, to beat up for game. Availing themselves of such an opportunity, the Russians made an attack upon the Persian camp, and carried off Major Lindesay's six brass guns. As soon as the major returned he was made aware of the loss; and on surveying the Russian encampment with his glass, he saw the six guns ranged in front of their lines. At his summons his troopers were instantly in the saddle; at their head he charged across the plain; and after a short skirmish, in which the Russian advanced posts were swept aside, he broke through and rode down the troops opposed to him, and recovered and brought back the guns in the face of the whole Russian army.

Sixteen years were thus spent in the Persian service, and the deeds of Bethune had made him the *beau ideal* of an invincible champion in the eyes of the orientals. He was Rustan, the ancient Hercules of Persia, revived, or a new one raised in his room. But while his deeds fired their imaginations, his kindness to the soldiers, his strict impartiality, and the justice with which he caused their arrears to be paid in full—qualities very unusual among eastern commanders—made him almost an object of their idolatrous worship, so that all were delighted to obey such a leader, and ready to follow him to the death. Having successfully accomplished his mission to Persia, Bethune returned home; entered into possession of his estate of Kilconquhar in Fifeshire, inherited from his grandfather, David Bethune of Balfour, whose name he also adopted; and in 1822 married Coutts, eldest daughter of John Trotter of Dyrham Park, Herts. He now held the rank of major-general in the East India Company's service, from which he retired; and although as yet only thirty-five years old, he had achieved enough for fame, and risen high enough for ambition. But after an intermission of twelve peaceful years, events again summoned him to the field. They arose also in Persia, the country with which, next to his own, he was most closely connected. Futteh Ali Shah, the sovereign of Persia, had died; his eldest son, Abbas, the patron and friend of Bethune, had also died during his father's lifetime; and the throne of Persia had now devolved on Mahomed-Mirza, the son of Abbas-Mirza, and grandson of the late Shah of Persia. But in the East nothing is more precarious

than the right of succession through royal hereditary descent, and a pretender to the Persian throne appeared in the person of Zulli Sultan, the younger brother of Abbas, and uncle of the rightful heir, who levied an army and proclaimed war to make his title good. In this emergency Mahomed appealed to England, which he was not likely to do in vain, as the security of our rule in India was incompatible with a usurpation and civil war in Persia; and at the same time Bethune repaired to London, and offered his services to government for the suppression of those Persian disturbances. It was at once seen that the right man had voluntarily appeared at the critical moment, and in 1834 he was sent to Persia, with the local rank of colonel in Asia, and the office of accredited agent of the British government.

Great was the delight of the adherents of the rightful prince at the arrival of Bethune in their country once more. The stories of his former chivalrous deeds were still their favourite themes, and they triumphed in the assured success of their cause, now that he had reappeared to lead them onward. The rebels were proportionably dismayed, and to get rid of such a terrible enemy, the usurper, Zulli Sultan, offered a reward of four thousand tomanes to any one who would bring him this son of Shitan's head. A still more serious difficulty to the royal cause appeared in the reluctance of those British officers who possessed the claim of seniority of service to place themselves under the command of Colonel Bethune; but when he offered to take an inferior position, and serve under an older officer, as a temporary arrangement until the question should be settled by the authorities at home, they were shamed by such noble disinterested moderation, and unanimously recognized his right to command. High as had been the expectations of the Persians at his arrival, Bethune's proceedings during the short campaign which followed amply fulfilled them. With the advanced guard of the shah's army, which he commanded, he resolved to fall upon the rebels by surprise; but for this, such a swift and secret march was necessary as the clumsy armies of the East can seldom accomplish. But he did accomplish it, although for the purpose he was described as "dragging the army after him." The result was worth the effort, for "he came, saw, and conquered"—fell upon the rebels at unawares, scattered them by his fierce unexpected onset, and conclusively extinguished the rebellion by making Zulli Sultan prisoner. By this decisive victory, won in December, 1834, the way was opened to the young shah for a successful entrance into his capital of Teheran, who on his part was not slack to acknowledge the services of the conqueror. He heaped magnificent titles and gold medals upon Bethune, created him general and master-general of the artillery, and commanded that his worth and good services should be inscribed in the books of the records of the kings of Persia. One of these distinctions was too remarkable in oriental eyes to be passed over. He desired Bethune to select the best steed in the royal stable; and when this was done, the shah, after gracing the noble animal by riding on it into Teheran, presented it to the British commander. The royal attendants and nobles remonstrated with the shah, and besought him not to deprive the royal stud of such a jewel; but to them he answered, that he would rather lose fifty such horses, if such could be found, than disappoint his gallant champion. Nor was our government remiss in acknowledging the value of Bethune's services in Persia. He was in 1835 promoted to the local rank of major-general in his majesty's army in Asia, and on the 7th of March, 1836, created a baronet by

patent. But no titles could aggrandize him in the eyes of the Persians after this last campaign, in which he had outdone all his former achievements, and the public feeling is thus recorded in a private letter at the time from Persia, which was published in the *United Service Gazette*: "Great is the name of Lindesay in this country, and great ought it to be, for certainly he was just formed for service in Persia in troubled times like these. The confidence the soldiers have in him is quite wonderful, and all classes talk of him as if there never had appeared on earth before so irresistible a conqueror."

Having seen the disturbances of Persia composed, and the rightful heir established on the throne, Sir Henry Bethune, in September, 1835, returned to Scotland, and devoted himself to the peaceful life and duties of a country gentleman. In 1850, however, his health having failed, it was hoped that a visit to Persia and the influence of its climate might renovate his sinking constitution, and restore him to his wonted activity. Thither accordingly the sick man went; and the Persians who had seen him in the days of his grandeur, when his appearance and deeds were the realization of romance, now looked with sympathizing sorrow upon the gigantic ruin of him who had been their cherished hero and benefactor, and who now seemed to have returned for the sole purpose of dying among them. This foreboding was realized, for General Bethune died at Tabreez on the 19th of February, 1851, and the event was bewailed by the Persians as a national calamity. Sir Henry at his death left three sons and five daughters, and was succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son, Sir John Trotter Bethune.

BETHUNE, JOHN. This poet and miscellaneous writer, the younger brother of Alexander Bethune, of whom we have already given a notice, was born at the Mount, in the parish of Monimail, Fifeshire, during the summer of 1810. As the poverty of his parents had restricted the education of Alexander to four or five months of school attendance, that of John was limited to a single day, after which he never was at school again. He was taught, however, to read by his mother, and was initiated into writing and arithmetic by his elder brother Alexander, who was his teacher in boyhood, and guardian and counsellor in more advanced years. His first employment was that of a cowherd, in which he was employed for several years; but at the age of twelve he was obliged to join his brother in the toilsome work of breaking stones on the turnpike-road. Under the desire of bettering his condition, and by the advice of a comrade, he apprenticed himself early in 1824 to a country weaver, and so speedily acquired dexterity in the trade, that at the end of the first year he found that he could earn fifteen shillings a week. This was much better than stone-breaking, and with the hope of being able to assist his aged parents, he resolved to follow weaving as his future craft, for which purpose he purchased a loom in 1825, and commenced in earnest, with his brother Alexander for his apprentice. But the national mercantile depression which followed so utterly disappointed his calculations, that his earnings were soon reduced to six shillings weekly, and finding that he could not get on at this rate, he returned to his old occupation as an out-door labourer.

Amidst all these hardships and privations of boyhood and youth, John Bethune had also to encounter the evils attendant upon a delicate constitution, and successive periods of weak health repeatedly suspended his labour in the fields. It was during these

intervals that he consoled himself with reading and composition, and under this harsh apprenticeship his intellectual qualities were called forth and ripened for action. As might be expected also, his poetical talents obtained the preference: in such lonely exercises, he found the easiest mode in which his intellect could be tasked, and the fittest vent for his emotions; and before he had completed his nineteenth year, he had composed upwards of twenty poetical pieces of considerable length, and all of them pervaded by considerable beauty both of sentiment and language. These attempts however, by which, in the course of time, he might make himself independent of bodily toil, for which he found himself unfitted, were for several years prosecuted by stealth, as if they were an offence denounced by every literary and intellectual tribunal. It speaks much for the wonderful modesty of the young poet, that he could so carefully withhold the knowledge of such compositions from his friends, and be content with the solitary satisfaction of stolen waters, and bread eaten in secret. None but his brother and his parents knew how these lonely hours were employed. "Up to the latter part of 1835," Alexander Bethune states in the memoir of his brother, "the whole of his writing had been prosecuted as stealthily as if it had been a crime punishable by law. There being but one apartment in the house, it was his custom to write by the fire, with an old copy-book, upon which his paper lay, resting on his knee, and this, through life, was his only writing-desk. On the table, which was within reach, an old newspaper was kept continually lying, and as soon as the footsteps of any one were heard approaching the door, copy-book, pens, and inkstand were thrust under the covering, and before the visitor came in, he had, in general, a book in his hand, and appeared to have been reading."

Since October, 1829, John Bethune had been employed as a day-labourer on the grounds of Inchrye, in the neighbourhood of his birth-place; but in 1835, on the death of the overseer, he was appointed his successor. The emoluments of this office considerably exceeded anything he had formerly enjoyed, for its salary was £26 a year, with the right of a cow's pasturage. To this new situation he gladly betook himself, with his brother Alexander as his assistant; but their satisfaction was short-lived, for the estate of Inchrye soon changed owners, which was followed by a change of office-bearers. Under these circumstances, the brothers were obliged to leave their snug appointment; and, to add to their misfortunes, the new landlord required the little cottage at Lochend, in which they had located their aged parents. Being thus altogether homeless John and Alexander stoutly resolved to erect a house for themselves, and this they did chiefly with their own hands, at Mount Pleasant, near Newburgh; and here the bold-hearted intellectual peasants, after having tried various kinds of hand-labour in vain, resolved to make literature their principal resource. The career of the elder in this department has been already stated, so that we shall confine ourselves to that of John. He contributed to the *Scottish Christian Herald*, *Wilson's Tales of the Borders*, and other serials, and supplied five pieces to his brother's *Tales and Sketches of the Scottish Peasantry*. He also jointly wrote with Alexander the *Lectures on Practical Economy*, designed to improve the homes and habits of the poor, and which was commended by the press, although the work did not become popular. He had thus tried the experiment of a literary life, and so far as he had gone it had proved a failure. But still the battle was not lost. His attempts, which were

wonderful for his education and circumstances, had obtained honourable recognition where such recognition could be available; he was not only young to this new life, but also young in years; and a few more attempts would have shown the qualities he possessed, and established his reputation as a worthy candidate for literary fame. It was too late, however, to attempt the trial anew. Deep mortification at the failure of the work on *Practical Economy* preying on a constitution already broken, brought on pulmonary consumption, and he died at Mount Pleasant on the 1st of September, 1839, in the thirtieth year of his age.

Thus passed away an obscurely born and hard-handed son of toil, who, without the training of college or school, and with few of even the ordinary opportunities of self-improvement, became a vigorous original prose writer, and a poet of no ordinary mark. While his writings in either capacity were stamped with the impress of true genius, they also showed much depth of reflection, ennobled by the spirit of genuine devotional piety. And such also was his daily life, simple, pure, and meditative, showing a man far above the ordinary mark, and isolated from the sphere in which he lived. His poems, by which he was so little known while he lived, but which will constitute his best commemoration, were published by his brother Alexander, with a memoir of their author, in 1840; and from the profits of the second edition, a sufficient sum was realized to erect a monument over the grave of John Bethune in the churchyard of the village of Abdie.

BINNING, HUGH, an extraordinary instance of precocious learning and genius, was the son of John Binning of Dalvennan, a landed gentleman of Ayrshire. He appears to have been born about the year 1627. In his earliest years he outstripped all his seniors in the acquisition of Latin. At Glasgow College, which he entered in his fourteenth year, he distinguished himself very highly in philosophy. What was to others only gained by hard study, seemed to be intuitively known by Binning. After taking the degree of Master of Arts, he began to study for the church. When Mr. James Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Stair, vacated the chair of philosophy at Glasgow, Binning, though not yet nineteen, stood a competitor with some men of graver years and very respectable acquirements, and gained the object of his ambition by the pure force of merit. Though unprepared for entering upon his duties, no deficiency was remarked. He was one of the first in Scotland to reform philosophy from the barbarous jargon of the schools. While fulfilling the duties of his chair in the most satisfactory manner, he continued his study of theology, and a vacancy occurring in the church of Govan, near Glasgow, he received a call to be its minister. Here he married Barbara Simpson, the daughter of a Presbyterian clergyman in Ireland. As a preacher, Mr. Binning's fame was very great: his knowledge was extensive, and there was a fervour in his eloquence which bore away the hearts of his congregation, as it were, to heaven. At the division of the church into resolutions and protesters, he took the latter and more zealous side, but yet was too full of virtuous and benevolent feeling to be a violent partisan. In order to heal the difference as much as possible, he wrote a treatise on Christian love. When Oliver Cromwell came to Glasgow, he caused a dispute to be held between his own Independent clergymen and the Scottish Presbyterian ministers. Binning having nonplussed his opponents, Cromwell asked the name of "that bold young man." On being told

that he was called Mr. Hugh Binning, the sectarian general said, "He hath bound well, indeed, but" (clapping his hand upon his sword) "this will loose all again." This excellent young preacher died of consumption, 1653, in his twenty-sixth year, leaving behind him a reputation for piety, virtue, and learning, such as has rarely been attained by any individual under that age. Besides his treatise on Christian love, he wrote many miscellaneous pieces of a pious nature, which were published in 1732, in one volume quarto. A selection from these, under the title of *Evangelical Beauties of Hugh Binning*, appeared in 1829, with a memoir of the author by the Rev. John Brown of Whitburn.

BISSAT, OR BISSART, PETER, professor of the canon law in the university of Bononia, was born in Fife in the reign of James V., being a descendant of Thomas Bissat, or Bissart, who was Earl of Fife in the reign of David II. He received instructions in grammar, philosophy, and the laws at the university of St. Andrews, and afterwards perfected his education at that of Paris. Having then travelled into Italy, he was honoured by the university of Bononia with the degree of Doctor of Laws, and shortly after became professor of the canon law in that seminary, in which situation he continued for several years "with great applause."

Bissat appears to have been a man of general accomplishment—a poet, an orator, and a philosopher; but his forte lay in the canon law. His various writings were published at Venice in 1565, in quarto, under the title *Patricii Bissarti Opera Omnia*, viz. *Poemata, Orationes, Lectiones Ferales, et Liber de Irregularitate*. The last of these compositions was a commentary on that part of the canon law which gives the reasons assigned by the Church of Rome for excluding certain laymen from the clerical office.¹ Bissat died in the latter part of the year 1568.

BISSET, CHARLES, an ingenious physician and

¹ Of these, as detailed by Bissat, an abstract may be interesting to the British reader, now happily so little familiar with the systems of the Catholic church. The primitive Christians, in admitting the clergy, observed exactly the rules laid down by St. Paul in the first epistle to Timothy. Yet sometimes, as we learn from St. Cyprian, at the pressing instance of the people, persons of noted merit, who refused through humility, were compelled to enter. By the canons, however, a man required to be a deacon before he could be a priest, and a priest before he could be a bishop. It was a general principle of the church, that the clergy should be chosen from the most holy of the laity, and, therefore, all liable to any reproach in their lives and conversations were excluded. Agreeably to this principle, which agreed with the injunction of St. Paul, that they should be blameless and without reproach, the first council of Nice excluded all those, specifically, who, after baptism, had been guilty of any sort of crime, such as heresy, homicide, or adultery; nor was penance any palliative, seeing that the memory of the offence always remained; while it was to be expected that those whose lives were without stain should be preferred to those who had fallen. Thus all persons who had performed penance were excluded. Those also were deemed *irregular*, and not entitled to admittance, who had killed any person, by accident or in self-defence, or who had borne arms even in a just war; who had twice married, or married a widow; or who engaged much in worldly affairs; all of which circumstances were held as derogating in some degree from the necessary purity of the individual. The only other moral disqualification was ignorance. The physical disqualifications were almost equally numerous. All deaf, dumb, or blind persons were excluded, as unable to perform their functions in a proper manner. All persons who were lame, or had any deformity calculated to create an aversion in the people, were declared unfit for orders. Madness and self-mutilation were disqualifications. All persons born out of wedlock were excluded, because, however innocent the individual in his own person, the associations which the sight of them was calculated to awaken were not favourable to virtue. Slaves, servants, children, and monastic clergy without the consent of their superiors, were excluded.

writer on fortification, was born at Glenalbert, near Dunkeld, in the year 1717. It is only known, regarding his parentage, that his father was a lawyer of some eminence, and a distinguished Latinist. After a course of medical studies at Edinburgh, he was appointed, in 1740, second surgeon of the military hospital in Jamaica, and spent several years in the West India Islands, and in Admiral Vernon's fleet, in order to become acquainted with the diseases of the torrid zone. But, while thus seeking to avert disease from others, Dr. Bisset became himself liable to its ravages. Having, in 1745, contracted ill health at Greenwich in Jamaica, he was obliged to resign his situation as second surgeon, in order to return to Britain. In May, 1746, he purchased an ensigncy in the 42d (Highland) regiment, then commanded by Lord John Murray. By this transition his attention was turned from the medical to the military profession, and fortification became his favourite study. After a fruitless descent on the coast of Brittany in September, 1748, and passing a winter at Limerick in Ireland, the regiment was, in the beginning of next campaign, brought into action at Sandberg, near Hulst, in Dutch Flanders, where one Dutch and two English regiments suffered very severely. Here Dr. Bisset employed himself in drawing a sketch of the enemy's approaches, and some time after, in another of Bergen-op-Zoom, with the permanent lines, the environs, and the enemy's first parallel; which were presented by his colonel to the Duke of Cumberland, the commander-in-chief. The duke was so much pleased with these specimens of Dr. Bisset's military knowledge, that he ordered him to attend the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, and give due attention daily to the progress of both the attack and the defence, in order to form a journal of the whole proceedings. This distinguished duty Dr. Bisset undertook with a modest reluctance, the result rather of inexperience than of any consciousness of want of knowledge. The result, however, was highly honourable to him. His journals, duly illustrated with plans, were daily delivered to Lord John Murray, who forwarded them every second or third day to the duke, who was then at Maestricht, at the head of the allied army, observing the motions of the French army under Marshal Saxe. His royal highness was pleased to express his approbation, by recommending Dr. Bisset to the Duke of Montagu, then master-general of the ordnance, who honoured him with a warrant as engineer extraordinary to the brigade of engineers; he was at the same time promoted to a lieutenancy in the army. At the end of the war, Bisset being placed on half-pay, he had full leisure to pursue his studies in fortification, and also to visit the principal specimens of the art upon the Continent. The result was his *Essay on the Theory and Construction of Fortifications*, which appeared in 1751, in 8vo.

His attention being now disengaged from this pursuit, he resumed his original profession, and, for the sake of a healthy air, which was necessary to his weakly constitution, retired to practise at the village of Skelton, in Cleveland, Yorkshire, where he spent the remainder of his life. In 1755, when the Seven Years' war was impending, he published a *Treatise on the Scurvy, with Remarks on the Cure of Scorbutic Ulcers*, which he dedicated to Viscount Anson and the other lords of the admiralty. In 1762 appeared his *Essay on the Medical Constitution of Great Britain*, which he inscribed to his friend Sir John Pringle. In this work he shows the effects of the change of weather, and of the seasons, on the diseases of Great Britain; and at the conclusion is an interesting paper on the virtues of the herb bear's-foot in the cure of

worms. In 1765 the university of St. Andrews conferred upon him the degree of M.D. In 1766 he published, at Newcastle, a volume of *Medical Essays and Observations*, in which are upwards of twenty papers on the climate and diseases of the West Indies, which his experience in that country had enabled him to illustrate in a most satisfactory manner; besides some others on the chronic diseases of Great Britain, particularly the whooping-cough and the scorbutic itch, as well as many chirurgical remarks, which show a mind bent on the improvement of his profession. A few years before his death he deposited in the library of the infirmary at Leeds a manuscript of medical observations, in octavo, and extending to nearly seven hundred pages; for which the physicians of that institution honoured him with a formal vote of thanks. Dr. Bisset also presented a manuscript treatise on fortification to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.), which was deposited in his royal highness's private library. These, with a small published treatise on naval tactics, and a few political papers, constituted the whole of the intellectual exertions of this distinguished man; who died at Knayton, near Thirsk, in May, 1791, aged seventy-five years.

BLACK, JOHN. This eccentric genius and distinguished London journalist was born near Dunse, Berwickshire, in 1783. He was of very lowly parentage, and to add to the difficulty of attaining eminence under such circumstances, he lost his father in infancy, and his mother when he was only twelve years of age. He gave, however, such early indications of talent and aptitude for learning, that his mother, like a true Scottish dame of the lower orders, hoped that her boy might at a future day "wag his pow in a pu'pit," and had encouraged his dawning genius by every means in her power. Black was at an early age sent to the parish school at Dunse, which was four miles distant, and these eight miles in going and returning the boy trudged daily on foot—a practice that laid the foundation of those peripatetic habits which lasted with him through life. Being unable, after the death of his mother, to perfect his education so as to qualify himself for realizing her hopes, he was obliged, at the age of fourteen, to enter a factor's office in Dunse, as an errand-boy; but after staying long enough in this situation to discover that he was fit for something better, he went in his eighteenth year to Edinburgh, and obtained employment at a stationer's. Still migrating upward, he became successively a clerk in two, if not three, offices of writers to the signet in Edinburgh. It was evident, however, from his studies that these changes were only steps to a different end; for by self-teaching he made himself master of Latin and Greek, and not content with classical learning, he acquired the German language from an Austrian musician belonging to the Edinburgh theatre, and Italian from another foreign musician, teaching them the English language in return. He also acquired French so as to read it with tolerable ease, but without being able to converse in it with sufficient correctness.

After these acquirements, Black's growing ambition carried him to London, the proper sphere where he could turn them to the best account. He was now twenty-seven years old when he set out on this journey, which was performed solely on foot, and he arrived in the great metropolis with only three halfpence in his pocket. It was as hopeful a foundation for a London fortune as the most enterprising Scotsman could desire. It was well for Black that he also brought letters of introduction to

Mr. Perry, the proprietor and editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, one of these being from Mr. Gibson, afterwards Sir James Gibson-Craig. Mr. Perry, an admirable judge of such applicants, was pleased with the bold active spirit and talents of the Scottish candidate, and employed him forthwith upon his paper. Here he was not only at home, but among the honoured, for the *Morning Chronicle* had lately given employment to John Campbell, afterwards Lord-chancellor of England, and to Mr. (afterwards Serjeant) Spankie; while the reporters of the paper at the time of Black's arrival and afterwards, were chiefly Scotch and Irish young men of high talent and promise. His employment as a member of this staff was to translate the foreign journals, and to take his "turn" as a reporter in the gallery of the parliament house. Black soon obtained the reputation of being a very rapid reporter; but Mr. Proby, the managing conductor under Mr. Perry, used to declare, that his chief merit consisted in the wonderful speed with which he moved from the House of Commons to the office in the Strand. At this last place, also, Black's eccentricities were still more remarkable than his light-heeled speed. He kept the reporters' room in a ferment by loud radical declamations and debates upon the subject before the house, while the overseer was worried by these delays, which prevented the "copy" from being delivered until the last moment. In consequence of these peculiarities, Black was called by his compeers the "Professor of Logic," and the "Flying Scotchman." Finding in the earlier part of his career in London that something more than reporting in a newspaper was necessary for his subsistence, he also laid himself out for occupation among the booksellers, not however in works of original authorship, but as a translator. His translations were the following:—*Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, &c., from the French of A. de Humboldt, 4 vols. 8vo, 1811–12; *Travels through Norway and Lapland*, from the German of Leopold, with notes, and a life of the author, by Professor Jamieson, 4to, 1813; *Memoirs of Goldoni, the Celebrated Italian Dramatist*, written by himself, from the French, 2 vols. 8vo, 1813; and a *Course of Lectures on the Dramatic Arts and Literature*, translated from the German of Schlegel, 2 vols. 8vo, 1815.

The industry, perseverance, and talent of Mr. Black were crowned with success, when, two years before Mr. Perry's death (which occurred in 1821), he was appointed principal editor of the *Morning Chronicle*. So well also was his reputation established, that he held this office in permanence, so that when the paper was sold by Mr. Perry's executors in 1823, Mr. Black was continued sole editor, and such was also the case when it was re-sold in 1834. The whole period of his editorship comprised nearly a quarter of a century, and during that time, however seldom he may have appeared in the streets of the political world, or been recognized by the moving crowds, he was still a power in the state that made himself felt by all parties alike, and next to the Jupiter Tonans of the *Times* he occupied the highest place in political journalism. His character while holding this elevated position was enough to disarm envy, and secure for him the general esteem. "He was necessarily brought," says his biographer, "into social and political intercourse, during that time, with some of the principal men of his day. And it is but doing scanty justice to his memory to say, that no one knew him who did not love him for the guilelessness of his disposition; and admire him, not only for the vast range of his learning, but for his sterling and fearless honesty of purpose, and his

sincere, earnest, and successful advocacy of liberal principles."

The personal and domestic habits of Mr. Black, even in London and while editor of such a journal, were not only characterized by the simplicity of his early life, but by an eccentricity in which few but himself would have ventured to indulge. Instead of having a separate mansion of his own, where he could receive his titled friends, or play the courteous patron before admiring dependants, he dwelt at his workshop, occupying the higher story of the office of the *Morning Chronicle*, in Norfolk Street, Strand. He was twice married, but his first marriage was under circumstances of which little is known. The second Mrs. Black was Miss Cromack, sister of the artist of that name, residing in Newman Street, Oxford Street, where Black was a temporary lodger. This person is described as a woman of remarkable appearance, in person something like Meg Merrilies in the tale of *Guy Rannering*. The style of living followed by the pair in the garrets of Norfolk Street was such as to amaze strangers, and amuse their acquaintances. The walls of the rooms were wainscotted with books, the floors were thickly carpeted or rather paved with the same commodities, and between the piles and pyramids it was a task of difficulty for the visitor to thread his way. Even in the bed-room, the sides of the bed itself were blocked up with such stockades of volumes, that to enter it laterally was impossible, and the pair were obliged to effect a lodgment by creeping in at one end of it. And these books were not to be moved, or dusted by any hand but his own. In his walks Black's constant attendant was a large Newfoundland dog, named Cato, whom he used to tug along from one bookstall to another, or to run with to and from Blackheath and London at all hours of the night.

In the enumeration of Mr. Black's literary friends who contributed articles and communications to the *Morning Chronicle*, we have an interesting peep behind the curtain of political journalism, and can mark how an influential London newspaper is supported and conducted. The following quotation on this subject would be too long, were it not for the information which it gives to the uninitiated, on which account we quote it almost entire:—

"The late Duke of Sussex was an active purveyor for him [Mr. Black] during the illness of George III. and the regency. His other frequent writers were Sheridan, Adair, D. Kinnaird, General Palmer, Mr. E. Dubois, the Rev. Mr. Colton, Lord Holland (very often), the late John Allan, Porson, Jekyll, 'Tommy Hill,' Horace Smith, and other worthies now no more. To these especially, and as more eminent political writers, may be added the names of Albany Fonblanque, James Mill, David Ricardo, C. P. Thomson (afterwards Lord Sydenham), Mr. McCulloch (one of his most steady and attached friends), and Mr. Senior. These gentlemen wrote chiefly on subjects of political economy. Mr. Chadwick, of course, provided Mr. Black with ample material on the poor-laws. Mr. Francis Place, though a Charing-cross tailor, supplied Mr. Black, as also did Mr. Hume, with invaluable material in the discussion of the repeal and alteration of the combination laws, and the export of machinery, in 1824–5. Many members of the Upper House also furnished him with contributions, especially the 'Jockey of Norfolk'—called the first Protestant duke, the late Lords Erskine, Moira, Lauderdale, Durham, and Essex. Among the deceased commoners we have omitted honourable mention of the late Charles Buller, who in 1830, then a student in Mr. Coulson's

chambers, first used his pen for Mr. Black in lively and brief articles. The supposed ghost of Junius also haunted the editor's room. Sir Philip Francis was the author of the 'Historical Questions' which appeared in the *Chronicle*; and Proby, the sub-editor, was struck, by the similitude of the hand-writing to the facsimiles of the letters of Junius in the *Public Ledger*. Sir Philip long occasionally communicated both with Mr. Perry and Mr. Black. . . . Lord Brougham's hand-writing was well known during the queen's trial, and for fully a quarter of a century afterwards. The Right Hon. Edmund Ellice, the member for Coventry, was, years since, a frequent and valued correspondent. . . . Mr. Joseph Parkes was a constant contributor from 1824 to later years; and we believe that gentleman penned in Birmingham most of the leading articles in the *Chronicle* on tithes, during the public agitation of that question and the commutation act. The same hand kept up a constant cannonade in Black's leaders on municipal, and parliamentary, and law reform, preceding 1831, and subsequently to the later settlement of those questions. Colonel Thompson had also his *entrée* to Black's private room, and early launched the corn-law question, years before the Manchester League and Sir Robert Peel 'settled' it. Old Colonel Jones, in the *Morning Chronicle*, as well as in the *Times*, in 1830, 31, and 32, discharged his rifle-shots into the ranks of the 'corruptionists' of that day. Tom Moore deposited with Black occasional prose leaders on Irish party subjects. He also contributed poetry both to the *Chronicle* and the *Times*. Black's old friend and schoolfellow, Mr. Thomas Young, now living, was another invaluable friend of both journals, especially in the crisis of the reform acts, writing numerous articles for the *Chronicle*; and also keeping the press *au courant* in such information as Lord Melbourne (to whom Mr. Young was then private secretary) considered important for the right direction of public opinion. Sir Robert Peel, with all his prudery, did not think it inconsistent with his dignity to send a 'communication' now and then, with 'Sir Robert Peel's compliments.' He also had communications from Windsor in subsequent reigns. George III. was more than suspected by Mr. Black of the perpetration of a leading article, the subject being himself; but the proof in this case was presumptive, not positive, though quite satisfactory to Mr. Black. Nor was Black's useful connection confined only to noblemen and gentlemen. He had a powerful corps of female contributors, among whom were the late Miss Edgeworth, and Mrs. Marcet, Lady Caroline Lamb, and, subsequently, a living lady of singular talent and force of mind, wife of an eminent historian."

In this detail of the gratuitous assistants of the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, the reader can easily detect the secret of the power of a London newspaper. While its literary character occupies so high a place, the correctness and importance of its political intelligence make it the observatory by which the timepieces of public opinion are regulated. While the contributors, however, can preserve this incognito with the public, they cannot thus conceal themselves from the editor, and being the possessor of such dangerous knowledge, his character must be well established for integrity, prudence, and secrecy, before such a power can be intrusted to his hands. But this character Mr. Black possessed in an eminent degree. While his political acquaintanceship was so extensive, and while so many compromising articles were confided to his keeping, both by British and Irish statesmen

and literary celebrities, in every case their secret was kept with inviolable fidelity. Nor was his sagacity in discovering youthful talent, and his readiness to cherish and bring it forward, inferior to his other qualities; and many a young writer whose early attempts he encouraged and liberally rewarded, found his patronage their first stepping-stone to fortune and fame. Thus, among others, it was with the celebrated Charles Dickens, who in his youth was a reporter to the *Morning Chronicle*, while Black was its editor. In a period of political turmoil, while public resentments are hot, and the language of journalism unmitigated, it is almost impossible for the editor of a great leading organ of public opinion to hold onward in his course unchecked; and hostile invitations will occasionally be sent to him requiring both wisdom and self-denial to refuse. Such was the case with Black, who on two occasions was "called out," in one instance by a professional colleague, to whom he had expressed certain political opinions too strongly, and in the other by Mr. Roebuck, who supposed Black to be author of an article in the *Chronicle*, which, however, he did not write. Happily both "affairs of honour," as they are called, terminated bloodlessly, and the Gothic custom has now fallen into contempt.

Of the many statesmen with whom Mr. Black's position brought him into contact, one was Lord Melbourne, while he held the office of premier, who took great delight in the varied learning, extensive information, and simplicity, bluntness, and good-nature of the editor. In consequence of their mutual esteem, they were enabled at their interviews to unbend from the cares of politics, and find refuge in the literature of the past age, or general chat upon the living world around them. At one of these meetings Lord Melbourne said abruptly, "Mr. Black, you are the only person who comes to see me, who forgets who I am." Black stared, and the other added, "You forget that I am prime minister." The editor was about to offer an apology, when the jaunty easy-minded premier continued, "Everybody else takes especial care to remember it; but I wish they would forget it; for they only remember it to ask me for places and favours. Now, Mr. Black, you never ask me for anything, and I wish you would; for, seriously, I should be most happy to do anything in my power to serve you." "I am truly obliged," said Black, "but I don't want anything: I am editor of the *Morning Chronicle*; I like my business, and I live happily on my income." "Then by G— I envy you," cried his lordship, "and you're the only man I ever did."

Mr. Black retired from the management of the *Morning Chronicle* in 1844, "under circumstances," adds his biographer, "which excited some regret among the liberal party, but on which it is not necessary for us to dwell." This obliged him to part with his library, a large and valuable collection, for he had been, through the greater part of his life, an enthusiastic book-hunter—and with the proceeds, added to a sum contributed by the proprietors of the *Chronicle*, and other sums collected for him among the leaders of the liberal party, he purchased for himself a small annuity, which was sufficient for all his simple wants. He also tenanted a cottage at Birling, in Kent, which he had, with a piece of ground to cultivate, from one of his friends at a merely nominal rent, and here he passed the remaining years of his life in rural occupations and contemplation, unmoved by the roar of those political elements amidst which he had dwelt so long. Here, also, he finally sickened, and here he died in June, 1855.

BLACK, JOSEPH, M.D., "the illustrious Nestor (as he has been termed by Lavoisier) of the chemical revolution,"—was not a native of Scotland, having been born on the banks of the Garonne, in France; but as his father was of Scottish extraction, while his mother was a native of that country, and as Scotland, further, was the scene not only of the better part of his life, but of all those exertions in science which will transmit his name to posterity, it seems proper that he should obtain a place in this work, even at the expense of a slight violation of its leading principle.

John Black, the father of the illustrious subject of this memoir, was a native of Belfast, descended, as already mentioned, from a Scottish family, which had for some time been settled there. For the purpose of carrying on the profession of a wine merchant, he resided chiefly at Bordeaux, where he married a daughter of Mr. Robert Gordon of Hillhead in Aberdeenshire, a gentleman who also resided at Bordeaux, and was engaged in the same trade. The sister of Mrs. Black was mother to Mr. Russel, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, and their aunt was mother to Dr. Adam Ferguson, professor of moral philosophy in the same college, and author of the *History of the Roman Republic*. While Mr. John Black resided at Bordeaux he was honoured with the friendship of Montesquieu, who was president of the parliament or court of justice in that province. The regard which Montesquieu entertained for Mr. Black was testified in the warmest terms when the latter was proposing to return to his native country. "I cannot," said he on that occasion, "be reconciled to the thoughts of your leaving Bordeaux. I lose the most agreeable pleasure I had, that of seeing you often, and forgetting myself with you."

Dr. Black was born in the year 1728. In 1740, a few years before his father retired from business, he was sent home, in order to have the education of a British subject. After spending some time at the schools of Belfast, he was sent, in 1746, to complete his studies at the college of Glasgow. Here his attention became decidedly fixed upon physical science; inasmuch that, on being desired to select a profession, he chose that of medicine, on account of its allowing the greatest scope for such studies. It was about this time that Dr. Cullen had been appointed lecturer on chemistry in Glasgow university. Hitherto this science had been only treated as a curious, and, in some respects, a useless art. This great man, conscious of his own strength, and taking a wide and comprehensive view, saw the unoccupied field of philosophical chemistry open before him. He was satisfied that it was susceptible of great improvement, by means of liberal inquiry and rational investigation. It was perhaps the good fortune of Dr. Black in falling under such a master, that gave his mind a peculiar bent in favour of this department of physical science. His previous acquirements and extraordinary aptitude speedily became known to Dr. Cullen, who was at all times remarkable for the personal attentions he paid to his pupils. Black became a valuable assistant to Dr. Cullen in his chemical operations, and his experiments were sometimes publicly adduced in the lecture, as a sufficient authority for various new facts. Thus commenced a friendship between two great men, which was never afterwards interrupted until their death, and which was of considerable service to mankind.

In 1751 Black was sent to Edinburgh to complete the course of his medical studies. At this time the mode of action of lithotriptic medicines, but particularly lime-water, in alleviating the pains of stone

and gravel, divided the opinions of professors and practitioners. This subject attracted the attention of Black; and it appears from some of his memorandums that he at first held the opinion that the causticity of alkalies was owing to the igneous matter which they derive from quicklime. Having prosecuted his experiments on magnesia, the grand secret of nature, which for ever will be associated with his name, was laid open to him. He perceived that the acrimony of these substances was not owing to their combination with igneous particles; that it was their peculiar property; and that they lost this property, and became mild, by combining with a certain portion of air, to which he gave the name of **FIXED AIR**, because it was fixed or become solid in the substances into the composition of which it entered. He discovered, for instance, that a cubic inch of marble consisted of half its weight of pure lime, and a quantity of air equal to six gallons measure. This grand discovery, which forms one of the most important eras of chemical science, was the subject of his inaugural essay on obtaining his degree as Doctor of Medicine; and the reputation it acquired for him was the means, in 1756, of placing him in the chair of chemistry at Glasgow, then vacated by Dr. Cullen, who was transferred to the same chair in the college of Edinburgh. The theory of fixed air (now termed by chemists carbonic acid gas) was speedily propagated on the Continent, where at this time chemistry was occupying the attention of many great men. In Germany, Dr. Black's opinions, though placed on the firmest basis by experiments, met with much opposition, which, it appears, gave him an uneasiness not to have been expected from his philosophical, and rather indolent, character. In France, however, he was very differently treated. Lavoisier, in sending him a copy of his treatise on respiration, thus expressed himself: "It is but just you should be one of the first to receive information of the progress made in a career which you yourself have opened, and in which all of us here consider ourselves your disciples." To this Black replied, with a just admiration of what the French chemists were doing, and without reference to any merit of his own.

On his assuming the chair of chemistry at Glasgow, that of anatomy was also imposed upon him; but this latter he soon exchanged for that of medicine, for which, it would appear, he was better qualified. He gave great satisfaction by the perspicuity and simplicity, the caution and moderation, which he discovered in his medical lectures. At the same time, he became a favourite practitioner in the city, where his engaging appearance and manners, and the benevolent and unaffected interest which he took in all the cases intrusted to his care, rendered him a most welcome visitor in every family. His principal friend at Glasgow was his associate Dr. Adam Smith, professor of moral philosophy, with whom he had become intimate when attending the university as a student. A peculiar simplicity and sensibility, an incorruptible integrity, the strictest delicacy and correctness of manners, marked the character of each of the philosophers, and firmly bound them in the closest union.

"It seems to have been between the years 1759 and 1763¹ that his speculations concerning **HEAT**, which had long occupied his thoughts, were brought to maturity. And when it is considered by what simple experiments, by what familiar observations, Dr. Black illustrated the laws of fluidity and evaporation, it appears wonderful that they had not long

¹ The following most interesting account of one of the principal discoveries in modern science is from a biographical memoir, prefixed by Professor Robison to Dr. Black's Lectures.

before been observed and demonstrated. They are, however, less obvious than might at first sight be imagined, and to have a distinct and clear conception of those seemingly simple processes of nature required consideration and reflection. If a piece of wood, a piece of lead, and a piece of ice are placed in a temperature much inferior to that of the body, and if we touch the piece of wood with the hand, it feels cold; if we touch the piece of lead, it feels colder still; but the piece of ice feels colder than either. Now, the first suggestion of sense is, that we receive cold from the wood; that we receive more from the lead, and most of all from the ice; and that the ice continues to be a source of cold till the whole be melted. But an inference precisely the contrary to all this is made by him whose attention and reflection has been occupied with this subject. He infers that the wood takes a little heat from the hand, but is soon heated so much as to take no more. The lead takes more heat before it be as much satiated; and the ice continues to feel equally cold, and to carry off heat as fast as in the first moment till the whole be melted. This, then, was the inference made by Dr. Black.

"Boerhaave has recorded an interesting observation by Fahrenheit, namely, that water would sometimes grow considerably colder than melting snow without freezing, and would freeze in a moment when shaken or disturbed, and in the act of freezing give out many degrees of heat. Founded on this observation, it appears that Dr. Black entertained some vague notion or conjecture that the heat which was received by the ice during its conversion into water was not lost, but was still contained in the water. And he hoped to verify this conjecture by making a comparison of the time required to raise a pound of water one degree in its temperature, with the time required to melt a pound of ice, both being supposed to receive the heat equally fast. And that he might ascertain how much heat was extricated during congelation, he thought of comparing the time required to depress the temperature of a pound of water one degree with the time required for freezing it entirely. The plan of this series of experiments occurred to him during the summer season. But for want of ice, which he could not then procure, he had no opportunity of putting them to the test. He therefore waited impatiently for the winter. The winter arrived, and the decisive experiment was performed in the month of December, 1761. From this experiment it appeared that as much heat was taken up by the ice during its liquefaction as would have raised the water 140 degrees in its temperature, and on the other hand, that exactly the same quantity of heat was given out during the congelation of the water. But this experiment, the result of which Dr. Black eagerly longed for, only informed him how much heat was absorbed by the ice during liquefaction, was retained by the water while it remained fluid, and was again emitted by it in the process of freezing. But his mind was deeply impressed with the truth of the doctrine by reflecting on the observations that presented themselves when a frost or thaw happened to prevail. The hills are not at once cleared of snow during the sunshine of the brightest winter day, nor were the ponds suddenly covered with ice during a single frosty night. Much heat is absorbed and fixed in the water during the melting of the snow; and, on the other hand, while the water is changed into ice, much heat is extricated. During a thaw the thermometer sinks when it is removed from the air and placed in the melting snow; and during severe frost it rises when plunged into freezing water. In the first case the snow receives heat, and in the last

the water allows the heat to escape again. These were fair and unquestionable inferences, and now they appear obvious and easy. But although many ingenious and acute philosophers had been engaged in the same investigations, and had employed the same facts in their disquisitions, those obvious inferences were entirely overlooked. It was reserved for Dr. Black to remove the veil which hid this mystery of nature, and by this important discovery to establish an era in the progress of chemical science—one of the brightest, perhaps, which has yet occurred in its history."

Dr. Black explained his theory of *latent heat*—such was the name he himself gave to it—to the members of a literary society, April 23, 1762, and afterwards laid before his students a detailed view of the extensive and beneficial effects of this habitude in the grand economy of nature. From observing the analogy between the cessation of expansion by the thermometer during the liquefaction of the ice, and during the conversion of water into steam, Dr. Black, having explained the one, thought that the phenomena of boiling and evaporation would admit of a similar explanation. He was so convinced of the truth of this theory, that he taught it in his lectures in 1761, before he had made a single experiment on the subject. At this period his prelections on the subject of evaporation were of great advantage to Mr. James Watt, afterwards so distinguished for his application of steam-power. His discovery, indeed, may be said to have laid the foundation of that great practical use of steam which has conferred so immense a blessing upon the present age.

In 1766, on Dr. Cullen being removed from the chair of chemistry at Edinburgh, to that of medicine, Dr. Black, as formerly, supplied the vacant place. In this new scene, he saw that his talents would become more conspicuous, and of more extensive utility. He was therefore encouraged to devote himself, with still more enthusiastic zeal, to his duties as a chemical teacher. In this he was so far successful, that chemistry at length became a fashionable study in the Scottish capital, and a necessary part of the education of every gentleman. After this period, however, he retired from the field of chemical research, which now began to be occupied by a great number of distinguished philosophers. The cause of this was the delicate state of his health, aided, perhaps, a little by that indolence, or rather perhaps absence of ambitious motive, which has been already alluded to. It is to be regretted that, for the same reason, he can scarcely be said to have published anything to the world, by which his discoveries might be permanently secured to the honour of his own name. From the period of his accession to the chemical chair at Edinburgh, he was, for thirty years, a most distinguished member of the professional society which then adorned the capital, and has since given such an Augustan eclat to the latter period of the eighteenth century. Whatever obstruction his health proved in the way of publishing, it never marred the active discharge of his duties. His courses became every year plainer and more familiar, and were attended by a larger number of pupils. The simplicity and elegance of his experiments were always much admired. His manner and appearance were peculiarly pleasing. His voice in lecturing was low and fine, and his articulation so distinct that it was perfectly well heard by a large audience. His discourse was remarkable for plainness and perspicuity; all his illustrations, whether by experiment or by reference to the processes of nature, were quite apposite; his hearers rested with the most entire confidence on his conclusions,

and even the most illiterate could not mistake his sentiments.

Dr. Black's conduct in private life was marked by a striking degree of decorum, without the slightest approach to formality. His habit of studying physical science rendered him very much a man of facts and demonstrations: he is said to have been so entirely destitute of fancy, or to have so effectually repressed that faculty, that he never was known to utter a joke. In his domestic affairs he was rigidly frugal and methodical; yet his house was open to an enlightened hospitality, in which he enjoyed as much of the society of his friends as his delicate health would permit. His chief friends were Smith, Hume, Carlyle, Home, and Hutton. The last was closely connected with him in philosophical pursuits, as well as in the bonds of private friendship—notwithstanding that there were some striking points of difference between the two men. In his latter days, Dr. Black sunk into a low state of health, and only preserved himself from the shocks of the weather in this variable climate by a degree of care almost fantastic. Thus he spun out the thread of life to the last fibre. It was his generous and manly wish that he might never live to be a burden to his friends; and never was the wish more completely gratified. On the 26th of November, 1799, and in the seventy-first year of his age, he expired, without any convulsion, shock, or stupor, to announce or retard the approach of death. Being at table with his usual fare—some bread, a few prunes, and a measured quantity of milk diluted with water, and having the cup in his hand when the last stroke of the pulse was to be given, he had set it down upon his knees, which were joined together, and kept it steady with his hand in the manner of a person perfectly at ease, and in this attitude expired, without spilling a drop, and without a writhe in his countenance; as if an *experiment* had been required to show to his friends the facility with which he departed. His servant opened the door to tell him that some one had left his name, but, getting no answer, stepped about halfway towards him, and seeing him sitting in that easy posture, supporting his basin of milk with one hand, he thought that he had dropped asleep, which he had sometimes seen happen after his meals. The man went back and shut the door, but before he got down-stairs, some anxiety that he could not account for made him return and look again at his master. Even then he was satisfied, after coming pretty near, and turned to go away, but again returned, and coming quite close, found his master without life. Dr. Black, who had never been married, left more money than any one had thought he could have acquired in the course of his career. It was disposed of by his will in a manner highly characteristic. Being divided into ten thousand shares, it was parcelled out to a numerous list of relations in shares, in numbers, or fractions of shares, according to the degree in which they were proper objects of his care or solicitude.

BLACKADDER, JOHN, a distinguished preacher of the time of the *persecution*, was the representative of an ancient but decayed family—Blackadder of Tulliallan—and was born in the year 1615. He was nephew to Principal Strang of Glasgow, and grand-nephew to the famous chorographer Timothy Pont. His theological education took place under the eye of the former of these eminent men, and having been duly licensed by the Presbyterian church, then in its highest purity and most triumphant domination, he received a call, in 1652, to the parish church of Troqueer, in the neighbourhood of Dum-

fries. Previous to this period he had married the daughter of a wealthy merchant of that town, named Haning. Mr. Blackadder commenced his ministerial labours with a zeal which seems to have been singular even in those times. He, in the first place, gathered around him a very active body of elders, whom he set to work in every direction, upon the task of cultivating the religious mind of the parish. He also instituted a very strict system of moral discipline among his flock. Not content with the weekly sermons on Sunday, he instituted lectures on the ordinary days, which were attended by many persons from a distance. He also projected a plan for occasionally interchanging duty with the neighbouring parochial clergy, which was carried into effect within the entire limits of the presbytery, and is said to have been attended with the best results. The church at this time rested undisturbed under the sway of Cromwell, who gave it toleration in every respect except as a collective body; Mr. Blackadder, therefore, found no bar to his progress, which was so exceedingly rapid, that in less than two years he had the satisfaction of seeing a thorough reformation in the devotional habits of his parishioners. Evil days, however, came at last. In 1662 the Episcopal form of church-government was forced, by the restored house of Stuart, upon a people who were generally repugnant to it. Mr. Blackadder, so far from complying with the new system, employed himself for several successive Sundays in exposing what he considered its unlawfulness, and, in his own words, “entered his dissent in heaven” against it. The presbytery of Dumfries, upon which the influence of so zealous a mind was probably very great, gave a positive refusal to an order of the parliament to celebrate the anniversary of the restoration at a festival. A party of fifty horse was accordingly sent to bring the whole of this refractory band of churchmen to Edinburgh. On the day of their arrival at Dumfries, Mr. Blackadder was engaged to preach in the town church. He was entreated not to appear in the pulpit, lest he should exasperate the soldiers against him; but instead of taking this advice, he desired the gallery to be cleared, in order that the military might attend his sermon. They did so, and listened decorously to the denunciations which he could not help uttering against all who had been concerned in the late religious defections. He and some of his brethren were next day conducted in an honourable captivity to the capital, where he underwent some examinations, but was speedily released by the interest of his friends. He was now, however, obliged to demit his charge, in favour of an Episcopal incumbent. On the last Sunday of October he preached a farewell sermon to his attached flock.

“This,” we are informed, “was a day of anxious expectation throughout the country, and made an impression on the minds of those who witnessed it never to be forgotten. The church of Troqueer stood (as it now does) upon a gentle eminence on the banks of the Nith, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, which, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries, presents a delightful variety of local scenery. On the morning of that memorable Sabbath Mr. Blackadder had risen early from prayer and private communion. He stepped forth to meditate on the subject of the day. There was a gloom and heaviness in the atmosphere that seemed to correspond with the general melancholy. A fog, or thick haze, that covered the face of the earth as with a gray mantle, had retired from the vale of Nith towards the mountains. As he paced his little garden with a slow and pensive step, his contemplations were suddenly interrupted by the tolling of the

morning bells, several of which, in the adjacent parishes, were distinctly audible from the uncommon stillness of the air. These hallowed chimes, once the welcome summons to the house of prayer, now sounded like the knell of their expiring liberties, reminding him how many of his brethren were, like himself, preparing to bid their last adieu, amidst the tears and blessings of their people. At this signal of retirement he betook himself to the duties of the closet, to hold nearer intercourse with Heaven, and fortify himself for the solemn occasion.

"The people, at an early hour, had been straggling on the height, but kept aloof from the church, unwilling to put their minister to hazard by convening in multitudes, which had been discharged as a breach of peace and good order. They collected by degrees in small scattered groups about the churchyard, occupied in dark conjectures, and waiting the minister's approach with extreme anxiety. Mr. Blackadder made his appearance with his wonted firmness and composure, and with the same placid serenity of countenance for which he was remarkable. The audience was not numerous, but every feature appeared settled into a deep and earnest concern. Most of them were dissolved in tears, and at many parts of the discourse there were loud and involuntary bursts of sorrow.

"Towards the middle of the sermon, an alarm was given that a party of soldiers from Dumfries were on their march to seize him, and had crossed the bridge. Upon this he closed hastily, pronounced the blessing, and retired to his chamber. The military surrounded the churchyard, and, as the people departed, they took down the names of all those who belonged to Dumfries, or any of the other parishes, as the law had affixed a penalty of twenty shillings Scots on every person absent from his own church. They offered violence to none, and went away without entering the manse, being assured that no strangers were there. When they were gone, the minister assembled the remains of the congregation in his own house, and finished the sermon, 'standing on the stairhead, both the upper and lower flat being crowded to the full.'

"The people seemed very loath to depart, lingering in suspense about the door, expressing their concern for his safety, and their willingness to shed their blood in his defence. Mr. Blackadder conjured them to have regard to the peace of the country, and give no handle to their adversaries by any disturbance. 'Go,' said he, 'and fend [*provide*] for yourselves: the hour is come when the shepherd is smitten, and the flock shall be scattered. Many are this day mourning for the desolations of Israel, and weeping, like the prophet, between the porch and the altar. God's heritage has become the prey of the spoiler; the mountain of the house of the Lord as the high places of the forest. When the faithful pastors are removed, hirelings shall intrude, whom the great Shepherd never sent, who will devour the flock, and tread down the residue with their feet. As for me, I have done my duty, and now there is no time to evade. I recommend you to Him who is able to keep you from falling, and am ready, through grace, to be disposed of as the Lord pleases."¹

After this solemn and affecting scene Mr. Blackadder went, with his wife and numerous family, to reside at Catloch, in the parish of Glencairn, a wilder and more central part of the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Here he soon attracted the attention of the authorities by the crowds which he col-

lected to hear his occasional preachings, and he was therefore obliged to remove. For some years after this period he appears to have wandered through the country, preaching whenever he could find a proper opportunity. In 1670, having performed worship at a conventicle near Dunfermline, where the people had armed themselves for self-defence, he was summoned before the privy council, but contrived to elude their power. When the search was a little slackened he renewed his practice of itinerant preaching, which he not only conceived to be no offence against human laws, but a duty solemnly enjoined by the word of God. On one occasion he preached at Kinkell, near St. Andrews: the people flocked from that metropolitan city to hear him, notwithstanding all the injunctions and *surveillance* of Archbishop Sharpe. It is said that, on Sharpe desiring the provost to send out the militia to disperse the congregation, he was informed that it was impossible—the militia had gone already as worshippers. In 1674 Blackadder was outlawed, and a reward of 1000 merks was offered for his apprehension; but he nevertheless continued to preach occasionally to large assemblages in the fields. What may appear surprising, he often resided in the capital, without undergoing any annoyance, and contrived, notwithstanding the migratory nature of his life, to rear a large and well-instructed family. It does not appear that he approved of the insurrection of his friends which was suppressed at Bothwell. Though engaged in duty immediately before this event, he fortunately was confined during the whole period of its continuance by a rheumatism, and therefore escaped all blame on that account. In 1680 he made a voyage to Holland, and settled his son at Leyden as a student of medicine, a circumstance which proves that the persecution to which these clergymen were subjected was not uniformly attended by pecuniary destitution. After spending several months in Holland, he returned to Scotland, and, in the succeeding year, was apprehended, and confined in the state-prison upon the Bass. He remained here for four years, when at length his health declined so much, on account of the insalubrious nature of his prison, that his friends made interest to procure his liberation upon the plea that he must otherwise sink under his malady. The government at first mocked him with a proposal to transfer him to Haddington or Dunbar jail, but at length, on a more earnest and better-attested remonstrance, offered to give him liberty to reside in Edinburgh, under a bond for 5000 merks. Ere this tender mercy could be made available, he died in his islet prison, December, 1685, having nearly completed his seventieth year. John Blackadder lies interred in North Berwick churchyard, where there is an epitaph to his memory, containing, among others, the following characteristic lines:—

"Grace formed him in the Christian hero's mould;
Meek in his own concerns—in'st Master's bold;
Passions to reason chained, prudence did lead,
Zeal warmed his breast, and prudence cooled his head.
Five years on this lone rock, yet sweet abode,
He Enoch-like enjoyed and walked with God;
Till by long-living on his heavenly food,
His soul by love grew up, too great, too good,
To be confined to jail, or flesh, or blood."

BLACKLOCK, THOMAS, an ingenious blind poet, was born, November 10th, 1721, at Annan; his parents were natives of Cumberland; his father a bricklayer, and his mother the daughter of Mr. Richard Rae, an extensive cattle-dealer. Before he was six months old he lost his sight in the small-pox; and was thus rendered incapable of learning a

¹ Crichton's *Life of John Blackadder*, 12mo, 1823.

mechanical trade, while the poor circumstances to which a series of misfortunes had reduced his father, placed equally beyond his reach an education for any of those professions where the exercise of the mental faculties is principally required. His affectionate parent, aware, however, that the happiness of his son, shut out from the external world, must mainly depend upon his intellectual resources, devoted part of his leisure hours to such instruction as his poor blind boy was susceptible of—he read to him, at first the books adapted to the understanding of a child, and afterwards those fitted for a maturer capacity, such as Milton, Spenser, Prior, Pope, and Addison. His companions also, who pitied his want of sight, and loved him for his gentle disposition, lent their assistance in this task of kindness; and by their help he acquired some little knowledge of Latin. Thomson and Allan Ramsay were his favourite authors; and it was as early as his twelfth year that he evinced still more decidedly his love of the poetical art by the composition of an ode, addressed “To a little girl whom I had offended.”

Thus early did Blacklock show, that in the course of reading chosen for him, his father had not mistaken the bent of his inclination. But though, as we have mentioned, some of his comrades delighted to forward his favourite studies, and, by their assiduous attentions, to make him forget the deprivation under which he laboured, there were others who took pleasure in rendering him bitterly conscious of his misfortune, and exulted in the success of such practical jokes as it was easy to make him the subject of. It is but too obvious that his own experience at this period, when exposed to the insults of unfeeling boys, suggested the reflection introduced in the article “Blind,” afterwards written by him for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*: “Parents of middle or of higher rank,” he there remarks, “who are so unfortunate as to have blind children, ought by all possible means to keep them out of vulgar company. The herd of mankind have a wanton malignity which eternally impels them to impose upon the blind, and to enjoy the painful situations in which these impositions place them. This is a stricture upon the humanity of our species, which nothing but the love of truth and the dictates of benevolence could have extorted from us. But we have known some,” he adds, evidently referring to himself, “who have suffered so much from this diabolical mirth in their own persons, that it is natural for us, by all the means in our power, to prevent others from becoming their victims.”

Blacklock lived at home till his nineteenth year, when a fresh misfortune overtook him in the loss of his father, who was crushed to death by the fall of a malt-kiln. To his keenly susceptible mind this stroke must therefore have been peculiarly afflicting. And it was attended not only with regret on account of remembered benefits, but also by the anticipation of future evils. A means of livelihood was indeed suggested by Blacklock’s love of music: as he played well on the violin and flute, and even composed pieces with taste, it was proposed that he should follow this art as a profession. “But the unhappy situation in which he was then placed,” says the authority upon which this statement is given,¹ “made him dread consequences to which he could never reconcile his mind. The very thought that his time and talents should be prostrated to the forwarding of loose mirth and riot inspired him with an honest indignation.” Although gloomy anticipations like

these sometimes intruded, Blacklock did not permit them to overwhelm him, but calming his fears, and resting with a pious confidence in the awards of a protecting Providence, he continued to live with his mother for a year after his father’s death.

Some of his poems had by this time got abroad, by which the fame of Blacklock’s genius was extended; and at last it reached a gentleman, who to curiosity added benevolence of heart. This was Dr. John Stevenson, a physician in Edinburgh, who, while on a professional visit in Dumfries, saw some of our author’s pieces, and resolved to afford the young man’s talents the opportunity of expanding in avocations and amid society more congenial to one so much restricted to pleasures of an intellectual kind. Accordingly Blacklock was, in 1741, induced to remove to the metropolis, where he attended a grammar-school for some time, and afterwards entered as a student in the college, Dr. Stevenson supplying him with the means necessary for the prosecution of his studies.

These studies were interrupted by the expedition of the Highlanders in 1745; and during the distractions consequent upon that memorable campaign Blacklock resided in Dumfries with Mr. M’Murdo, his brother-in-law. On the re-establishment of peace he returned to college, and studied six years more. In this period he acquired a good knowledge of all those branches of education where he was not hindered by the want of sight; and became better skilled than was common in the French language, from being on habits of intimacy with the family of Provost Alexander, whose wife was a Parisian. It may well inspire wonder that latterly there was no science with which Blacklock had not made himself acquainted—no learned language which he did not master—and no modern tongue of any acknowledged use to a man of general literature, with which he was not more or less familiar.

Amid the severer studies of classical learning, philosophy, and theology, his attachment to poetry was not forgotten. In 1746 a volume of his verses in 8vo was published at Glasgow. A second edition followed at Edinburgh in 1754; and two years afterwards, a quarto edition, with an account of his life by Mr. Spence, professor of poetry at Oxford, came out by subscription in London. In the selection of pieces for the press Blacklock was by his friends considered to be over-fastidious; and by persisting to exclude what he himself thought unworthy of a place, he greatly limited the size of his books. By the London edition a considerable sum was realized for the author’s advantage. Besides these editions of his poems, another in 4to was published in 1793, with a life elegantly written by Henry Mackenzie.

Hume the historian was among the friends who early interested themselves in the fortunes of Blacklock, and was of considerable service in promoting the subscription to the London edition of his poems; but all intercourse between them was subsequently broken off.

The course of study followed by Blacklock at college was that usually gone through for the purpose of entering upon the ministry; but it was not till after the abandonment of a project (which he began to entertain in 1757, and from which he was dissuaded by Mr. Hume, after making considerable preparations towards it) for delivering lectures on oratory, that he finally adopted the resolution of becoming a clergyman. Having applied himself for some time exclusively to the necessary studies, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Dumfries in 1759. He soon acquired considerable reputation as a pulpit orator, and took great delight

¹ An article in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, reprinted in the *Scots Magazine* for 1754.

in composing sermons, a considerable number of which he left behind him: these it was at one time the intention of his friends to publish; but for some reason or other this has never been done.

The Rev. Mr. Jameson, Blacklock's intimate companion, to whom allusion is more than once made in his poems, has given the following account of his habits about this time:

"His manner of life was so uniform, that the history of it during one day, or one week, is the history of it during the seven years that our intercourse lasted. Reading, music, walking, conversing, and disputing on various topics, in theology, ethics, &c., employed almost every hour of our time. It was pleasant to hear him engaged in a dispute; for no man could keep his temper better than he always did on such occasions. I have known him frequently very warmly engaged for hours together, but never could observe one angry word to fall from him. Whatever his antagonist might say, *he* always kept his temper,—'*semper paratus, et refellere sine pertinacia, et refelli sine iracundia.*' He was, however, extremely sensible to what he thought ill usage, and equally so whether it regarded himself or his friends. But his resentment was always confined to a few satirical verses, which were generally burned soon after. The late Mr. Spence (the editor of the 4to edition of his poems) frequently urged him to write a tragedy, and assured him that he possessed interest enough with Mr. Garrick to get it acted. Various subjects were proposed to him, several of which he approved, yet he never could be prevailed on to begin anything of that kind. It may seem remarkable, but, as far as I know, it was invariably the case, that he never could think or write on any subject proposed to him by another. I have frequently admired with what readiness and rapidity he could make verses. I have known him dictate from thirty to forty verses, and by no means bad ones, as fast as I could write them; but the moment he was at a loss for a rhyme or a verse to his liking, he stopped altogether, and could very seldom be induced to finish what he had begun with so much ardour."

"All those who ever acted as his amanuenses," says Mackenzie, "agree in this rapidity and ardour of composition which Mr. Jameson ascribes to him. He never could dictate till he stood up; and as his blindness made walking about without assistance inconvenient or dangerous to him, he fell insensibly into a vibratory sort of motion of his body, which increased as he warmed with his subject, and was pleased with the conceptions of his mind. This motion at last became habitual to him; and though he could sometimes restrain it when on ceremony, or in any public appearance, such as preaching, he felt a certain uneasiness from the effort, and always returned to it when he could indulge it without impropriety. This is the appearance which he describes in the ludicrous picture he has drawn of himself:

—'As some vessel tossed by wind and tide
Bounds o'er the waves, and rocks from side to side,
In just vibration thus I always move."

Much of the singularity in the gestures of poor Blacklock must have proceeded from his inability to observe the carriage of others, and to regulate his own in conformity with theirs. The author of *Douglas*, in one of his letters, has given a curious picture of his singular appearance when under strong excitement: "I went to a companion's," says Home, "and sent for the blind poet, who is really a strange creature to look at—a small weakly under thing—a chilly, bloodless animal, that shivers at every breeze. But if nature has cheated him in one re-

spect, by assigning to his share forceless sinews, and a ragged form, she has made him ample compensation on the other, by giving him a mind endued with the most exquisite feelings—the most ardent, kindled-up affections; a soul, to use a poet's phrase, that's tremulously alive all over: in short, he is the most flagrant enthusiast I ever saw; when he repeats verses, he is not able to keep his seat; but springs to his feet, and shows his rage by the most animated motions. He has promised to let me have copies of his best poems, which I will transmit to you whenever he is as good as his word."

In 1762 the Earl of Selkirk procured for the crown a presentation to the parish of Kirkcudbright in favour of Mr. Blacklock; who, having thus the prospect of a competent income, married Mrs. Sarah Johnston, daughter of Mr. Joseph Johnston, surgeon in Dumfries. But though not disappointed in the happiness he expected to derive from this union, the gleam of fortune which seems to have induced him to form it, forsook him immediately after the step was taken. He was ordained a few days after his marriage; but the people of the parish refused, on account of his blindness, to acknowledge him as their pastor, and a lawsuit was commenced, which, after two years, was compromised by Blacklock retiring upon a moderate annuity. It is probably to the period when he experienced so determined an opposition from the people of Kirkcudbright, that we are to refer the composition of his *Paracletis*; for he informs us in the preface that his motive for writing that work was "to alleviate the pressure of repeated disappointments, to soothe his anguish for the loss of departed friends, to elude the rage of implacable and unprovoked enemies,—in a word, to support his own mind, which, for a number of years, besides its literary difficulties and its natural disadvantages, had maintained an incessant conflict with fortune." At no other period but that above referred to, are we aware that Blacklock was the object of anything like an angry feeling.

In 1764, after the connection between him and the parish of Kirkcudbright was dissolved, Blacklock removed to Edinburgh, where he received boarders into his house,¹ superintending the studies of those who chose to have such assistance. "In this occupation," says Mackenzie, "no teacher was perhaps ever more agreeable to his pupils, nor master of a family to its inmates, than Dr. Blacklock. The gentleness of his manners, the benignity of his disposition, and that warm interest in the happiness of others which led him so constantly to promote it, were qualities that could not fail to procure him the love and regard of the young people committed to his charge; while the society which esteem and respect for his character and his genius often assembled at his house, afforded them an advantage rarely to be found in establishments of a similar kind. The writer of this account has frequently been a witness of the family scene at Dr. Blacklock's; has seen the good man amidst the circle of his young friends, eager to do him all the little offices of kindness which he seemed so much to merit and to feel. In this society he appeared entirely to forget the privation of sight, and the melancholy which, at other times, it might produce. He entered with the cheerful playfulness of a young man into all the sprightly narrative, the sportful fancy, the humorous jest, that rose around him."

In these hours of social relaxation Blacklock found

¹ He occupied the two upper flats of a house at the west end of West Nicolson Street, looking towards St. Cuthbert's Chapel of Ease burying-ground.

one of the greatest pleasures of his existence. Music also afforded him a lively gratification; for he sung with taste, and performed tolerably well on several instruments, particularly on the flute. He had learned to play on the flageolet in consequence of a dream in which he supposed himself to listen to the most enchanting melody, produced by a shepherd on a hillside from that instrument; and he always carried one in his pocket, on which he was by no means averse from being asked to perform—"a natural feeling," says Mackenzie, "for a blind man, who thus adds a scene to the drama of his society." We have already alluded to his skill in composition, which was begun early at least, if it was not very assiduously cultivated. There is a specimen of his abilities in this way in the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review* for 1774, under the title of "Absence, a Pastoral, set to music by Dr. Blacklock."

Finding that his increasing years and infirmities required repose, Dr. Blacklock discontinued the keeping of boarders in 1787. But though his bodily vigour began to fail, he experienced no diminution of that benevolence which had ever characterized him. His own genius having been greatly indebted to patronage, he was ever ready to acknowledge it in others, and especially to cultivate and bring it into reputation where he found it struggling with obscurity. Nor were his efforts for this purpose confined to occasional acts of liberality—they were laborious and long-continued. He had taken a boy from a village near Carlisle to lead him, and perceiving in the youth a willingness to learn, taught him Latin, Greek, and French, and having thus fitted him for a station superior to that in which he was born, procured for him the situation of secretary to Lord Milton, who was chief active manager of state affairs in Scotland for many years. This young man was Richard Hewitt, known to the admirer of Scottish song as the author of *Roslin Castle*. Hewitt testified his gratitude to his instructor by a copy of complimentary verses, in every line of which may be traced the chief excellence of compositions of that description—sincerity; but he did not long enjoy his change of fortune, having died in 1764 from the fatigue of the office to which he had been elevated.

But we find a still more eminent example of Blacklock's solicitude to promote the interests of the sons of genius, in his being the first man among the literary circles of Edinburgh who appreciated the poetry of Burns (perhaps, indeed, because he had the earliest opportunity of becoming acquainted with it), and kindled in the author the ambition of a prize beyond that of provincial fame. The Rev. Mr. Lawrie of Newmills had transmitted to Blacklock a copy of the Kilmarnock edition of Burns' poems. It is not easy for a modern reader to understand with what wonder and delight Blacklock must have heard them read. With calmness, yet with energy, the enthusiastic Blacklock indicated his own admiration and the certainty of the poet's future fame—"Many instances," he wrote to Mr. Lawrie, "have I seen of nature's force and beneficence exerted under numerous and formidable disadvantages; but none equal to that with which you have been kind enough to present me. There is a pathos and delicacy in his serious poems, a vein of wit and humour in those of a more festive turn, which cannot be too much admired nor too warmly approved. I think I shall never open the book without feeling my astonishment renewed and increased.—It were much to be wished, for the sake of the young man, that a second edition, more numerous than the former, could immediately be printed; as it appears certain that its intrinsic merit, and the exertion of the author's

friends, might give it a more universal circulation than anything of the kind which has been published within my memory."—"I had taken the last farewell of my few friends," says Burns; "my chest was on the road to Greenock; I had composed the last song I should ever measure in Scotland.—'The Gloomy night is gathering fast'—when a letter from Dr. Blacklock to a friend of mine overthrew all my schemes, by opening new prospects to my poetic ambition. The doctor belonged to a set of critics for whose applause I had not dared to hope. His opinion that I would meet with encouragement in Edinburgh for a second edition, fired me so much, that away I posted for that city, without a single acquaintance, or a single letter of introduction."—"Blacklock received him," says Dr. Currie, "with all the ardour of affectionate admiration; he eagerly introduced him to the respectable circle of his friends; he consulted his interest; he emblazoned his fame; he lavished upon him all the kindness of a generous and feeling heart, into which nothing selfish or envious ever found admittance."—"In Dr. Blacklock," Burns himself writes to Mr. Lawrie, "in Dr. Blacklock, whom I see very often, I have found what I would have expected in our friend,—a clear head and an excellent heart." It is not our business, in this place, to trace Burns' career farther. Dr. Blacklock's duty towards him was performed when he had bestowed upon him every mark of private regard, and consigned him to the care of more influential patrons.

Besides the miscellaneous poems by which Dr. Blacklock is best known as an author, he published several other works. In 1756 he gave to the world an *Essay towards Universal Etymology*; in 1760, *The Right Improvement of Time, a Sermon*; in the ensuing year another sermon, entitled *Faith, Hope, and Charity compared*. In 1767 appeared his *Paraclesis; or, Consolations deduced from Natural and Revealed Religion*, in two dissertations, the first supposed to be Cicero's, translated by Dr. Blacklock,—the other written by himself. This work, to use the author's own touching words, "was begun and pursued by its author to divert wakeful and melancholy hours, which the recollection of past misfortunes, and the sense of present inconveniences, would otherwise have severely embittered." He endeavours, but without success, to prove the authenticity of the dissertation ascribed to Cicero, which he has translated with fidelity and elegance: the object of the original discourse is to prove the superiority of the consolations afforded by revealed religion. In 1768 he printed *Two Discourses on the Spirit and Evidences of Christianity*, translated from the French of Mr. James Armand. To this work he prefixed a long dedication to the moderator of the General Assembly. In 1773 appeared his *Panegyric on Great Britain*, which shows him to have possessed considerable talents for satire had he chosen to pursue that species of writing. His last production was in 1774, *The Graham, an Heroic Ballad, in Four Cantos*; intended to promote a good understanding between the natives of England and Scotland. He contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in 1783, the article "Blind"—a little treatise of peculiar interest. He is also said to have written the "Essay on Poetry," and others on various subjects in the same work. Dr. Blacklock left behind him in manuscript some volumes of sermons, and a treatise on morals.

In his latter years our author was occasionally afflicted with deafness—in his case a double calamity, as at the periods when it visited him, he was in a manner shut out from all communication with the external world. In this forlorn condition—old,

blind, and sometimes deaf—it was more difficult for him than formerly to bear up against the depression of spirits to which he had always been more or less subject; but his gentleness of temper never forsook him, and though he could not altogether avoid complaint, he was not loath to discover and state some alleviating circumstance along with it. He died from fever after a week's illness, on the 7th July, 1791, and was buried in the ground of St. Cuthbert's chapel of ease, where there is a tombstone erected, with the following inscription by Dr. Beattie:—
 “Viro Reverendo Thomæ Blacklock, D.D. Probo, Pio, Benevolo, Omnigenâ Doctrinâ Erudito, Poetæ sublimi; ab incunabulis usque oculis capto, at hilari, faceto, amicisque semper carrissimo; qui natus XXI Novemb. MDCCXX. obiit VII Julii, MDCCXCI: Hoc Monumentum Vidua ejus Sara Johnston, mœrens P.”

It has been said of Dr. Blacklock, that “he never lost a friend, nor made a foe;” and perhaps no literary man ever passed through life so perfectly free from envious feeling, and so entirely respected and beloved. His conversation was lively and entertaining; his wit was acknowledged, but it had no tinge of malice; his temper was gentle, his feelings warm—intense; his whole character was one to which may be applied the epithet amiable, without any qualification.

To Dr. Blacklock as a poet, the rank of first-rate excellence has not been assigned, and is not claimed; but his works possess solid merits, which will always repay a perusal. The thoughts are, for the most part, vigorous, seldom less than just; and they are conveyed with a certain intensity of expression, which shows them, even when not uncommon in themselves, to be the offspring of a superior genius.

BLACKWELL, ALEXANDER and ELIZABETH, husband and wife. The former was brother to the more celebrated Dr. Thomas Blackwell, the subject of the following article. His father, Thomas Blackwell, was at first minister of Paisley, whence he was removed, in 1700, to be one of the ministers of Aberdeen. He was there appointed to be professor of divinity in the Marischal College, and afterwards, in 1717, raised by the crown to the rank of principal, which he held till his death in 1728. Alexander, his son, exhibited at an early period such symptoms of genius as induced his father to employ great personal care in his education. At fifteen he was a perfect Greek and Latin scholar, and he afterwards distinguished himself very highly at college. It would appear that his union to Elizabeth Blackwell, who was the daughter of a merchant at Aberdeen, took place under clandestine circumstances, and was connected with a step which gave a direction to all his future fortunes. This was a secret elopement to London, where he arrived before any of his friends knew where he was. Blackwell appears to have been a man of mercurial and adventurous temperament; possessing, with these qualities, exactly that degree of ability and accomplishment which has enabled so many of his countrymen to prosecute a successful career in London. His first employment was that of corrector of the press to Mr. Wilkins, an eminent printer. Afterwards, he was enabled to set up as a printer on his own account, and for this purpose he occupied a large house in the Strand. But he did not long pursue this business before an action was brought against him for not having served a regular apprenticeship to it. The unsuccessful defence of this action ruined him, and one of his creditors threw him into jail, where he remained two years.

Hitherto we hear nothing of his wife—and,

perhaps, but for the misfortunes of the husband, the virtues of this noble woman might have only decorated a private station. Like the flower, however, which blooms most by night, the better quality of woman's nature is chiefly developed under the cloud of sorrow; and it is only when the powers of man have been prostrated, or found of no avail, that her weakness shines forth in its real character—latent strength. Elizabeth Blackwell happened to possess a taste for drawing flowers;—a taste then so very rare, that there was hardly any engraved work in existence containing representations of this interesting department of creation. The acknowledged want of a good herbal occurred to her as affording the means of exerting this gift in a useful way; and some of her first attempts being submitted to Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Mead, and other eminent physicians, she soon received sufficient encouragement to proceed in her work. A document, attesting their satisfaction with Mrs. Blackwell's specimens, and recommending her contemplated work to public attention, was signed by six eminent physicians, including these gentlemen, and bears date “October 1, 1735.” By the advice of Mr. Rand, an eminent apothecary, demonstrator to the Company of Apothecaries in the botanic garden at Chelsea, Mrs. Blackwell hired a house near that establishment, where she had an opportunity of receiving the necessary flowers and plants in a fresh state, as she wanted them; she also received great encouragement and assistance from Mr. Philip Miller, so well known for his publications connected with horticulture.

Mrs. Blackwell not only made drawings of the flowers, but she also engraved them on copper, and coloured the prints with her own hands. Her husband lent all the aid in his power, by attaching the Latin names of the plants, together with a short account of their principal characters and uses, chiefly taken, by permission, from Miller's *Botanicum Officinale*. The first volume of the work appeared in 1737, in large folio, containing two hundred and fifty-two plates, each of which is occupied by one distinct flower or plant, and was dedicated to Dr. Mead, with the following address: “As the world is indebted to the encouragers of every public good, if the following undertaking should prove such, it is but justice to declare who have been the chief promoters of it; and as you were the first who advised its publication, and honoured it with your name, give me leave to tell the readers how much they are in your debt for this work, and to acknowledge the honour of your friendship.” The second volume, completing the number of plates to five hundred, appeared in 1739, and was inscribed to Mr. Rand, in an address breathing as fervent a spirit of gratitude, and acknowledging that, in her own ignorance of botany, she was entirely obliged to him for the completeness of the work, so far as it went. The drawings are in general faithful; and if there is wanting that accuracy which modern improvements have rendered necessary in delineating the more minute parts, yet, upon the whole, the figures are sufficiently distinctive of the subjects. The style of the engravings is what would now be called *hard*, but it is fully on a level with the prevailing taste of the age; and, as a piece of labour, executed, it would appear, in the space of four years, by the hands of one woman, the whole work is entitled alike to our wonder and admiration. While Mrs. Blackwell was proceeding in her task, she attracted the attention of many persons of eminent rank and character, and also a great number of scientific persons, who visited her at Chelsea, and afforded her many marks of kindness. On the completion of the first volume,

she was permitted in person to present a copy to the College of Physicians, who acknowledged her extraordinary merit by a handsome present, as well as a testimonial, under the hands of the president and censors of the institution, characterizing her work as "most useful," and recommending it to the public. It seems to have been at this period of her labours, that, after having all along supported her family by her own exertions, she was enabled to redeem her husband from confinement.

Blackwell, after his release, lived for some time at Chelsea with his wife, and, on her account, was much respected. He attempted to perfect himself in the study of physic, and also formed schemes for the improvement of waste lands. This latter subject he studied to such a degree, as to be enabled to write an agricultural treatise, which attracted some attention. Among his other occupations for some time, was a prosecution which he entered into against some printers, for pirating his wife's botanical plates. By his success in this affair, he revenged in some measure the persecution to which he had been subjected for his inadvertent breach of another exclusive law. His agricultural knowledge gradually became known, and he was often consulted on difficult points connected with that science, and received handsome fees for his trouble. At one time he was employed by the Duke of Chandos in superintending some agricultural operations at Cannons. His work on agriculture, which was published at this time, recommended him to the attention of a still higher patronage—the Swedish ambassador, who, having transmitted a copy to his court, was directed to engage the author, if possible, to go to Stockholm. Blackwell accepted this engagement, and sailed for the Swedish capital, leaving his wife and one child in England, with a promise that he would soon send for them. He was received in the kindest manner at the court of Stockholm, was lodged in the house of the prime minister, and was allowed a pension. The King of Sweden happening soon after to be taken dangerously ill, Blackwell was permitted to prescribe for him, and had the good fortune to effect a cure. He was consequently appointed one of the king's physicians, and styled doctor, though it does not appear that he ever took a degree in medicine. While enjoying all this good fortune, he was not forgetful of his wife, but sent her several sums of money, and she was on the point of sailing to join him at Stockholm, when all his prospects, and life itself, were overwhelmed at one blow. It is probable, from the character of his brother Thomas, that he was a fervent admirer of the principles of civil liberty. Nothing, moreover, can be more probable than that a man, accustomed to all the freedom of speech which is so harmlessly permitted in Britain, might not very readily accommodate himself to that prudence of the tongue which is demanded from the subjects of an arbitrary monarchy. It is at least certain that he was apprehended on suspicion of being connected with a plot which had been formed by one Count Tessin, for overturning the constitution of the kingdom, and altering the line of succession. Being put to the torture, he is alleged to have confessed a concern in this conspiracy. Every reader, however, will acknowledge, that confessions under the torture form historical documents of a very questionable nature. Being tried for his supposed offence before a royal commission, he was sentenced to be broken alive on the wheel, and put to the death of a traitor. In the course of his trial some imputations were thrown upon his Britannic Majesty, for which, in conjunction with other circumstances, the British ambassador

was recalled from Stockholm. The unfortunate Blackwell was executed, July 29th, 1747, but not, it would appear, with the tortures assigned by his sentence. On the scaffold he protested to the people his entire innocence of the crimes laid to his charge, and, as the best proof of what he stated, pointed out his utter want of all motive for engaging in an attempt against the government. He prayed with great devotion; but happening to lay his head wrong upon the block, he remarked good-humouredly, that, as this was his first experiment, no wonder he required a little instruction.¹ The date of Mrs. Blackwell's death is not ascertained. Her work was afterwards republished on the Continent.

BLACKWELL, THOMAS, the restorer of Greek literature in the north of Scotland, and a learned writer of the eighteenth century, was brother to the subject of the preceding article. He was born at Aberdeen, August 4th, 1701, and after receiving the rudiments of his education at the grammar-school of his native city,² entered his academical course at the Marischal College, where he took the degree of A.M. in 1718. A separate professorship of Greek had not existed in this seminary previous to 1700, and the best of the ancient languages was at that period very little cultivated in Scotland. Blackwell, having turned his attention to Greek, was honoured, in 1723, when only twenty-two years of age, with a crown appointment to this chair. He entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office with the utmost ardour. It perfectly suited his inclination and habits. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the language and literature of Greece, and the whole bent of his studies was exclusively devoted to the cultivation of polite learning. He had the merit of rearing some very eminent Greek scholars, among whom may be mentioned Principal George Campbell, Dr. Alexander Gerard, and Dr. James Beattie. The last has borne ample testimony to the merit of his master in his *Essay on the Utility of Classical Learning*, where he styles Principal Blackwell "a very learned author."

Dr. Blackwell first appeared before the public as an author in 1737. His *Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* was published at London during the course of that year, but without his name. It

¹ Soon after the death of Blackwell appeared *A Genuine Copy of a Letter from a Merchant in Stockholm, to his Correspondent in London*, "containing an impartial account of Dr. Alexander Blackwell, his plot, trial, character, and behaviour, both under examination and at the place of execution, together with a copy of a paper delivered to a friend upon the scaffold, in which he denied the crime imputed to him." This publication does not appear to have been genuine, and as it contains some particulars of the life of Blackwell totally at variance with the above more authentic and probable account, which is chiefly derived from a letter signed G. J. and dated from Bath, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1747, we have entirely rejected it. This spurious work is, nevertheless, chiefly used by Mr. Nichols, in an account of Blackwell given in the *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*.

² The history of the origin of what are technically, in Scotland, denominated *grammar-schools*, is involved in considerable obscurity. The probability is, that they were in most cases founded by generous individuals, who wished well to the cause of literature, and who, to secure that proper care should be taken in the management of the funds by which the establishment was supported, vested the money appropriated for that purpose in some public body or corporation. It does not admit of a doubt, that this took place in several of the principal Scottish burghs; but it is very singular, that those schools were limited to the Latin language alone. This proceeded from the dread that there was a design in the founders of such seminaries to supersede universities, where Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were taught. The grammar-school of Aberdeen was founded by Dr. Patrick Dun, principal of Marischal College, who was a native of the city, and had resided at Padua, where he took his degree of Doctor of Medicine.

has been positively affirmed, with what truth it is impossible to say, that its being anonymous was in imitation of Lord Shaftesbury, of whom he was a warm admirer, and whose works were published after that manner. The style, also, is vitiated by a perpetual effort at the Shaftesburian vein, which is, perhaps, the principal fault in the writings of Blackwell. A second edition of the work appeared in 1746, and shortly after, *Proofs of the Inquiry into Homer's Life and Writings*. These proofs chiefly consisted of a translation of the Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French notes subjoined to the original work. The *Inquiry* contains a great deal of research, as well as a display of miscellaneous learning. Perhaps its principal defect consists in the author's discovering an over-anxiety in regard to both; at least, he has not been sufficiently careful to guard against the imputation of sometimes going out of his way to show what labour he had bestowed in examining every source of information, both ancient and modern, foreign and domestic. Though the life of Homer has been written by Herodotus, by Plutarch, and by Suidas, among the Greeks, and by an innumerable host of writers scattered through other nations, yet there is hardly one point in his history about which they are agreed, excepting the prodigious merit of his poems, and the sophist Zöilus would not even grant this. How great uncertainty prevailed respecting the time and place of his birth, abundantly appears from seven Grecian cities contending in regard to the latter point. When the field was so extensive, and so great diversity of opinion prevailed, it cannot fail to be perceived how arduous an enterprise Dr. Blackwell had undertaken. His criticisms on the poems themselves are always encomiastic, often ingenious, and delivered in language that can give no reasonable ground of offence. The work will be read with both pleasure and profit by all who are prepared to enter upon such inquiries. It is generally esteemed the best of his performances.

He published, in 1748, *Letters concerning Mythology*, without his name also. In the course of the same year he was advanced to be principal of his college, succeeding Dr. John Osborne, who died upon the 19th of August. Dr. Blackwell, however, was not admitted to the exercise of his new office till the subsequent 9th of November. The first object of his attention respected the discipline of the college. Great irregularities had crept into the institution, not in his predecessor's time only, but probably almost from its foundation. Through the poverty of the generality of the students in those days, their attendance, short as the session was allowed to be, was very partial; to correct this he considered to be indispensably necessary. Accordingly, about the middle of October, 1749, previous to the commencement of the session, an advertisement in the public papers informed the students that a more regular attendance was to be required. This, it would appear, did not produce the intended effect. Accordingly, to show that the principal and professors were perfectly in earnest when they gave this public notice, three of the bursars, who had not complied with the terms of the advertisement, were, on the 10th of November, expelled. This decision gave general satisfaction, and indeed deserved high commendation.

But, that the professors themselves might be more alert and attentive to their duty, he revived a practice which, it is likely, had at an early period been common, for every professor in the university to deliver a discourse in the public school upon some subject connected with his profession. He himself

set the example, and delivered his first oration upon the 7th of February, 1749. When Blackwell was promoted to the principality, instead of sinking into indolence, he seems to have considered it rather as affording an excitement to exertion. In February, 1750, he opened a class for the instruction of the students in ancient history, geography, and chronology. Prelections on these branches of education he thought necessary to render more perfect the course at Marischal College. He, therefore, himself undertook the task. The design of his opening this class evidently was to pave the way for the introduction of a new plan of teaching into Marischal College, which, accordingly, he soon after accomplished. At the commencement of the session 1752, public notice was given that "the principal, professors, and masters, having long had under their consideration the present method of academical education, the plan of which, originally introduced by the scholastic divines in the darkest times, is more calculated for disputes and wrangling than to fit men for the duties of life, therefore have resolved to introduce a new order in teaching the sciences." The order which was then adopted, is what still continues in force in that university. Three years afterwards, when the new plan had been put to the trial for as many sessions, the faculty of the college ordered an account of the plan of education which was followed to be printed. This formed a pamphlet of thirty-five pages. It concludes thus:—"They have already begun to experience the public approbation by the increase of the number of their students." So that he had the agreeable pleasure of witnessing the success of the plan he had proposed.

In 1752 he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and in the subsequent year was published, in quarto, the first volume of *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*. A second volume appeared in 1755, and a third, which was posthumous, and left unfinished by the author, was prepared for the press by John Mills, Esq., and published in 1764. In this work the author has endeavoured to give an account of Roman literature as it appeared in the Augustan age, and he has executed the task with no small share of success. Objections might easily be started to some of his theories and opinions, but every classical scholar who is fond of literary history will peruse the work with pleasure as well as profit.

Dr. Blackwell died at Edinburgh, upon the 6th of March, 1757. He was certainly a very extraordinary person, and like every man of acknowledged talents, formed a very general subject of conversation. He was formal, and even pompous. His dress was after the fashion of the reign of Queen Anne. The portly mien and dignified manner in which he stepped through the public school, impressed all the students with a deep sense of his professional importance. He was, nevertheless, kind and indulgent to them, and of a benevolent disposition. He left a widow, but no children. Mrs. Blackwell, in 1793, founded a chemical professorship in Marischal College, and appointed a premium of ten pounds sterling to be annually bestowed on the person who should compose, and deliver, in the English language, the best discourse upon a given literary subject.

BLACKWOOD, ADAM, a learned writer of the sixteenth century, was born at Dunfermline, in 1539. He was descended from an ancient and respectable family; his father, William Blackwood, was slain in battle ere he was ten years of age (probably at Pinkie-field); his mother, Helen Reid, who was niece to Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, died soon after, of grief for the loss of her hus-

band. By his uncle, the bishop, he was sent to the university of Paris, but was soon obliged to return, on account of the death of his distinguished relation. Scotland, at this time, was undergoing the agonies of the reformation, under the regency of Mary of Lorrain. Blackwood found it no proper sphere for his education; and therefore soon returned to Paris, where, by the liberality of his youthful sovereign, Queen Mary, then residing at the court of France, he was enabled to complete his studies, and to go through a course of civil law at the university of Toulouse. Having now acquired some reputation for learning and talent, he was patronized by James Beaton, the expatriated Archbishop of Glasgow, who recommended him very warmly to Queen Mary and her husband, the Dauphin, by whose influence he was chosen a member of the parliament of Poitiers, and afterwards appointed to be professor of civil law at that court.

Poitiers was henceforth the constant residence of Blackwood, and the scene of all his literary exertions. His first work was one entitled, *De Vinculo Religionis et Imperii, Libri Duo*, Paris, 1575, to which a third book was added in 1612. The object of this work is to show the necessity under which rulers are laid, of preserving the true—i.e. the Catholic—religion from the innovations of heretics, as all rebellions arise from that source. Blackwood, by the native tone of his mind, the nature of his education, and the whole train of his associations, was a faithful adherent of the Church of Rome, and of the principles of monarchical government. His next work developed these professions in a more perfect manner. It was entitled, *Apologia pro Regibus*, and professed to be an answer to George Buchanan's work, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. Both of these works argue upon extreme and unfair principles. Buchanan seeks to apply to the simple feudal government of Scotland—a monarchical aristocracy—all the maxims of the Roman republicans. Blackwood, on the other hand, is a slavishly devout advocate for the divine right of kings. In replying to one of Buchanan's positions, the apologist of kings says, very gravely, that if one of the scholars at St. Leonard's College were to argue in that manner, he would richly deserve to be whipped. Both of the above works are in Latin. He next published, in French, an account of the death of his benefactress, Queen Mary, under the title, *Martyre de Maria Stuart, Reyne d'Escosse*, Antwerp, 8vo, 1588. This work is conceived in a tone of bitter resentment regarding the event to which it refers. He addresses himself, in a vehement strain of passion, to all the princes of Europe to avenge her death; declaring that they are unworthy of royalty if they are not roused on so interesting and pressing an occasion. At the end of the volume is a collection of poems in Latin, French, and Italian, upon Mary and Elizabeth; in which the former princess is praised for every excellence, while her murderess is characterized by every epithet expressive of indignation and hate. An anagram was always a good weapon in those days of conceit and false taste; and one which we find in this collection was no doubt looked upon as a most poignant stab at the Queen of England:—

ELIZABETHA TEUDERA
VADE, JEZEEL TETRA.

In 1598 Blackwood published a manual of devotions under the title, *Sanctarum Precationum Proemia*, which he dedicated to his venerable patron, the Archbishop of Glasgow. The cause of his writing this book was, that by reading much at night he had so weakened his eyes, as to be unable to

distinguish his own children at the distance of two or three yards: in the impossibility of employing himself in study, he was prevailed upon, by the advice of the archbishop, to betake himself to a custom of nocturnal prayer, and hence the composition of this book. In 1606 Blackwood published a Latin poem on the inauguration of James VI. as King of Great Britain. In 1609 appeared at Poitiers a complete collection of his Latin poems. He died in 1623, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, leaving four sons (of whom one attained to his own senatorial dignity in the parliament of Poitiers), and seven daughters. He was most splendidly interred in St. Porcharius' church at Poitiers, where a marble monument was reared to his memory, charged with a long panegyric epitaph. In 1644 appeared his *Opera Omnia*, in one vol. 4to., edited by the learned Naudeus, who prefixes an elaborate eulogium upon the author. Blackwood was not only a man of consummate learning and great genius, but is allowed to have also fulfilled, in life, all the duties of a good man.

BLACKWOOD, HENRY, brother to the subject of the preceding article, and his senior by some years, was educated under nearly similar circumstances, and, in 1551, he taught philosophy in the university of Paris. Having afterwards applied himself to the study of medicine, he rose to be dean of that faculty at Paris, an office of the very highest dignity which could then be reached by a member of the medical profession. He appears to have been one of the earliest modern physicians who gave a sanction to the practice of letting blood. He published various treatises on medicine, and also upon philosophy, of which a list is preserved in Mackenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*. He acted at one time as physician to the Duke of Longueville, with a salary of 200 pistoles. At another time, when the plague prevailed at Paris, he remained in the city, and exerted himself so zealously in the cure of his numerous patients, as to gain universal applause. He died in 1613 or 1614, at a very advanced age.

BLACKWOOD, WILLIAM, an eminent publisher, and originator of the magazine which bears his name, was born in Edinburgh, November 20, 1776, of parents who, though in humble circumstances, bore a respectable character, and were able to give this and their other children an excellent elementary education. At the age of fourteen he commenced an apprenticeship with Messrs. Bell and Bradfute, booksellers in his native city, with whom he continued six years. During this time he stored his mind with a large fund of miscellaneous reading, which was of great service to him in after-life. It is probable that he at the same time manifested no common talents for business, as, soon after the expiration of his apprenticeship [1797], he was selected by Messrs. J. Mundell and Company, then carrying on an extensive publishing business in the Scottish capital, to take the charge of a branch of their concern which they had resolved to establish in Glasgow. Mr. Blackwood acted as the Glasgow agent of Mundell and Company for a year, during which time he improved greatly as a man of business. Thrown in a great measure upon his own resources, he here acquired habits of decision, such as are rarely formed at so early an age, and which were afterwards of the greatest importance to him. Having also occasion to write frequently to his constituents, he formed a style for commercial correspondence, the excellence of which was a subject of frequent remark at a later period of his life.

At the end of the year, when the business he had conducted at Glasgow was given up, Mr. Blackwood returned to Messrs. Bell and Bradfute, with whom he continued about a year longer. He then (1800) entered into partnership with Mr. Robert Ross, a bookseller of some standing, who also acted as an auctioneer of books. Not long after, finding the line of business pursued by Mr. Ross uncongenial to his taste, he retired from the partnership, and, proceeding to London, placed himself, for improvement in the antiquarian department of his trade, under Mr. Cuthill. Returning once more to Edinburgh in 1804, he set up on his own account in a shop in South Bridge Street, where for several years he confined his attention almost exclusively to the department just alluded to, in which he was allowed to have no rival of superior intelligence in Scotland. The catalogue of old books which he published in 1812, being the first of the kind in which the books were classified, and which referred to a stock of uncommon richness and variety, continues till the present day to be a standard authority for the prices of old books. At this period of his career Mr. Blackwood became agent for several of the first London publishing houses, and also began to publish extensively for himself. In 1816, having resolved to throw a larger share of his energies into the latter department of business, he sold off his stock of old books, and removed to a shop in the new town, soon to become one of the most memorable localities connected with modern literary history.

For a considerable time Mr. Blackwood had been of opinion that something like the same regeneration which the *Edinburgh Review* had given to periodical criticism, might be communicated to that species of miscellaneous literature which chiefly assumed the monthly form of publication. At this time the *Scots Magazine* of his native city, which had never pretended to any merit above that of a correct register, was scarcely in any respect more flat and insipid than the publications of the same kind in London. It was reserved for the original and energetic mind of the subject of this memoir, to raise this department of popular literature from the humble state in which it had hitherto existed, or to which, when we recollect the labours of Johnson and Goldsmith, we may rather say it had sunk, and to place it on the eminence for which it was evidently fitted. The first number of *Blackwood's Magazine* appeared in April, 1817, and, though bearing more resemblance to preceding publications of the same kind than it afterwards assumed, the work was from the first acknowledged by the public to possess superior merit. The publishers of the elder magazines made an almost immediate, though indirect confession to this effect, by attempts to put new and more attractive faces upon their publications, and stimulate the lagging energies of those who conducted them. The two young men who were chiefly engaged upon the work of Mr. Blackwood, having disagreed with him, were employed by Mr. Constable to take the charge of the *Scots Magazine*, which he, like others in similar circumstances, was endeavouring to resuscitate from the slumbers of a century. Mr. Blackwood was already more than independent of these gentlemen, in consequence of the aid which he was receiving from other quarters; but bitter feelings had nevertheless been engendered, and these found vent, through the fancy of some of his new contributors, in the celebrated article in the seventh number of his magazine, styled *Translation of a Chaldee Manuscript*. In this *jeu d'esprit*, the circumstances of the late feud, and the efforts of Mr. Constable to repair the fortunes of his ancient magazine, were thrown

into a form the most burlesque that ever imagination conceived, though certainly with very little of the ill nature which the article unfortunately excited in the most of those who figured in it. In consequence of the painful feelings to which it gave rise, Mr. Blackwood cancelled it from all the copies within his reach; and it is now, consequently, very rarely to be met with.

Blackwood's Magazine, as already hinted, had not been in progress for many months before it obtained the support of new and unexpected talent. Mr. John Wilson, already distinguished by his beautiful poetry, and Mr. John G. Lockhart, whose more regular, though perhaps less brilliant genius afterwards found a fitting field in the management of the *Quarterly Review*, were at this time young men endeavouring to make their way at the Scottish bar. Having formed an attachment to Mr. Blackwood, they threw into his literary repertory the overflowing bounties of two minds, such as rarely rise singly, and much more rarely together; and soon enchaind the attention of the public to a series of articles not more remarkable for their ability, than for an almost unexampled recklessness of humour and severity of sarcasm. It is not to be denied that much offence was thus occasionally given to the feelings of individuals; but, in extenuation of any charge which can be rested on such grounds, it may be pointed out that, while Mr. Blackwood had his own causes of complaint in the ungenerous hostility of several of his commercial brethren, the whimsical genius of his contributors had unquestionably found a general provocation in the overweening pretensions and ungracious deportment of several of their literary seniors, some of whom had, in their own youth, manifested equal causticity, with certainly no greater show of talent. To these excuses must be added the relative one of politics. Mr. Blackwood from the first took a strong part with the existing Tory government, which in Edinburgh had been powerfully supported heretofore in every manner except by the pen, while the opposition had long possessed a literary organ of the highest authority. In treating, therefore, of some of the juvenile indiscretions of this extraordinary work, and those connected with it, we must, if willing to preserve impartiality, recollect the keenness with which politics and political men were then discussed.

In the management of the magazine, Mr. Blackwood at all times bore in his own person the principal share. The selection of articles, the correspondence with contributors, and other duties connected with editorship, were performed by him during a period of seventeen years, with a degree of skill on which it is not too much to say that no small portion of the success of the work depended. In its earlier years he contributed two or three articles himself; but to this, as a *practice*, he had a decided objection, as he could easily perceive that an editor, especially one like himself not trained to letters, is apt to be biased respecting his own compositions. It may easily be conceived, however, that, in the management of the literary and mercantile concerns of such a work, there was sufficient employment for even a man of his extraordinary energies. And no small praise must it ever be to the subject of this brief memoir, that, during so long a period, he maintained in his work so much of the vivid spirit with which it set out; kept up so unflinching a succession of brilliant articles in general literature, altogether exclusive of the regular papers of Mr. Wilson,—as if he were exhausting mind after mind among the literary men of his country, and still at no loss to discover new; and never throughout his

whole career, varied in a single page from the political key-note which he had struck at the commencement. To have done these things, and with so much apparent ease to himself, and so little ostentation—for these were features in his masterly career—argues, in our opinion, a character of unwonted vigour, as well as no small share of intellectual power.

The magazine eventually reached a circulation not much short of ten thousand copies, and, while reprinted in North America, found its way from the publisher's warehouse into every other part of the world where the English language was spoken. Notwithstanding the great claims it made upon his time, Mr. Blackwood continued till his death to transact a large share of business as a general publisher. Not long before that event, he completed the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, in eighteen volumes quarto, and among his other more important publications, may be reckoned *Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, in eighteen volumes octavo. The chief distinct works of Messrs. Wilson, Lockhart, Hogg, Moir, Galt, and other eminent persons connected with his magazine, and some of the writings of Sir Walter Scott, were published by Mr. Blackwood. He also continued till the close of his career to carry on an extensive trade in retail book-selling.

Mr. Blackwood died, September 16, 1834, after a painful illness of four months. His disease, a tumour in the groin, had in that time exhausted his physical energies, but left his temper calm and unruffled, and his intellect entire and vigorous even to the last.

In the words of his obituarist, "No man ever conducted business in a more direct and manly manner than Mr. Blackwood. His opinion was on all occasions distinctly expressed; his questions were ever explicit; his answers conclusive. His sincerity might sometimes be considered as rough, but no human being ever accused him either of flattering or of shuffling; and those men of letters who were in frequent communication with him, soon conceived a respect and confidence for him, which, save in a very few instances, ripened into cordial regard and friendship. The masculine steadiness and imperturbable resolution of his character were impressed on all his proceedings; and it will be allowed by those who watched him through his career, as the publisher of a literary and political miscellany, that these qualities were more than once very severely tested. He dealt by parties exactly as he did by individuals. Whether his principles were right or wrong, they were *his*, and he never compromised or complimented away one tittle of them. No changes, either of men or of measures, ever dimmed his eye or checked his courage."

Mr. Blackwood was twice a magistrate of his native city, and in that capacity distinguished himself by an intrepid zeal in the reform of burgh management, singularly in contrast with his avowed sentiments respecting constitutional reform.

BLAIR, HUGH, D.D., one of the most eminent divines and cultivators of polite literature of the eighteenth century, was born at Edinburgh, April 7, 1718. His father, John Blair, a merchant of Edinburgh, and who at one time occupied a respectable office in the magistracy, was grandson to Robert Blair, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, whose life is commemorated in its proper place in this work. John Blair was thus cousin-german to the author of *The Grave*, whose life follows, in the present work, that of his distinguished ances-

tor. John Blair, having impaired his fortune by engaging in the South Sea scheme, latterly held an office in the excise. He married Martha Ogston, and the first child of this marriage was the subject of the following memoir.

Hugh Blair was early remarked by his father to possess the seeds of genius. For this reason, joined to a consideration, perhaps, of his delicate constitution, he was educated for the church. He commenced his academic career at the university of Edinburgh, October, 1730, and as his weakly health disabled him from enjoying the usual sports of boyhood, his application to study was very close. Among the numerous testimonies to his proficiency which were paid by his instructors, one deserves to be particularly mentioned, as, in his own opinion, it determined the bent of his genius towards polite literature. An essay, *Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ*, that is, upon the BEAUTIFUL,¹ written by him when a student of logic in the usual course of academical exercises, had the good fortune to attract the notice of Professor Stevenson, and, with circumstances honourable to the author, was appointed to be read in public at the conclusion of the session. This mark of distinction, which occurred in his sixteenth year, made a deep impression on his mind; and the essay which merited it he ever after recollected with partial affection, and preserved to the day of his death, as the first earnest of his fame.

At this time Dr. Blair commenced a method of study which contributed much to the accuracy and extent of his knowledge, and which he continued to practise occasionally even after his reputation was fully established. It consisted in making abstracts of the most important works which he read, and in digesting them according to the train of his own thoughts. History, in particular, he resolved to study in this manner; and in concert with some of his youthful associates, he constructed a very comprehensive scheme of chronological tables, for receiving into its proper place every important fact which should occur. The scheme devised by this young student for his own private use was afterwards improved, filled up, and given to the public, by his learned relative Dr. John Blair, prebendary of Westminster, in his valuable work *The Chronology and History of the World*.

In 1739, on taking the degree of Master of Arts, Blair printed his thesis, *De Fundamentis et Obligatione Legis Naturæ*, which contains a brief outline of these moral principles afterwards developed in his sermons, and displays the first dawnings of that virtuous sensibility by which he was at all periods of his public life so highly distinguished. On the 21st of October, 1741, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Edinburgh, and soon began, in the usual manner, to exhibit himself occasionally in the pulpit. Heretofore the only popular style of preaching in Scotland was that of the evangelical party, which consisted chiefly in an impassioned address to the devotional feelings of the audience. The moderate party, who were of course least popular, had neither lost the practice of indulging in tedious theological disquisitions, nor acquired that of expatiating on the moral duties. The sermons of this young licentiate, which presented sound practical doctrines in a style of language almost unknown in Scotland, struck the minds of the audience as something quite new. In the course of a very few months his fame had travelled far beyond the bounds of his

¹ A technical Greek phrase, expressing the abstract idea of the perfection of beauty in objects of taste. A devotion to the "To kalon" in that nation, was similar to what the moderns understand by a correct taste.

native city. A sermon which he preached in the West Church produced an extraordinary impression, and was spoken of in highly favourable terms to the Earl of Leven. His lordship accordingly presented the preacher to the parish church of Colesie in Fife, which happened to be then vacant. He was ordained to this charge, September 23, 1742, but was not long permitted to labour in so confined a scene. In a few months he was brought forward by his friends as candidate for the second charge of the church of Canongate, which may almost be considered a metropolitan situation. In the popular election which followed, he was successful against a very formidable competitor, Mr. Robert Walker, then a favourite preacher. He was inducted to this charge, July 14, 1743, when he had little more than completed his twenty-fifth year. On the occasion of the insurrection of 1745, Blair preached a sermon in the warmest strain of loyalty to the existing government, and which he afterwards printed. During the eleven years which he spent in the Canongate, his sermons attracted large audiences from the adjoining city, and were alike admired for their eloquence and piety. They were composed with uncommon care; and, occupying a middle place between the dry metaphysical discussion of one class of preachers, and the loose incoherent declamation of the other, they blended together in the happiest manner the light of argument with the warmth of exhortation, and exhibited captivating specimens of what had hitherto been rarely heard in Scotland,—the polished, well-compacted, and regular didactic oration.

On the 11th of October, 1754, he was called by the town-council of Edinburgh to one of the city charges, that of Lady Yester's church, and on the 15th of June, 1758, he was promoted by the same body to the highest situation attainable by a Scottish clergyman—one of the charges of the High Church. This latter removal took place, according to the records of the town-council, "because they had it fully ascertained that his translation would be highly acceptable to persons of the most distinguished character and eminent rank in this country who had seats in said church." In truth, this place of worship might have been styled, in the absence of an episcopal system, the *metropolitan* church of Scotland. In it sat the Lords of Session and all the other great law and state officers, besides the magistrates and council, and a large congregation of the most respectable inhabitants of the town. It might now therefore be said that the eloquence of Blair had at last reached a fit theatre for its display. In the year previous to this last translation he had been honoured by the university of St. Andrews with the degree of D.D., which was then very rare in Scotland.

Hitherto Blair's attention seems to have been chiefly devoted to his profession. No production of his pen had yet been given to the world by himself, except two sermons preached on particular occasions, some translations of passages of Scripture for the psalmody of the church, and the article on Hutcheson's system of moral philosophy for the *Edinburgh Review*—a periodical work begun in 1755 by Hume, Robertson, and others, and which only extended to two numbers. Standing, as he now did, at the head of his profession, and released, by the labour of former years, from the drudgery of weekly preparation for the pulpit, he began to think seriously on a plan for teaching to others the art which had contributed so much to his own fame. Some years before, Dr. Adam Smith had delivered in Edinburgh a series of lectures on rhetoric and elegant literature, which had been well received. In 1759 Dr. Blair commenced, with the approbation of the university, a course upon

the principles of literary composition. The most zealous friends to this undertaking were David Hume and Lord Kames, the latter of whom had devoted much attention to the subject. The approbation bestowed upon the lectures was so very high, and their fame became so generally diffused, that the town-council resolved to institute a rhetorical class in the university, under his direction; and, in 1762, this professorship was taken under the protection of the crown, with a salary of £70 pounds a year. Dr. Blair continued to deliver his lectures annually till 1783, when he published them for the more extensive benefit of mankind. They are not by any means, nor were they ever pretended to be, a profound or original exposition of the laws of the *belles lettres*. They are acknowledged to be a compilation from many different sources, and only designed to form a simple and intelligible code for the instruction of youth in this department of knowledge. Regarded in this light, they are entitled to very high praise, which has accordingly been liberally bestowed by the public. These lectures have been repeatedly printed, and still remain an indispensable monitor in the study of every British scholar.

In 1763 Dr. Blair made his first appearance before the world as an author or critic. He had, in common with his friend John Home, taken a deep interest in the exertions of Macpherson for the recovery of the Highland traditional poetry. Relying without suspicion upon the faith of the collector, he prefixed to the *Poems of Ossian* a dissertation pointing out the beauties of those compositions. The labour must of course be now pronounced in a great measure useless; but nevertheless, it remains a conspicuous monument of the taste of Dr. Blair.

It was not till 1777 that he could be prevailed upon to offer to the world any of those sermons with which he had so long delighted a private congregation. We have his own authority for saying that it was his friend Lord Kames who was chiefly instrumental in prompting him to take this step. For a long period hardly any sermons published either in England or Scotland had met with success. The public taste seemed to have contracted an aversion to this species of composition. We are informed by Boswell in his *Life of Johnson*, that, when Blair transmitted a volume to Mr. Strahan, the king's printer, that gentleman, after letting it lie beside him for some time, returned a letter discouraging the publication. It is probable that this opinion, which seems to have been given only on general grounds, might have caused Dr. Blair to abandon his intention; but fortunately, Mr. Strahan had sent one of the sermons to Dr. Johnson for his opinion, and after his unfavourable letter to Dr. Blair had been sent off, he received from Johnson on Christmas eve, 1776, a note, of which the following is a paragraph: "I have read over Dr. Blair's first sermon with more than approbation; to say it is good is to say too little." Mr. Strahan had very soon after this time a conversation with Dr. Johnson concerning the sermons; and then he very candidly wrote again to Dr. Blair, inclosing Johnson's note, and agreeing to purchase the volume, with Mr. Cadell, for £100. The sale was so rapid and extensive, and the approbation of the public so high, that, to their honour be it recorded, the proprietors made Dr. Blair a present, first of one sum, and afterwards of another of £50, thus voluntarily doubling the stipulated price. Perhaps in no country, not even in his own, were these compositions so highly appreciated as in England. There they were received with the keenest relish, not only on account of their abstract excellence, but partly from a kind of surprise as to the quarter from which they

came—no devotional work produced by Scotland having ever before been found entitled to much attention in the southern section of the island. The volume speedily fell under the attention of George III. and his virtuous consort, and was by them very highly admired. His majesty, with that wise and sincere attention to the interests of religion and virtue which constituted the best part of his reign, was graciously pleased to judge the author worthy of a public reward. By a royal mandate to the exchequer in Scotland, dated July 25, 1780, a pension of £200 a year was bestowed on Dr. Blair. It is said that the sermons were first read in the royal closet by the Earl of Mansfield; and there is little reason to doubt that they were indebted in some degree to the elocution of the "elegant Murray" for the impression which they produced upon the royal family.

During the subsequent part of his life Dr. Blair published three other volumes of sermons; and it might safely be said that each successive publication only tended to deepen the impression produced by the first. These compositions, which were translated into almost every language in Europe, formed only a small part of the discourses which he prepared for the pulpit. The number of those which remained was creditable to his professional character, and exhibited a convincing proof that his fame as a public teacher had been honourably purchased by the most unwearied application to the private and unseen labours of his office. Out of his remaining manuscripts he had prepared a fifth volume, which appeared after his death; the rest, according to an explicit injunction in his will, were committed to the flames. The last sermon which he composed was one in the fifth volume, "on a life of dissipation and pleasure." Though written at the age of eighty-two, it is a dignified and eloquent discourse, and may be regarded as his solemn parting admonition to a class of men whose conduct is highly important to the community, and whose reformation and virtue he had long laboured most zealously to promote.

THE SERMONS OF BLAIR are not now, perhaps, to be criticized with that blind admiration which ranked them, in their own time, amidst the classics of English literature. The present age is now generally sensible that they are deficient in that religious unction which constitutes the better part of such compositions, and are but little calculated to stir and rouse the heart to a sense of spiritual duty. Everything, however, must be considered more or less relatively. Blair's mind was formed at a time when the fervours of evangelical divinity were left by the informed classes generally to the lowly and uninstructed hearts, which, after all, are the great citadels of religion in every country. A certain order of the clergy, towards the end of the eighteenth century, seemed to find it necessary, in order to prevent an absolute revolt of the higher orders from the standards of religion, to accommodate themselves to the prevailing taste, and only administer moral discourses, with an insinuated modicum of real piety, where their proper purpose unquestionably is to maintain spiritual grace in the breasts of the people by all the means which the gospel has placed within their reach. Thus, as Blair preached to the most refined congregation in Scotland, he could hardly have failed to fall into this prevalent fashion; and he perhaps considered, with perfect sincerity, that he was justified by the precept of St. Paul, which commands the ministers of religion to be "all things to all men." Religious feeling is modified by time and place; and I do not apprehend it to be impossible that the mind of Hugh Blair, existing at the time of his celebrated

ancestor, might have exerted itself in maintaining the covenant, and inspiring the populace with the energy necessary for that purpose; while the intellect and heart of his predecessor, if interchanged, might have spent their zeal in behalf of Henry Viscount Melville, and in gently pleasing the minds of a set of modern indifferents with one grain of the gospel dissolved into a large cooling-draught of moral dissipation.

The remaining part of the life of Blair hardly affords a single additional incident. He had been married in 1748 to his cousin, Katherine Bannatyne, daughter of the Rev. James Bannatyne, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. By this lady he had a son who died in infancy, and a daughter, who survived to her twenty-first year—the pride of her parents, and adorned with all the accomplishments which belong to her age and sex. Mrs. Blair—herself a woman of great good sense and spirit—was also taken from him a few years before his death, after she had shared with the tenderest affection in all his fortunes, and contributed nearly half a century to his happiness and comfort. The latter part of his life was spent in the enjoyment of a degree of public respect which falls to the lot of few men, but which was eminently deserved by him, both on account of his high literary accomplishments, and the singular purity and benevolence of his private character. He latterly was enabled, by the various sources of income which he enjoyed, to set up a carriage—a luxury enjoyed, perhaps, by no predecessor in the Scottish church, and by very few of his successors. He also maintained an elegant hospitality, both at his town and country residences, which were much resorted to by strangers of distinction who happened to visit Edinburgh.

It may be curious to know in what manner those discourses were delivered from the pulpit, which have so highly charmed the world in print. As might be easily supposed, where there was so much merit of one kind, there could scarcely, without a miracle, be any high degree of another and entirely different kind. In truth, the elocution of Dr. Blair, though accompanied by a dignified and impressive manner, was not fit to be compared with his powers of composition. His voice was deformed by a peculiarity which I know not how to express by any other term than one almost too homely for modern composition—a *burr*. He also wanted all that charm which is to be derived from gesticulation, and, upon the whole, might be characterized as a somewhat formal preacher.

In what is called church politics Dr. Blair was a strenuous moderate, but never took an active share in the proceedings of the church. A constitutional delicacy of organization unfitted him for any scene where men have to come into strong and personal collision. In temporal politics he was a devout admirer of the existing constitution, and a zealous supporter of the Tory government which flourished during the greater part of the reign of George III. With Viscount Melville, to whose father he had dedicated his thesis in early youth, he maintained a constant interchange of civilities. At the breaking out of the French revolution he exerted himself in the most energetic manner to stop the tide of disaffection and irreligion which at one particular crisis seemed to threaten all existing institutions. He declared in the pulpit that none but a good subject could be a good Christian; an expression so strongly akin to the ancient doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, that it can only be excused by the particular circumstances of the time. The mind of Blair was too fastidiously exact and elegant to

display anything of the majestic. Possessing more taste than genius, he never astonished in conversation by any original remark. In company he made a far less striking appearance than the half-instructed peasant Burns, who, at his first visit to Edinburgh, was warmly patronized by Dr. Blair. In some points of view, his mind bore an unprepossessing aspect. He was content to read, and weak enough to admire, the wretched fictitious compositions which appeared in that age under the denomination of novels. He would talk profusely of the furniture of the room in which he was sitting, criticizing every object with a sincere and well-weighed attention, which would not have been ill-bestowed upon the most solemn subjects. In his dress, and in almost all points of mere *externe* and ceremonial form, he was minutely fastidious. He was also so fond of the approbation of his fellow-creatures—in moderation a most useful feature of character—that even very marked flattery was received by him not only without displeasure, but with an obviously keen relish, that said little either for his discrimination or his modesty. Yet, with these less worthy points of character, Blair had no mean moral feelings. He was incapable of envy, spoke liberally and candidly of men whose pursuits and opinions differed from his own, and was seldom betrayed into a severe remark upon any subject unconnected with actual vice.

Though his bodily constitution was by no means robust, yet by habitual temperance and by attention to health, his life was happily prolonged beyond the usual period. For some years he had felt himself unequal to the fatigue of instructing his very large congregation from the pulpit; and under the impression which this feeling produced, he has been heard to say with a sigh, that "he was left almost the last of his contemporaries." Such, nevertheless, was the vigour of his mind, that in 1799, when past the eightieth year of his age, he composed and preached one of the most effective sermons he ever delivered, on behalf of the fund for the benefit of the sons of the clergy. He was also employed during the summer of 1800 in preparing his last volume for the press; and for this purpose he copied the whole with his own hand. He began the winter, pleased with himself on account of this exertion; and his friends were flattered with the hope that he might live to enjoy the accession of emolument and fame which he expected it would bring. But the seeds of a mortal disease were lurking within him. On the 24th of December he felt slight pain in his bowels, with which neither he nor his friends were alarmed. On the afternoon of the 26th, this pain increased, and violent symptoms began to appear, the causes of which were then unfortunately unknown both to himself and his physician. He had for a few years laboured under an inguinal hernia. This malady, which he was imprudently disposed to conceal, he considered as trifling; and he understood that, by taking the ordinary precautions, nothing was to be apprehended from it. It settled, however, into a stoppage of the bowels, and ere the physician was made aware of his condition, an inflammation had taken place, and he consequently survived only till the morning of the 27th, thus expiring almost at the same time with that century of the Christian epoch of which he had been one of the most distinguished ornaments. He died in the eighty-third year of his age, and the fifty-ninth of his profession as a minister of the gospel.

BLAIR, JAMES, an eminent divine, was reared for the Episcopal church of Scotland, at the time when it was struggling with the popular dislike in the reign

of Charles II. Discouraged by the equivocal situation of that establishment in Scotland, he voluntarily abandoned his preferments and removed to England, where he was patronized by Compton, Bishop of London. By this prelate he was prevailed upon to go as a missionary to Virginia, in 1685, and, having given the greatest satisfaction by his zeal in the propagation of religion, he was, in 1689, preferred to the office of commissary to the bishop, which was the highest ecclesiastical dignity in that province. His exertions were by no means confined to his ordinary duties. Observing the disadvantage under which the province laboured through the want of seminaries for the education of a native clergy, he set about, and finally was able to accomplish, the honourable work of founding the college of Williamsburgh, which was afterwards, by his personal intervention, endowed by King William III., with a patent, under the title of the William and Mary College. He died in 1743, after having been president of this institution for about fifty, and a minister of the gospel for above sixty, years. He had also enjoyed the office of president of the council of Virginia. In the year before his death he had published at London his great work, entitled *Our Saviour's Divine Sermon on the Mount explained, and the Practice of it Recommended, in divers Sermons and Discourses*, 4 vols. 8vo., which is styled by Dr. Waterland, the editor of a second edition, "a valuable treasure of sound divinity and practical Christianity."

BLAIR, JOHN, a churchman of noble family, who, being compelled by the tyranny of Edward I. in Scotland to join the bands of Sir William Wallace, became chaplain to that hero, and did not scruple also to take a share in his battles. He wrote an account of the deeds of Wallace, which is now lost, but is supposed to have furnished materials to Blind Harry. Another work of Blair's was styled, *De Liberata Tyrannide Scotia*.

BLAIR, JOHN, LL.D., an eminent chronologist, was, as already mentioned in the memoir of Dr. Hugh Blair, a relative of that distinguished personage. He received a clerical education at Edinburgh, and afterwards went in search of employment to London, along with Mr. Andrew Henderson, author of a *History of the Rebellion of 1745*, and many other works, and who, for some years, kept a bookseller's shop in Westminster Hall. As Henderson describes himself as residing in Edinburgh at the time of the battle of Prestonpans, it is probable that Blair's removal to London took place after that event. Henderson's first employment was that of an usher at a school in Hedge Lane, in which he was succeeded by Blair. The attention of the latter had probably been directed to chronology by the example of Dr. Hugh Blair, who, as already mentioned, commenced a series of tables of events for his own private use, which ultimately formed the foundation of the work given to the world, in 1754, under the title of *The Chronology and History of the World, from the Creation to the year of Christ, 1753*; "illustrated in fifty-six tables, of which four are introductory, and contain the centuries prior to the first Olympiad, and each of the remaining fifty-two contain, in one expanded view, fifty years, or half a century. By the Rev. John Blair, LL.D." This large and valuable work was published by subscription, and was dedicated to Lord-chancellor Hardwicke. In January, 1755, Dr. John Blair was elected F.R.S., and in 1761, F.A.S. In 1756 he published a new edition of his *Chronology*. In September, 1757, he was appointed chaplain to the

Dowager Princess of Wales, and mathematical tutor to the Duke of York (brother to George III.); and on Dr. Townshend's promotion to the deanery of Norwich, the services of Dr. Blair were rewarded, March, 1761, with a prebendal stall in Westminster Abbey. Such a series of rapidly accumulating honours has fallen to the lot of very few Scottish adventurers. But this was not destined to be the end of his good fortune. He had only been prebend of Westminster six days, when the death of the vicar of Hinckley, in Leicestershire, enabled the dean and chapter to present him to that valuable living, to which was soon after added, the rectory of Burton-coggles in Lincolnshire. In 1763-4 he made the tour of the Continent, in company with his royal pupil. A new and enlarged edition of his *Chronology* appeared in 1768, and in 1771 he was presented, by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, to the vicarage of St. Bride's in the city of London, which made it necessary for him to resign Hinckley. In 1776 he resigned St. Bride's, in order to succeed to the rectory of St. John the Evangelist in Westminster; and in June that year he obtained a dispensation to hold this benefice along with that of Horton, near Colebrook, in Buckinghamshire. In the memorable sea-fight of the 12th of August, 1782, his brother, Captain Blair, in the command of the *Anson*, was one of three distinguished officers who fell, and to whom the country afterwards voted a monument. This event gave such a shock to the venerable doctor, who at that time suffered under influenza, that he died at his house in Dean's Yard, Westminster, on the 24th of June following. A work entitled, *Lectures on the Canons of the Old Testament*, appeared after his death; but his best monument unquestionably will be his *Chronology*, the value of which has been so amply acknowledged by the world.

BLAIR, PATRICK, M.D., an eminent botanist in the earlier period of the existence of that science in Britain, was first known as a practitioner of surgery and physic at Dundee, where he brought himself into prominent notice as an anatomist, 1706, by the dissection of an elephant which died near that place. He was a non-juror or Scottish Episcopalian, and so far attached to the exiled family of Stuart, as to be imprisoned during the insurrection of 1715 as a suspected person. He afterwards removed to London, where he recommended himself to the attention of the Royal Society by some discourses on the sexes of flowers. His stay in London was short, and after leaving it he settled at Boston in Lincolnshire, where Dr. Pulteney conjectures that he practised physic during the remainder of his life. The same writer, in his *Historical and Biographical Sketches of English Botany*, supposes that his death happened soon after the publication of the seventh *Decad* of his *Pharmacobotanologia*, in 1728.

Dr. Blair's first publication was entitled, *Miscellaneous Observations in Physic, Anatomy, Surgery, and Botany*, 8vo, 1718. In the botanical part of this work he insinuates some doubts relating to the method suggested by Petion and others, of deducing the qualities of vegetables from the agreement in natural characters; and instances the *Cynoglossum*, as tending to prove the fallacy of this rule. He relates several instances of the poisonous effects of plants, and thinks the *Echium maritimum* (*Pulmonaria maritima* of Linnæus) should be ranked in the genus *Cynoglossum*, since it possesses a narcotic power. He describes and figures several of the more rare British plants, which he had discovered in a tour made into Wales; for instance, the *Rumex digynus*, *Lobelia dortmanna*, *Alisma ranunculoides*, *Pyrola*

rotundifolia, *Alchemilla alpina*, &c. But the work by which he rendered the greatest service to botany originated with his *Discourse on the Sexes of Plants*, read before the Royal Society, and afterwards greatly amplified and published, at the request of several members of that body, under the title of *Botanical Essays*, 8vo, 1720. This treatise is divided into two parts, containing five essays; the three first respecting what is proper to plants, and the two last what is proper to plants and animals. This is acknowledged by an eminent judge to have been the first complete work, at least in the English language, on that important department of botanical science, the sexes of the plants. The author shows himself well acquainted, in general, with all the opinions and arguments which had been already circulated on the same subject. The value of the work must not be estimated by the measure of modern knowledge, though even at this day it may be read by those not critically versed in the subject, with instruction and improvement. A view of the several methods then invented cannot be seen so connectedly in any other English author. Dr. Blair strengthened the arguments in proof of the sexes of plants by sound reasoning and some new experiments. His reasons against Morland's opinion of the entrance of the *farina* into the vasculum seminale, and his refutation of the Lewenhœckian theory, have met with the sanction of the greatest names in modern botany. Dr. Blair's last distinct publication, which he did not live to complete, was *Pharmacobotanologia*; or, *An Alphabetical and Classical Dissertation on all the British Indigenous and Garden Plants of the New Dispensatory*, 4to, 1723-28. In this work, which was carried no further than the letter H, the genera and species are described, the sensible qualities and medicinal powers are subjoined, with the pharmaceutical uses, and the author also notices several of the more rare English plants discovered by himself in the environs of Boston. Dr. Blair's fugitive writings consist of various papers in the *Philosophical Transactions*, of which one of the most remarkable is an account of the anatomy and osteology of the elephant, drawn up from his observations in dissecting the animal above alluded to at Dundee.

BLAIR, ROBERT, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was the sixth and youngest son of John Blair of Windyedge in Ayrshire, and Beatrix Muir, a lady of the honourable house of Rowallan. He was born at Irvine in 1593, and received his education at the college of Glasgow. After acting for some time as assistant to a teacher in that city, he was appointed, in the twenty-second year of his age, to be a regent or professor in the college. In 1616 he was licensed as a minister of the gospel. Happening soon after to preach before the celebrated Robert Bruce, and being anxious to have the judgment of so great and good a man upon his discourse, he took the liberty of directly asking him how he liked the sermon: Bruce said, "I found your sermon very polished and well digested; but there is one thing I did miss in it—to wit, the Spirit of God; I found not that." This criticism made a deep and useful impression upon the young preacher. The prospects of Mr. Blair at Glasgow were clouded, in 1622, by the accession of Cameron to the office of principal in the college. This divine, having been imbued in France with the tenets of Arminius, became a zealous promoter of the views of the court, for the introduction of Episcopacy into Scotland. Blair speedily became obnoxious to his evil offices, and found it necessary to resign his charge. For some years he officiated to a Presbyterian congre-

gation at Bangour in Ireland, but in 1632 was suspended, along with the equally famous preacher Livingstone, by the Bishop of Down. He then went over to court, to implore the interference of the king (Charles I.), who at length gave a favourable answer to his petition, writing with his own hand upon the margin, "Indulge these men, for they are Scotsmen;" an expression certainly honourable to the heart of the unfortunate monarch. Blair was one of those divines who were reputed in Scotland to have direct communications with heaven, and a power of prophetic vision. While waiting anxiously for the return of his petition, he asked, and, as it is recorded by his biographer, received, a sign from heaven, assuring him that his wishes would be realized. He also "had, from Ezek. xiv. 16, a strange discovery of his wife's death, and the very bed whereon she was lying, and the particular acquaintances attending her; and although she was in good health at his return home, yet in a little all this came to pass."¹ He had not been long re-established at Bangour, when the bishop found further fault with him, and again sentenced him to be expelled. He now joined in a scheme set on foot by various Presbyterian clergymen in similar circumstances for fitting out a ship, and emigrating to New England. But being driven back by a storm, they conceived that the Almighty will was opposed to their resolution, and accordingly abandoned the scheme. Blair returned to Scotland to mingle in the tumultuous scenes of the covenant. He preached for some time at Ayr, and was afterwards settled by the General Assembly at St. Andrews. In 1640 he accompanied the Scottish army into England, and assisted at the negotiations for the peace of Ripon. After the first burst of the Irish rebellion of 1641, when the Presbyterians of Ireland supplicated the General Assembly for a supply of ministers, Blair was one of those who went over. He soon returned, however, to his charge at St. Andrews. In autumn, 1645, when the Scottish estates and General Assembly were obliged by the prevalence of the plague at Edinburgh to sit in St. Andrews, Blair took a conspicuous part in the prosecution of Sir Robert Spottiswoode and other adherents of Montrose, who had been taken prisoners at Philiphaugh. Sir Robert was sentenced to be beheaded as a traitor. Blair was anxious that an exertion should be made to turn Sir Robert from the errors of his faith, so that he might at least die in the profession of the true religion. He therefore attended him in jail, and even at the scaffold, trying all his eloquence to work a conversion. Spottiswoode appears to have looked upon these efforts in a different spirit from that in which they were made, and was provoked, upon the very scaffold, to reject the prayers of his pious monitor in language far from courtly. Mr. Blair was equally unsuccessful with Captain Guthrie, son of the ex-bishop of Moray, who was soon after executed at the same place.

Blair was one of the Scottish divines appointed in 1645 to reason the king out of his Episcopal prepossessions at Newcastle. The celebrated Cant, one of his coadjutors in this task, having one day accused his Majesty of favouring Popery, Mr. Blair interrupted him, and hinted that this was not a proper time or place for making such a charge. The unfortunate monarch, who certainly had a claim to this amount upon the gratitude of Blair, appears to have felt the kindness of the remark. At the death of Henderson his Majesty appointed Blair to be his successor as chaplain for Scotland.

In this capacity he had much intercourse with the king, who one day asked him if it was warrantable in prayer to determine a controversy. Blair, taking the hint, said, that in the prayer just finished he did not think that he had determined any controversy. "Yes," said the king, "you determined the Pope to be Antichrist, which is a controversy among divines." Blair said he was sorry that this should be disputed by his Majesty, for certainly it was not so by his father. This remark showed great acuteness in the royal chaplain, for Charles, being a constant defender of the opinions of his father, whose authority he esteemed above that of all professional theologians, was totally unable to make any reply. The constancy of the king in his adherence to the church of Laud rendered, as is well known, all the advices of the Scottish divines unavailing. After spending some months with his Majesty in his captivity at Newcastle, Mr. Blair returned to Scotland.

In 1648, when Cromwell came to Edinburgh for the first time, the commission of the church sent three divines, including Mr. Blair, to treat with him for a uniformity of religion in England. The sectarian general, who looked upon the Scottish Presbyterianism as no better than English Episcopacy, but yet was anxious to conciliate the northern divines, entertained this legation with smooth speeches, and made many solemn appeals to God, as to the sincerity of his intentions. Blair, however, had perceived the real character of Cromwell, and thought it necessary to ask explicit answers to the three following categories:—1. What was his opinion of monarchical government? To this he answered, that he was for monarchical government; which exactly suited the views of the Scottish Presbyterians. 2. What was his opinion as to toleration? He answered confidently, that he was altogether against toleration; which pleased, if possible, still better. 3. What was his opinion concerning the government of the church? "Oh, now," said Cromwell, "Mr. Blair, you article me too severely; you must pardon me that I give you not a present answer to this." When the deputation left him Mr. David Dickson said to Mr. Blair, "I am glad to hear this man speak no worse;" to which the latter replied, "If you knew him as well as I, you would not believe a word he says, for he is an egregious dissembler."

Blair continued to be a zealous and useful minister during the usurpation of Cromwell, but after the restoration fell speedily under the censure of his metropolitan, Archbishop Sharpe. For some years he had no regular place of worship, but preached and ministered when he met with a favourable opportunity. During his later years, being prohibited from coming within twenty miles of St. Andrews, he lived at Meikle Couston, in the parish of Aberdour, where he died, August 27, 1666, in the 73d year of his age. He was buried in the churchyard of Aberdour, where there is a small tablet to his memory.

Robert Blair was the author of a *Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, and also of some political pieces, none of which have come down to modern times. His abilities were singularly revived in more than one branch of his numerous progeny, particularly in his grandson, the author of *The Grave*, and his two great-grandsons, Dr. Hugh Blair, and Robert Blair, president of the Court of Session.

BLAIR, ROBERT, author of *The Grave*, a Poem, was the eldest son of the Rev. David Blair, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and chaplain to the king, who, in his turn, was son to the subject of the preceding article. The mother of the author of

¹ *Scots Worthies*, new edition, 1827, p. 302.

The Grave was a Miss Nisbet, daughter of Mr. Nisbet of Carfin. He was born in the year 1699, and after the usual preparatory studies, was ordained, in 1731, minister of Athelstaneford, in East Lothian, where he spent the remainder of his life. Possessing a small fortune in addition to his stipend as a parish clergyman, he lived, we are told, rather in the style of a country gentleman than of a minister, keeping company with the neighbouring gentry, among whom Sir Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton, patron of the parish, was one of his warmest friends. Blair, we are further informed, was at once a man of learning and of elegant taste and manners. He was a botanist and florist, which he showed in the cultivation of his garden; and was also conversant in optical and microscopical knowledge, on which subjects he carried on a correspondence with some learned men in England. He was a man of sincere piety, and very assiduous in discharging the duties of his clerical functions. As a preacher, he was serious and warm, and discovered the imagination of a poet. He married Miss Isabella Law, daughter of Mr. Law of Elvingston, who had been professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh; by this lady, who survived him, he had five sons and one daughter. His fourth son, who bore his own name, arose, through various gradations of honour at the Scottish bar, to be president of the Court of Session.

Blair had turned his thoughts, at an early period of life, to poetry. While still very young, he wrote some verses to the memory of his future father-in-law, Mr. Law, who was also his blood-relation. We have his own testimony for saying, that his *Grave* was chiefly composed in that period of his life which preceded his ordination as a parochial clergyman. An original manuscript of the poem, in the possession of his son the lord-president, was dated 1741-2; and it appears, from a letter written by the author to Dr. Doddridge, in February that year, that he had just been endeavouring, through the influence of his correspondent, Dr. Isaac Watts, to induce the London booksellers to publish it. It was rejected by two of these patrons of literature, to whom it had been recommended by Dr. Watts; but was finally printed at London, in 1743, "for Mr. Cooper." The author appears to have been seriously anxious that it should become a popular work, for he thus writes to Dr. Doddridge:—"In order to make it more generally liked, I was obliged sometimes to go cross to my own inclination, well knowing that, whatever poem is written upon a serious argument must, upon that very account, be under serious disadvantages; and therefore proper arts must be used to make such a piece go down with a licentious age, which cares for none of those things." This is not very clearly intelligible, but, perhaps, alludes to the plain, strong, rational, and often colloquially familiar language of the poem, which the plurality of modern critics will allow to be its best feature. *The Grave* is now to be esteemed as one of the standard classics of English poetical literature, in which rank it will probably remain longer than many works of greater contemporary, or even present, fame.

BLANE, SIR GILBERT, M.D., of Blanefield, Ayrshire, and Culverlands, Berkshire, Bart. This eminent physician was the fourth son of Gilbert Blane of Blanefield, in the county of Ayr, and was born at that place A.D. 1749. Being destined by his parents for the church, he was sent at an early age to the university of Edinburgh; but in consequence of certain religious scruples, he abandoned the purpose of studying for the ministry, and turned his thoughts to the medical profession, for which he soon

found that he had a peculiar vocation. His remarkable diligence and proficiency in the different departments of medical science secured the notice not only of his class-fellows, but the professors, so that on graduating as a physician, he was recommended by Dr. Cullen to Dr. William Hunter, at that time of high celebrity in London, both as physician and teacher of anatomy, who soon learned to estimate the talents and worth of his young *protege*. He therefore introduced Dr. Blane to the notice of Lord Holderness, whose private physician he soon became, and he was afterwards appointed to the same office to Lord Rodney. This transition from the service of a peaceful statesman to that of an active naval hero, introduced the Doctor to a wider sphere of medical practice, but to one also of greater danger and trial. When Lord Rodney, in 1780, assumed the command of the West India station, Blane accompanied him, and was present in six naval engagements, in the very first of which he found himself compelled to forego his professional privilege of being a non-combatant. This was in consequence of every officer on deck being killed, wounded, or otherwise employed, so that none remained but himself who could be intrusted with the admiral's orders to the officers serving at the guns. This hazardous employment he cheerfully undertook and ably discharged, receiving a slight wound in its performance. His conduct on this occasion was so gratifying to his lordship, that, at his recommendation, he was at once raised to the important office of physician to the fleet, without undergoing the subordinate grades. On this station, where disease is so prevalent among our seamen, he was unremitting in his attention to the health of the ships' crews, and the success of his efforts was felt by the whole fleet. During this period, also, he found a short interval for gratifying those literary tastes which he had cultivated at college; and his account of the important naval engagement of the 12th of April, 1782, which he sent to Lord Stair, was so distinct and so animated, that it soon found its way into print. This victory, indeed, which Lord Rodney obtained over Count de Grasse off Guadeloupe, was of itself well worthy of admiration; for it not only saved Jamaica, ruined the allied fleet of our enemies in that quarter, and restored the supremacy of the British flag, but was the first great trial of the experiment of breaking the line which Nelson afterwards so successfully adopted. Soon after his return from the West India station, which he left in 1783, Dr. Blane published in London a work entitled *Observations on the Diseases of Seamen*, in one volume 8vo. It contained the results of his own careful experience, and the conclusions he had drawn from the medical returns of the surgeons of the fleet, and abounded with so much sound and practical wisdom upon that important subject, that it soon became a standard work, and was repeatedly reprinted with additional improvements. On his return, it was found that he was precluded from half-pay, on account of his appointment having been made without his having passed the intermediate steps of service. But a still more honourable requital awaited his labours; for, in consequence of a joint application from all the officers on the West India station to the Admiralty, Dr. Blane was rewarded by a pension from the crown, which was afterwards doubled at the suggestion of the lords of the Admiralty. Even this, too, was not the full amount of benefit which he owed to the esteem of his fellow-officers; for one of these, a midshipman of Rodney's fleet—but who was no less a person than the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV.

—obtained for him the appointment of physician extraordinary to the Prince of Wales, in 1785; he was also, chiefly through the popular influence of Lord Rodney, elected physician to St. Thomas's Hospital. About the same time, also, he was appointed one of the commissioners of sick and wounded sailors. As he was now on shore, and in prosperous circumstances, he sought a permanent and comfortable home by marriage, and on the 11th July, 1786, was united to Elizabeth, only daughter of Abraham Gardner, merchant. By this lady, who shared with him the honours and comforts of a long life, and whose death preceded his own by only two years, he was the father of six sons and three daughters. Having about the time of his marriage been elected a fellow of the Royal Society, he was appointed, in 1788, to deliver the Croonian lecture of that year, a duty which he performed with signal ability, having chosen *Muscular Motion* for his subject, and illustrated it with great extent of information, as well as much profound and original thinking. The essay was published in 1791, and afterwards republished in his *Select Dissertations*, in 1822 and 1834. In 1790 an essay of his on the "Nardus or Spikenard of the Ancients," was also published in the 80th volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Society*.

More important, however, than all these appointments that were successively conferred upon Dr. Blane, was that of being placed at the head of the navy medical board, which occurred in 1795. It was here that he had full scope and exercise for his talents, philanthropy, and nautical experience as a physician. In proportion as the empire of Britain was extended, the number and length of voyages were increased, so that the draught upon our island population for the royal and merchant service was every year becoming greater. But a still more serious danger than any that arose from storm or battle, was that which originated in scurvy, the ocean-pestilence, from which there had hitherto been no protection, except at the expense of a long delay by recruiting on a friendly shore. The causes of this disease were the cold and unhealthy atmosphere on ship-board, owing to defective ship-building, the sand used for ballast, the unwholesome miasma of the bilge-water, and the imperfect means of washing and ventilating the vessel. But these were trivial compared with the diet of our sailors, which, on long voyages, consisted merely of salted meat and biscuit. The defective nourishment and excessive stimulus of this kind of food made the scurvy still prevalent in our fleets, notwithstanding the improvements by which the other causes were counteracted; and the point and limit seemed to have been already attained, beyond which the British flag could not be carried. "The cure seems impossible by any remedy, or by any management that can be employed," says the historian of Anson's voyage despairingly, when he describes the condition of the commodore's crew on his arrival at Juan Fernandez, where, after a loss of four-fifths of his sailors, he had, out of the 200 survivors, only eight who were capable of duty. It was to root out, or at least to diminish this disease, and bring it under proper management, that Dr. Blane now addressed himself; and in this humane and patriotic purpose he was ably seconded by Earl Spencer, at that time first lord of the Admiralty. The doctor well knew that the only antiscorbutics available for the prevention or cure of sea-scurvy are those vegetables in which acid predominates; and that of all fruits, the genus *Citrus* is most effective. Here, then, was the remedy; and since the fruit could not be carried

fresh during a long voyage, the preserved juice might be used as a substitute. Such was the cure he suggested, and, through the influence of Earl Spencer, it was immediately introduced throughout the whole British navy. Several gallons of lemon juice, having a tenth part of spirit of wine, to preserve it, was supplied to each ship; and in a fortnight after leaving the port the use of it began, each sailor being allowed one ounce of it, with an ounce and a half of sugar, to mix with his grog or wine. The immense advantages of an innovation apparently so very simple—and therefore so very difficult to be discovered—were quickly apparent. In the statistics of our navy we find, that during nine years of consecutive warfare, from 1778 to 1795, the number of men voted for the service by parliament was 745,000, of whom 189,730 were sent sick on shore, or to the hospitals. But during the nine following years of consecutive warfare, that is to say, from 1796, when the use of lime-juice was introduced into the navy, till 1806, during which period 1,053,076 men were voted for sea-service, of these the sick amounted to no more than 123,949. The amount of disease had thus diminished by one-half, because scurvy had almost wholly disappeared; and our fleets, instead of being utterly drained of their seamen, as would have been the case under the former ratio, were enabled for twenty years to go onward in a career of victory unchecked, and repair their losses as fast as they occurred. And the merchant service, too, from which these victories derive their value, has been equally benefited by the remedy of Dr. Blane, so that its vessels may traverse every sea in safety, and return after the longest voyages with a healthy and happy crew; while a spectacle such as had been seen more than once—like that of the *Oriflamme*, for instance, where the whole crew had died, and the deck was piled with the corpses, while not a hand was left to guide her course as she slowly drifted before the wind—would be reckoned as impossible as a realization of the tale of the *Ancient Mariner*.

The famine which prevailed over the whole of Britain during the years 1799 and 1800 was too severe to be easily forgotten by the present generation; and, with the view of directing attention to its alleviation, as well as preventing its recurrence, Dr. Blane published in 1800 an *Inquiry into the Causes and Remedies of the Late and Present Scarcity and High Price of Provisions; with Observations on the Distresses of Agriculture and Commerce which have prevailed for the last Three Years*. As he had now attained a high medical reputation, and enjoyed an extensive private practice in addition to his public duties, he resigned the office of physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, after having held it twenty years. The fruits of his observations during that period he gave to the world in a dissertation "On the Comparative Prevalence and Mortality of different Diseases in London," which was first published in the *Transactions of the Medico-Chirurgical Society*, and afterwards embodied in his *Select Dissertations*. The unhappy Walcheren expedition was one of the last public services on which Blane was employed. That island of fogs, swamps, and pestilential vapours had loomed so alluringly in the eyes of our statesmen, that nothing short of its possession would satisfy them, and one of the largest armaments that had ever left a British port, conveying 40,000 soldiers, was sent to achieve its conquest. It was soon won and occupied; but our troops found, on entering into possession, that a deadlier enemy than any that France could furnish was arrayed against them to dispute their footing; so that, independently of the fearful amount of mortality, 10,000 brave



WILLIAM WATSON

ESQ. OF THE BARR

OF THE CITY OF LONDON

1780

soldiers were soon upon the sick list. As for the disease, too, which produced such havoc, although it was sometimes called fever, and sometimes ague, neither its nature, causes, nor cure, could be satisfactorily ascertained. All this, however, it was necessary to detect, if our hold was to be continued upon Walcheren; and the chief medical officers of the army were ordered to repair in person to the island, and there hold an inquest upon the malady, with a view to its removal. But no medical Curtius could be found to throw himself into such a gulf: the surgeon-general of the army declared that the case was not surgical, and ought therefore to be superintended by the physician-general; while the latter as stoutly argued, that the duty indisputably belonged not to him, but to the inspector-general of army hospitals. In this way an office reckoned tantamount to a death-warrant, from the danger of infection which it involved, was bandied to and fro, while the unfortunate patients were daily sickening and dying by the hundred. One man, however, fully competent for the task, and whose services on such an occasion were completely gratuitous, departed upon the perilous mission. This was Dr. Blane, who, as belonging to a different department, had no such obligations as his army brethren, but who, nevertheless, undertook the obnoxious duty in 1809, while the disease was most prevalent. It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that the British soon after abandoned their possession of Walcheren.

Another public service on which Dr. Blane was employed in the following year (1810), was to visit Northfleet, and report on the expediency of establishing a dockyard and naval arsenal there. This terminated his public official labours, which were so highly valued that in 1812 he was raised to the rank of baronet, and appointed in the same year physician-in-ordinary to the prince regent. In 1819 he reappeared as an author, by the publication of *Elements of Medical Logic*, the most useful of his writings, and one so highly prized that, in the course of a few years, it went through several editions. In 1821, having now for two years been past the "threescore and ten" that constitute the common boundary of human life, he suffered under the effects of old age in the form of *prurigo senilis*, for which he was obliged to take such copious doses of opium, that he became a confirmed opium eater; but this habit, so fatal in most instances, seems in him to have been counteracted by the disease which it alleviated, for he continued to the last in full possession and use of his intellectual faculties. In 1822 he published *Select Dissertations on Several Subjects of Medical Science*, most of which had previously appeared in the form of separate papers in the most important of our medical periodicals. In 1826 he was elected a member of the Institute of France. Although a long period of peace had now occurred, his zeal for the welfare of the navy still continued. This he had first manifested on his being placed at the head of the navy medical board, when he caused regular returns or journals of the state of health and disease to be kept by every surgeon in the service, and forwarded to the navy board, from which returns he drew up those dissertations that were read before the Medico-Chirurgical Society, and published in its *Transactions*. But anxious still more effectually to promote emulation and reward merit in the medical department of the British naval service, he founded in 1829, with the sanction of the lords of the Admiralty, a prize medal for the best journal kept by the surgeons of his Majesty's navy. This medal is awarded every second year, the commissioners selecting four of the best journals for competition. On

the accession of William IV. to the throne in 1830, the sovereign was not forgetful of his old shipmate, and Sir Gilbert was appointed first physician to the king. Fully rewarded with wealth and honours, and laden with years, Sir Gilbert Blane could now retire gracefully from the scene of public life, and leave his place to be filled by younger men; and this he did in a manner that was consistent with his previous career. The whole island was filled with consternation at the coming of the cholera, and the havoc which it wrought wherever it appeared, upon which he published a pamphlet in 1831, entitled *Warning to the British Public against the Alarming Approach of the Indian Cholera*. After this he retreated, at the age of eighty-two, into peaceful retirement, where he solaced his leisure hours in revising and preparing for publication the second edition of his *Select Dissertations*, which issued from the press before he died. His death occurred on the 26th of June, 1834, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

BOECE, HECTOR, whose name was otherwise spelled Boyis, Boyes, Boiss, and Boice, an eminent, though credulous historian, was born about the year 1465-6 at Dundee, and hence he assumed the surname of Deidonanus. His family were possessed of the estate of Panbride, or Balbride, in the county of Angus, which had been acquired by his grandfather, Hugh Boece, along with the heiress in marriage, in consequence of his services to David II. at the battle of Dupplin. The rudiments of his education he received in his native town, which at that time, and for a long time after, was celebrated for its schools: he afterwards studied at Aberdeen, and finally at Paris, where, in 1497, he became a professor of philosophy in the college of Montacute. Of a number of the years of his life about this period there is evidently nothing to be told. The garrulous and sometimes fabling Dr. Mackenzie has filled up this part of his life with an account of his fellow-students at Paris—all of whose names, with one exception, have sunk into oblivion. That exception is the venerated name of Erasmus, who, as a mark of affection for Boece, dedicated to him a catalogue of his works, and maintained with him in after-life as regular a correspondence as the imperfect communication of those times would permit. In the year 1500 Bishop Elphinstone, who had just founded the college of Aberdeen, invited Boece home to be the principal. The learned professor, reluctant to quit the learned society he enjoyed at Paris, was only persuaded to accept this invitation, as he informs us himself, "by means of gifts and promises;" the principal inducement must of course have been the salary, which amounted to forty marks a year—equal to two pounds three shillings and fourpence sterling—a sum, however, which Dr. Johnson remarks, was then probably equal, not only to the needs, but to the rank of the president of King's College.

On his arrival at Aberdeen he found, among the chanons regular, a great many learned men, and became a member of their order. From this order, indeed, the professors seem to have been selected. As colleague in his new office, Hector Boece associated with himself Mr. William Hay, a gentleman of the shire of Angus, who had studied along with him under the same masters both at Dundee and Paris. Alexander Hay, a chanon of Aberdeen, was the first teacher of scholastic theology in that university. David Guthry and James Ogilvy are mentioned as professors of civil and canon law; but whether they were contemporary teachers or succeeded each other in the same chair, is not quite clear. Henry Spital

was the first who taught philosophy at Aberdeen, and for this purpose he wrote *An Easy Introduction to the Philosophy of Aristotle*. Another of the learned professors was Alexander Galloway, rector of Kinkell, who was author of a treatise on the *Æbuda* or Western Isles, with an account of the *Clag* or *Claik Geese*, and the trees upon which they were found to grow; a work no longer to be found, but the best parts of which are probably embodied in Boece's *History of Scotland*. Arthur Boece, brother to the principal, was also one of his assistants. He was a tutor of the canon law, and a licentiate in the civil; a man of great eloquence and singular erudition. Besides these, Boece has commemorated several others, who were his assistants, and reflected lustre upon the dawn of learning in the north. Some of them were, according to the learned principal's account, men of high eminence, whose influence was great in the days in which they lived, and whose example extended even to after-ages. He particularly refers to John Adam, who was the first to receive the degree of Doctor of Theology in the university; after which he was made principal of the Dominican order, which, from the vicious lives, the poverty and the ignorance of its members, had sunk into great contempt, but which he raised into high respectability, both for piety and learning. On the death of his patron, Bishop Elphinstone, in 1514, Boece, out of gratitude for his friendship and respect for his great learning and exemplary virtue, resolved to give to the world an account of his life, in composing which he was so struck with the exemplary conduct of others who had filled that see, that he determined to write the history of the lives of the whole of the bishops of Aberdeen. This laborious undertaking he completed in Latin, after the custom of the age, and gave to the world in the year 1522. It was printed at Paris by Badius Ascensius.

His next, and by far his greatest work, was a *History of Scotland*, from the earliest accounts. To this work he was probably stimulated by the example of John Mair or Major, a tutor of the Sorbonne, and principal of the college of St. Salvadore at St. Andrews, whose *History of Scotland*, in six books, was published at Paris in the year 1521. The *Scotichronicon* had been originally written by John Fordun, a canon of Aberdeen, and continued by Walter Bower or Bowmaker to the death of James I., nearly a century previous to this, as had also the metrical *Chronykil* of Scotland by Andrew Winton, prior of Lochleven, but all of them written in a style beneath the dignity of history, and disguised by the most contemptible fables. Mair was more studious of truth, but his narrative is meagre and his style loose and disjointed. Boece was a man of high talent, and one of the best Latin scholars which his country has at any period produced; but he was credulous in a high degree, and most unquestionably has given his authority, such as it was, to many fables, if he did not himself absolutely invent them; and he has rested the truth of his facts upon authors that never existed except in his own imagination. Of the *Ingilis Ivis*, which Buchanan complains had cost him so much trouble to purge out of the *Story of Scotland*, perhaps he had not preserved the greatest number, but he certainly had more of the *Scottis vanitie* than even that great man was willing to part with. In imitation of some other historians he has introduced his history with the cosmography of the country, in which he has been followed by Buchanan. Some passages we have selected from this part of the work, illustrative of his taste for, and his knowledge of, natural history. The extracts are taken from the translation of John Bellenden, archdeacon

of Murray, which was made for the benefit of King James V., who, from a defective education, was unable to read the original. That they may afford the reader a genuine specimen of our ancient Scottish prose, we have given these few extracts in their original orthography. The first is the result of the inquiries of Hector Boece into the claiicks or claggeese that were supposed to grow upon trees.

"Sum men belevit that thir claiiks grows on treis by the nobbis, bot thair opinion is vane. And because the nature and procreation of thir claiiks is strange, we have maid na litte laubore and diligence to serch the truth and veritie thairof. We have sailit throw the seis quhare they ar brede, and find by grit experience that the nature of the seis is maire relevant cause of thair procreation than ony other thyng; for all treis that are cussen in the seis be process of tyme apperis first worme etin, and in the small hollis and boris thairof growis small wormis. First they schaw thair heid and feit, and last of all they schaw thair plumis and wingis. Finally, quhen they are cumin to the just measure and quantitie of geis, they fle in the aire as othir fowlis. Thairfore because the rude and ignorant pepyll saw oftymes the fruitis that fell off the treis quhilk stude nair the see, convertit within short tyme in geis, they belevit that thir geis grew upon the treis hing- and be thair nobbis, sic like as apillis and uthir fruitis, bot thair opinion is nocht to be sustaint." This absurd nonsense is by the vulgar in some places believed to this day. The barnacle has somewhat the appearance of a fowl in miniature inclosed in a shell, and this they suppose to be the young of the claik-goose. The following will not appear less wonderful to the greater part of readers than the procreation of the claiiks. "The wolffis ar richt noysum to the tame bestial in all parts of Scotland, except ane pairt thairof, named Glenmore; in quhilk the tame bestial gets lytill damage of wyld bestial, especially of toddis. For ilk hous nurises ane young todd certane days, and mengis the fleshe thairof after it be slane, with sic meit as they gif to thair fowlis or uthir small beistis, and sae mony as eits of this meit ar preservit twa months after fra ony damage be the toddis, for toddis will gust na fleshe that gusts of thair ain kynd; and be thair bot ane beist or fowl that has nocht gustit of this meit the todd will chais it out amang ane thousand."

Could the following art be rediscovered it would be a great saving in the article barley, and would besides render the malt-duty of non-effect. "In all the desertis and muires of this realme growis an herbe namit hadder, bot [without] ony seid, richt nutritive baith to beistis and fowlis, specialle to beis. This herbe, in the month of Julie, has ane floure of purple hew, als sweet as honey. The Pychtis maid of this herbe sum tyme ane richt delicious and halsame drynk, nochtheless the manier of the making of it is perist be the extermination of the said Pychtis, for they schaw nevir the craft of the making of this drink bot to thair awn blude."

Of the miraculous the two following are tolerable specimens. "In Orkney is ane grit fische, mair than onie hors, of marvelous and incredible sleip. This fische, whan she begins to sleip, fesnis hir teith fast on ane crag abave the water. Als soon as the marineris fynis hir on sleip, they come with ane stark cabill in ane boat, and efter they have borit ane hole threw hir tail, they fesse hir to the samyn. Als soon as this fische is awalknit, she maks her to loup with grit fure into the see, and fra she fynd hirself fast she wrythis hir out of her awn skin and deis. Of the fatness that scho hes is maid oulie in grit quantitie, and of hir skin is maid strang cabills."

"In Murrayland, in the kirke of Pette, the bairns of lyttill John remains in grit admiration of the pepill. He has been fourteen feit of hight, with square members effeiring thairto. Sax years afore the cumin of this werk to light, we saw his hans bairn als meikle as the haill bairn of ane man, for we shut our arm in the mouth thair of, by quhilk appeirs how strang and square pepill grew in our region afore they war effeminat with lust and intemperance of mouth."

Perhaps, after all, the last paragraph of Boece's *Cosmography of Scotland* might have been sufficient to attest his character: "Thus it were needful to put an end to our cosmographie, were not an uncouth history tarryis a littill my pen. Mr. Jame Ogilby, with uther nobylmen, wes send as ambassatouris frae the maist nobill prince King James the feird to the Kyng of France, and be tempest of see they war constraint to land in Norway, quhare they saw nocht far fra thaim mony wild men nakit and ruch, on the sam maner as they war painted. At last they got advertising bylandwart pepill that they war doun beestis under the figur of men, quha in tyme of nicht usit to come in grit companies to landwart villages, and quhan they fand na doggis they brak up doris, and slays all the pepill that they fynd thair intill. They are of sa huge strenth that they pull up treis by the rutis and fechts thairwith amang thaimself. The ambassatouris war astonist at thir monstouris, and made strick watches with grit fyres birnand all nicht, and on the morrow they pullit up sails and depairtit. Forther, the Norway men schow that there was also nocht far fra thaim an pepill that swomit all the symer, like fische in the see, leifand on fische, bot in the winter, because the water is cauld, they leif upon wild beistis that descendis fra the mountainis, and sa endis here the *Cosmography of Scotland*." Such are specimens of what passed for veritable history in Scotland scarcely three centuries ago, and such was the weakness of a man who was certainly in his own day, even by foreigners, reckoned an ornament to his country. The truth is, knowledge in those days was most deplorably limited by the difficulty of travelling, and the paucity of books. A geographical writer sat in his study, ignorant personally of everything except what was immediately around him, and liable to be imposed upon by the stories of credulous or lying travellers, which he had no means of correcting or disproving. The philosophical writer was equally liable to be imposed upon by false and superstitious systems, which the age produced in great abundance.

Boece's history was published at Paris in 1526, in a folio volume, under the title of *Scotorum Historia, a Prima Gentis Origine, cum Aliarum et Rerum et Gentium Illustratione non Vulgari*. This edition, which was printed by Badius, contains seventeen books. A second was printed at Lausanne, and published at Paris in 1574, about forty years after the death of Boece. In this were added the eighteenth and part of a nineteenth book, written by himself; and a continuation of the history to the end of the reign of James III., by Ferrarius, a learned Piedmontese, who came to Scotland in 1528, in the train of Robert Reid, abbot of Kinloss, and afterwards Bishop of Orkney.

Soon after the publication of his history (1527), James V. bestowed upon Boece a pension of £50 Scots yearly, which was to be paid by the sheriff of Aberdeen out of the king's casualties. Two years afterwards a new precept was issued, directing this pension to be paid by the customers of Aberdeen, until the king should promote him to a benefice of 100 merks Scots of yearly value. By a subsequent

regulation, the pension was partly paid by the king's comptroller, and partly by the treasurer.

As the payment appears for the last time in the treasurer's books for 1534, it is probable that about that time the king carried into effect his intention of exchanging the pension for a benefice. The benefice so given was the rectory of Fyvie in Aberdeenshire, which Boece held at his death in 1536, as appears from the record of the presentation of his successor. According to Gordon of Straloch, the death of the reverend historian happened at Aberdeen; he was then about seventy years of age.

In estimating the character of Hector Boece, many circumstances must be taken into account. It is certainly impossible to read his history without feeling contempt for his understanding as well as for his veracity; yet when we consider the night of ignorance, imbecility, and error in which he lived, contempt gives place to strong compassion, and we feel disposed to apologize for, rather than to blame him. Lord Hailes has bitterly remarked that the Scots were reformed from Popery, but not from Boece, and Pinkerton inveighs against him as "the most egregious historical impostor that ever appeared in any country!" It is enough, however, for the vindication of this elegant writer, that he fulfilled all the duties that could be demanded from a historian in his own time, and could not be expected, to use a more just expression of Dalrymple, to be a philosopher before philosophy revived. That he was incapable of designed imposture, appears incontrovertibly proved by the testimonies of his contemporaries; Erasmus in particular styling him a man who "knew not what it was to make a lie."

The highest honours have been bestowed upon the learning and genius of Boece, by the most distinguished men of his own and the subsequent age, among whom it is enough to mention Paul Jovius, Joannes Gualterius, Bishop Lesly, Archbishop Spotswood, and Buchanan. Bartholomew Latomas, a well-known annotator on Cicero, Terence, and Horace, honoured his memory by a beautiful Latin epitaph, of which the following English translation will give some faint idea:—

"That in this tomb the never-fading light
Streams bright from blazing torches unconsumed.
Art thou amazed, and would'st thou read aright?
Hector Boethius, know, lies here inhumed.
He who his country's hills and vales illumed
With all the lustre of the Latian lore,
Chasing the shades of darkness deep, fore-doom'd,
Beyond the freezing pole and Thule's shore.
For this adorn'd, graceful in Roman dress,
Deserved thanks the Scotian Muses pay
To him who gave them life—decreasing thus
Upon his tomb unfading light shall play,
From torches burning bright, that ne'er shall know decay."

BOGUE, DAVID, the father, as he has been called, of the London Missionary Society, was born at Hallydown in the parish of Coldingham, Berwickshire, on the 18th February, 1750. His father, who farmed his own estate, was descended of a respectable family which had been long settled in the country. His studies are said to have been carried on at Dunse under the superintendence of the distinguished Cruikshanks, not less remembered for the success of his tuition, than for the severity of his discipline. He afterwards removed to the university of Edinburgh, and studied moral philosophy under Adam Ferguson, the well-known author of the *History of Civil Society*. After undergoing the usual course of study, and being licensed as a preacher in connection with the Church of Scotland, from want, perhaps, of very flattering prospects in his native country, he removed to London (1771), and was for some time

employed in the humble, but meritorious, capacity of usher in an academy at Edmonton, afterwards at Hampstead, and finally with the Rev. Mr. Smith of Camberwell, whom he also assisted in the discharge of his ministerial duties both at Camberwell and at Silver Street, London, where he held a lectureship, the duties of which were at one time performed by the celebrated John Home. The zeal with which Mr. Bogue discharged his duties in both of these capacities, contributed not less to the satisfaction of Mr. Smith, than to the increase of his own popularity. At length, on the resignation of the minister of an Independent chapel at Gosport, Mr. Bogue was unanimously chosen to fill the vacant charge. The duties of his new situation were such as to require all the strength of judgment and uncompromising inflexibility, tempered with Christian meekness, which entered so largely into his character. The charge was one of great difficulty, and of peculiar importance. The members of the congregation were divided among themselves, and part of them had indeed withdrawn from the communion altogether, during the ministry of his predecessor, and formed themselves into a separate congregation, under a rival minister; but the exemplary conduct of Mr. Bogue, and his zeal in the discharge of his duties, were such, that he had scarce occupied the pulpit twelve months when a reunion was effected. His fame as a solid and substantial scholar, and an evangelical and indefatigable minister, now spread rapidly; and in 1780 he became tutor to an establishment for directing the studies of young men destined for the Christian ministry in connection with the Independent communion. For the ability with which this establishment was conducted, both now and when it afterwards became a similar one for those destined for missionary labours, his praise is indeed in all the churches. It was in this period, though occupied with the details of what most men would have felt as a full occupation of their time, that his ever-active mind turned its attention to the formation of a grand missionary scheme, which afterwards resulted in the London Missionary Society. The influence of this institution was extensive, and the springing up of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society at short intervals, proves how much good was effected by the impetus thus given by one master-mind. In the establishment of both of these he likewise took an active part, contributing to the latter body the first of a series of publications which have been of great usefulness. In the year 1796 Mr. Bogue was called upon to show whether he who had professed himself such a friend to missionary enterprise, was sufficiently imbued with the spirit of the gospel to enable him to forsake home and the comforts of civilized society, to devote himself to its sacred cause. The call alluded to was made—and it was not made in vain—by Robert Haldane, Esq., of Airthrie, who, to furnish funds for this grand enterprise, sold his estate. Their design was, in conjunction with two other divines, who had recently left the Established Church of Scotland and become Independent ministers, to preach the gospel to the natives of India, and likewise to form a seminary for the instruction of fellow-labourers in the same field. The names of the two other ministers were the Rev. Greville Ewing of Glasgow, and the Rev. W. Innes of Edinburgh. But the design was frustrated by the East India Company, who refused their sanction to the undertaking—a most fortunate circumstance, as it afterwards appeared, in as far as the missionaries were individually concerned; for a massacre of Europeans took place at the exact spot where it was intended

the mission should have been established, and from which these Christian labourers could scarcely have hoped to escape. In 1815 Mr. Bogue received the diploma of Doctor of Divinity from the senatus academicus of Yale college, North America.

His zeal for the cause of missions, to which he consecrated his life, continued to the last; he may truly be said to have died in the cause. He annually made tours, in different parts of the country, in behalf of the Missionary Society; and it was on a journey of this kind, in which he had been requested to assist at a meeting of the Sussex Auxiliary Society, that he took ill at the house of the Rev. Mr. Goulty of Brighton, and, in spite of the best medical advice, departed this life on the morning of the 25th of October, 1825, after a short illness. The effect of this event upon the various churches and religious bodies with which Dr. Bogue was connected, was great: no sooner did the intelligence reach London, than an extraordinary meeting of the Missionary Society was called (October 26), in which resolutions were passed expressive of its sense of the bereavement, and of the benefits which the deceased had conferred upon the society, by the active part he had taken in its projection and establishment, and subsequently "by his prayers, his writings, his example, his journeys, and, above all, by his direction and superintendence of the missionary seminary at Gosport."

The only works of Dr. Bogue are, *An Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, Discourses on the Millennium*, and a *History of Dissenters*, which he undertook in conjunction with his pupil and friend Dr. Bennet. The first of these he commenced at the request of the London Missionary Society, with the purpose of its being appended to an edition of the New Testament, which the society intended to circulate extensively in France. In consideration of the wide diffusion of infidelity in that country, he wisely directed his attention to the evidence required by this class of individuals—addressing them always in the language of kindness and persuasion, "convinced," as he characteristically remarks, "that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God,"—and if usefulness be taken as a test of excellence, this work is so in a very high degree. No work of a religious character, if we except perhaps the *Pilgrim's Progress*, has been so popular: it has been translated into the French, Italian, German, and Spanish languages, and has been widely circulated on the Continent of Europe, where, under the divine blessing, it has been eminently useful. In France, in particular, and on the distant shores of America, its influence has been felt in the convincing and converting of many to the cause of Christ. It is, indeed, the most useful of all his works. The discourses on the millennium are entirely practical and devotional, and though they want the straining for effect, and the ingenious speculations with which some have clothed this subject, and gained for themselves an ephemeral popularity—for to all such trickery Dr. Bogue had a thorough aversion—they will be found strikingly to display the enlarged views and sterling good sense of their venerable author.

BOSTON, THOMAS, an eminent doctrinal writer, was born in the town of Dunse, March 7, 1676, and received the rudiments of his education at his native town, first under a woman who kept a school in his father's house, and afterwards under Mr. James Bullerwill, who taught what is called the grammar-school. His father was a nonconformist, and, being imprisoned for his recusancy, retained the subject of

this memoir in prison along with him, for the sake of company, which, notwithstanding his youth, seems to have made a lasting impression on the memory of young Boston. Whether the old man was brought at length to conform, we have not been able to learn; but during his early years, Mr. Boston informs us that he was a regular attendant at church, "where he heard those of the Episcopal way, that being then the national establishment." He was then, as he informs us, living without God in the world, and unconcerned about the state of his soul. Toward the end of summer, 1687, upon the coming out of King James's indulgence, his father carried him to a Presbyterian meeting at Whitsome, where he heard the Rev. Mr. Henry Erskine, who, before the restoration, was minister of Cornhill, and father to the afterwards celebrated Messrs. Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine. It was through the ministrations of this celebrated preacher that Boston was first brought to think seriously about the state of his soul, being then going in the twelfth year of his age. After this he went back no more to the church till the curates were expelled. While at the grammar-school he formed an intimacy with two boys, Thomas Trotter and Patrick Gillies, who regularly met with him, at stated times, in a chamber of his father's house, for reading the Scriptures, religious conference, and social prayer, "whereby," he says, "they had some advantage, both in point of knowledge and tenderness." Mr. Boston made a rapid progress at the school, and before he left it, which was in the harvest of 1689, had gone through all the books commonly taught in such seminaries, and had even begun the Greek, in which language he had read part of John's Gospel, Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles, though he was then but in his fourteenth year. After leaving the grammar-school two years elapsed before he proceeded farther in his studies, his father being doubtful if he was able to defray the expense. This led to several attempts at getting him into a gratuitous course at the university, none of which had any success. In the meantime he was partly employed in the composing and transcribing law papers by a Mr. Cockburn, a public notary, from which he admits that he derived great benefit in after-life. All his plans for a gratuitous academic course having failed, and his father having resolved to strain every nerve to carry him through the classes, he entered the university of Edinburgh as a student of Greek, December 1, 1691, and studied for three successive sessions. He took out his laurea-tion in the summer of 1694, when his whole expenses for fees and maintenance were found to amount to one hundred and twenty-eight pounds, fifteen shillings and eight pence, Scots money, less than £11 sterling. That same summer he had the bursary of the presbytery of Dunse conferred on him as a student of theology, and in the month of January, 1695, entered the theological class in the college of Edinburgh, then taught by Mr. George Campbell, "a man," says Boston, "of great learning, but excessively modest, undervaluing himself, and much valuing the tolerable performances of his students." During this session—the only one Boston appears to have regularly attended in divinity—he also for a time attended the Hebrew class taught by Mr. Alexander Rule, but remarks that he found no particular advantage from it. After returning from the university, Mr. Boston had different applications made to him, and made various attempts to settle himself in a school, but with no good effect; and in the spring of 1696 he accepted of an invitation from Lady Mersington to superintend the education of her grandchild, Andrew Fletcher of Aberlady, a boy of nine years of age, whose father having died young, his mother

was married again to Lieutenant-colonel Bruce of Kennet, in Clackmannanshire. This he was the rather induced to undertake, because the boy being in Edinburgh at the high-school, it gave his preceptor the power of waiting upon the divinity lectures in the college. In less than a month, however, his pupil was taken home to Kennet, whither Boston accompanied him, and never had another opportunity of attending the college. In this situation Mr. Boston continued for about a year, and during that period was pressed, once and again, by the united presbyteries of Stirling and Dunblane to take license as a preacher, which, for reasons not very obvious, he declined. In the month of March, 1697, he returned to Dunse, and by his friend Mr. Colden, minister of that place, was induced to enter upon trials for license before the united presbyteries of Dunse and Churnside, by which he was licensed as a probationer in the Scottish Church, June 15, 1697. In this character Mr. Boston officiated, as opportunity offered, for two years and three months, partly within the bounds of his native presbytery, and partly within the bounds of the presbytery of Stirling. It was first proposed by his friends of the presbytery of Dunse to settle him in the parish of Foulden, the Episcopal incumbent of which was recently dead; and, on the first day he officiated there, he gave a remarkably decisive proof of the firmness of his principles. The Episcopal preceptor was, under the protection of the great men of the parish, still continued. Boston had no freedom to employ him without suitable acknowledgments, which, not being clothed with the ministerial character, he could not take. On the morning, therefore, of the first Sabbath, he told this official that he would conduct the psalmody himself, which accordingly he did, and there was nothing said about it. In the parish of Foulden, however, he could not be settled without the concurrence of Lord Ross, who had had a great hand in the enormous oppressions of the preceding period. A personal application on the part of the candidate was required by his lordship, and the presbytery were urgent with Boston to make it, but to this he could not bring his mind, so the project came to nothing. He was next proposed for the parish of Abbey; but this scheme also was frustrated through the deceitfulness of the principal heritor, who was a minister himself, and found means to secure the other heritors, through whose influence he was inducted by the presbytery to the living, though the parishioners were reclaiming, and charging the presbytery with the blood of their souls if they went on with the settlement. "This," remarks Boston, "was the ungodly-like way of settling that even then prevailed in the case of planting of churches—a way which I ever abhorred." After these disappointments Mr. Boston removed to his former situation in Clackmannanshire, where he remained for a twelvemonth, and in that time was proposed for Carnock, for Clackmannan, and for Dollar, all of which proposals were fruitless, and he returned to Dunse in the month of May, 1699.

Mr. Boston had no sooner returned to his native place than he was proposed by his friend Mr. Colden for the parish of Simprin, where, after a great deal of hesitation on his part, and some little chicanery on the part of the presbytery and the people, he was ordained minister, September 21, 1699. In Simprin he continued conscientiously performing the duties of his calling till the year 1707, when, by synodical authority, he was transported to Ettrick. His introduction to his new charge took place on the 1st of May that year, the very day when the union between Scotland and England took effect; on which account

he remarks that he had frequent occasion to remember it, the spirits of the people of Ettrick being imbittered on that event against the ministers of the church, which was an occasion of much heaviness to him, though he had never been for the union, but always against it from the very beginning. Simprin, now united to the parish of Swinton, both of which make a very small parish, contained only a few families, to whose improvement he was able greatly to contribute with comparatively little exertion, and the whole population seem to have been warmly attached to him. Ettrick, on the contrary, is a parish extending nearly ten miles in every direction, and required much labour to bring the people together in public, or to come in contact with them at their own houses. Several of them, too, were society men or old dissenters, who had never joined the revolution church from what they supposed to be radical defects in her constitution, as well as from much that had all along been offensive in her general administration. Of her constitution, perhaps, Mr. Boston was not the warmest admirer, for he has told us in his memoirs, that, after having studied the subject of baptism, he had little fondness for national churches, strictly and properly so called, and of many parts of her administration he has again and again expressed decided disapprobation; but he had an undefined horror at separation, common to the greater part of the Presbyterians of that and the preceding generation, which led him to regard almost every other ecclesiastical evil as trifling. He was, however, a conscientious and diligent student, and had already made great progress in the knowledge of the doctrine of grace, which seems to have been but imperfectly understood by many very respectable men of that period. In this he was greatly forward by a little book, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, which he found by accident in the house of one of his parishioners in Simprin, and which had been brought from England by a person who had been a soldier there in the time of the civil wars. Of this book he says, "I found it to come close to the points I was in quest of, and showed the consistency of those which I could not reconcile before, so that I rejoiced in it as a light which the Lord had seasonably struck up to me in my darkness." The works of Jerome, Zanchius, *Luther on the Galatians*, and *Beza's Confession of Faith*, which he seems to have fallen in with at the same period (that is, while he was yet in Simprin, about the year 1700), also contributed greatly to the same end, and seems to have given a cast of singularity to his sermons, which was highly relished, and which rendered them singularly useful in promoting the growth of faith and holiness among his hearers. In 1702 he took the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne, the sense of which, he says, he endeavoured to keep on his heart, but never after took another oath, whether of a public or private nature.

Boston was a member of the first General Assembly held under that queen in the month of March, 1703, of which, as the person that was supposed to be most acceptable to the commissioner, the Earl of Seafeld, Mr. George Meldrum was chosen moderator. The declaration of the intrinsic power of the church was the great object of the more faithful part of her ministers at this time; but they were told by the leading party that they already possessed it, and that to make an act asserting what they possessed, was only to waste time. While this very Assembly, however, was in the midst of a discussion upon an overture for preventing the marriage of Protestants with Papists, the commissioner, rising from his seat, dissolved the Assembly in her majesty's name. "This having

come," Boston remarks, "like a clap of thunder, there were from all corners of the house protestations offered against it, and for asserting the intrinsic power of the church, with which," he adds, "I joined in: but the moderator, otherwise a most grave and composed man, being in as much confusion as a schoolboy when beaten, closed with prayer, and got away together with the clerk, so that nothing was then got marked. This was one of the heaviest days," he continues, "that ever I saw, beholding a vain man trampling under the privileges of Christ's house, and others crouching under the burden; and I could not but observe how Providence rebuked their shifting the act to assert as above said, and baffled their design in the choice of the moderator, never a moderator since the revolution to this day, so far as I can guess, having been so ill-treated by a commissioner." This reflection in his private journal, however, with the exception of an inefficient speech in his own synod, appears to be all that ever Boston undertook for the vindication of his church on this occasion. It does not indeed appear that his feelings on this subject were either strong or distinct, as we find him at Ettrick, in the month of January, 1708, declaring that he had no scruple in observing a fast appointed by the court, though he thought it a grievance that arose from the union and the taking away of the privy council. On this occasion he acknowledges that many of his hearers broke off and left him, several of whom never returned; but he justifies himself from the temper of the people, who, had he yielded to them in this, would have dictated to him ever afterwards. This same year he was again a member of the General Assembly, where application was made by persons liable to have the abjuration oath imposed upon them for an act declaring the judgment of the Assembly regarding it. The Assembly refused to do anything in this matter; which was regretted by Mr. Boston, and he states it as a just retribution which brought it to ministers' own doors in 1712, only four years afterwards. On this occasion also he was in the Assembly, but whether as a spectator or a member he does not say. The lawfulness of the oath was in this Assembly keenly disputed, and Boston failed not to observe that the principles on which the answers to the objection were founded were of such latitude, that by them any oath might be made passable. They were indeed neither more nor less than the swearer imposing his own sense upon the words employed, which renders an oath altogether nugatory. In this manner did Principal Carstairs swear it before the justices in Edinburgh, to the great amusement of the Jacobites, and being clear for it, he, in the Assembly, by his singular policy, smoothed down all asperities, and prevented those who had not the same capacity of conscience from coming to anything like a rupture with their brethren, for which cause, says Boston, I did always thereafter honour him in my heart! Boston, nevertheless, abhorred the oath, and could not bring his mind to take it, but determined to keep his station in the church till thrust out of it by the civil authorities. He made over to his eldest son a house in Dunse, which he had inherited from his father, and made an assignation of all his other goods to his servant, John Currie, so that, when the law took effect, he might elude the penalty of five hundred pounds sterling that was attached to the neglect or the refusal to take the oath within a prescribed period. The memory of the late persecuting reigns was, however, still fresh, and no one appeared willing to incur the odium of imitating them; and, so far as we know, the penalty was never in one single instance exacted. The

subject of this memoir, at least, was never brought to any real trouble respecting it.

Amid all Mr. Boston's attention to public affairs he was still a most diligent minister; and instead of relaxing anything of his labours since leaving Simps-
rin, had greatly increased them by a habit he had fallen into of writing out his sermons in full, which in the earlier part of his ministry he scarcely ever did. This prepared the way for the publication of his sermons from the press, by which they have been made extensively useful. The first suggestion of this kind seems to have come from his friend Dr. Trotter, to whom he paid a visit at Dunse, after assisting at the sacrament at Kelso, in the month of October, 1711; on which occasion the notes of the sermons he had preached on the state of man were left with the Doctor for his perusal, and they formed the foundation of that admirable work, *The Fourfold State*, which was prepared for publication before the summer of 1714, but was laid aside for fear of the Pretender coming in and rendering the sale impossible. In the month of August, the same year, he preached his action sermon from Hosea ii. 19; which met with so much acceptance, that he was requested for a copy with a view to publication. This he complied with, and in the course of the following winter it was printed under the title of *The Everlasting Espousals*, and met with a very good reception, 1200 copies being sold in a short time, which paved the way for the publication of *The Fourfold State*, and was a means of urging him forward in the most important of all his public appearances, that in defence of the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*.

During the insurrection of 1715 he was troubled not a little with the want of military ardour among his parishioners of Ettrick, and in the year 1717 with an attempt to have him, altogether against his inclination, transported to the parish of Closeburn, in Dumfriesshire. In the meantime, *The Fourfold State* had been again and again transcribed, and had been revised by Mr. John Flint at Edinburgh; and, in 1718, his friends, Messrs. Simson, Gabriel Wilson, and Henry Davidson, offered to advance money to defray the expense of its publication. The MS., however, was sent at last to Mr. Robert Wightman, treasurer to the city of Edinburgh, who ultimately became the prefacer and the publisher of the book, with many of his own emendations, in consequence of which there was a necessity for cancelling a number of sheets and reprinting them, before the author could allow it to come to the public; nor was it thoroughly purged till it came to a second edition. The first came out in 1720.

The oath of abjuration, altered, in a small degree, at the petition of the greater part of the Presbyterian nonjurors, was again imposed upon ministers in the year 1719, when the most of the ministers took it, to the great grief of many of their people, and to the additional persecution of the few who still wanted freedom to take it, of which number Mr. Boston still continued to be one. Mr. Boston was at this time employed by the synod to examine some overtures from the Assembly regarding discipline; and having been, from his entrance on the ministry, dissatisfied with the manner of admitting to the Lord's table and planting vacant churches, he set himself to have these matters rectified, by remarks upon, and enlargements of these customs. The synod did not, however, even so much as call for them, and, though they were by the presbytery laid before the commission, they were never taken into consideration. "And I apprehend," says Boston, "that the malady will be incurable till the present constitution be violently thrown down." Though the judicatures

were thus careless of any improvement in discipline, they were not less so with regard to doctrine. The Assembly, in 1717, had dismissed Professor Simson, without censure, though he had gone far into the regions of error; and they condemned the whole presbytery of Auchterarder for denying that any pre-requisite qualification was necessary on the part of the sinner for coming to Christ; and this year, 1719, they, at the instigation of Principal Haddow of St. Andrews, commenced a prosecution against Mr. James Hog of Carnock, who had published an edition of the *Marrow*, Alexander Hamilton, minister of Airth, James Brisbane, minister at Stirling, and John Warden, minister at Gargunnoch, who had advocated its principles: which ended in an act of the General Assembly, forbidding all under their inspection in time coming to teach or preach any such doctrines. This act of Assembly was by Boston and his friends brought before the presbytery of Selkirk, who laid it before the synod of Merse and Teviotdale. Nothing to any purpose was done in the synod; but the publicity of the proceedings led to a correspondence with Mr. James Hog, Mr. Ralph Erskine, and others, by whom a representation and petition was given in to the Assembly, 1721. This representation, however, was referred to the commission. When called before the commission, on Thursday, May 18, Mr. Hog not being ready, and Mr. Bonar of Torphichen gone home, Mr. Boston had the honour of appearing first in that cause. On that day they were borne down by universal clamour. Next day, however, Principal Haddow was closely pushed in argument by Mr. Boston, and Logan of Culcross was completely silenced by Mr. Williamson of Inveresk. The commission then gave out to the twelve representing brethren twelve queries, to which they were required to return answers against the month of March next. These answers, luminous and brief beyond anything of the kind in our language, were begun by Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, but greatly extended and improved by Mr. Gabriel Wilson of Maxton. For presuming thus to question the acts of Assembly, the whole number were admonished and rebuked. Against this sentence they gave in a protestation, on which they took instruments in due form; but it was not allowed to be read. In the meantime, Mr. Boston prepared an edition of the *Marrow*, illustrated by copious notes, which was published in 1726, and has ever since been well-known to the religious public. The Assembly, ashamed, after all, of the act complained of, remodelled it in such a way as to abate somewhat its grossness, though, in the process, it lost little of its venom.

Following out his plan of illustrating gospel truth, Boston preached to his people a course of sermons on the covenants of works and of grace, which have long been in the hands of the public, and duly prized by judicious readers. His last appearance in the General Assembly was in the year 1729, in the case of Professor Simson, where he dissented from the sentence of the Assembly as being no just testimony of the church's indignation against the dishonour done by the said Mr. Simson to our glorious Redeemer, the great God and our Saviour, nor agreeable to the rule of God's word in such cases, nor a fit means to bring the said Mr. Simson himself to repentance, of which, he added, he had yet given no evidence. This dissent, however, for the sake of the peace of the church, which some said it might endanger, he did not insist to have recorded on the Assembly's books. His last public work was a letter to the presbytery, which met at Selkirk, May 2, 1732, respecting the overture for settling vacant parishes;

which breathes all the ardour and piety of his more early productions, and in which he deprecates the turning of that overture into a standing law, as what cannot fail to be the ruin of the church, and he prays that his letter may be recorded as a testimony against it. His health had been for a number of years declining; he was now greatly emaciated; and he died on the twentieth of May, 1732, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Mr. Boston was married shortly after his settlement at Simprin to Katharine Brown, a worthy pious woman, by whom he had ten children, four of whom only survived him. Thomas, the youngest, was ordained to the pastoral care of the parish of Oxnam; but removing thence to Jedburgh without a presentation from the patron, or the leave of his presbytery, became one of the fathers of the Relief church. Of the fortunes of his other children we have not been informed. Of the character of Boston there can be but one opinion. Ardent and pious, his whole life was devoted to the promoting of the glory of God and the best interests of his fellowmen. As an author, though he has been lowered by the publication of too many posthumous works, he must yet be admitted to stand in the first class. Even the most incorrect of his pieces betray the marks of a highly original and powerful mind, and his *Fourfold State of Man* cannot fail to be read and admired so long as the faith of the gospel continues to be taught and learned in the language in which it is written.

BOSWELL, JAMES, the friend and biographer of Dr. Samuel Johnson, was born at Edinburgh, October 29, 1740.

The Boswells or Bosvilles, are supposed to have "come in with the Conqueror," and to have migrated to Scotland in the reign of David I. [1124-53]. David Boswell of Balmuto, the eleventh representative of the family in succession, had, besides his heir, Alexander, who succeeded to the family estates, a son named Thomas, who became a servant of James IV., and was gifted by that monarch with the lands of Auchinleck, in Ayrshire, which were then in the crown by recognition.

James Boswell was the eldest son of Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, and of Euphemia Erskine. The father was an advocate, in good practice at the Scottish bar; who was, in 1754, elevated to the bench, taking, on that occasion, the designation of Lord Auchinleck. James Boswell, father of Lord Auchinleck, had also been a Scottish barrister, and, as we learn from Lord Kames, one of the best of his time; his wife was a daughter of Alexander Bruce, second Earl of Kincardine, whose mother was Veronica, a daughter of the noble house of Somersdyk in Holland. For an account of Auchinleck, reference may be made to *Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands*.

The father of the biographer was a stern and rigid Presbyterian, and a zealous supporter of the House of Hanover: young Boswell, on the contrary, from his earliest years, showed a disposition favourable to the high church and the family of Stuart. Dr. Johnson used to tell the following story of his biographer's early years, which Boswell has confessed to be literally true. "In 1745 Boswell was a fine boy, wore a white cockade, and prayed for King James, till one of his uncles (General Cochran) gave him a shilling, on condition that he would pray for King George, which he accordingly did." "So you see," adds Boswell, who has himself preserved the anecdote, "*Whigs of all ages are made in the same way.*"

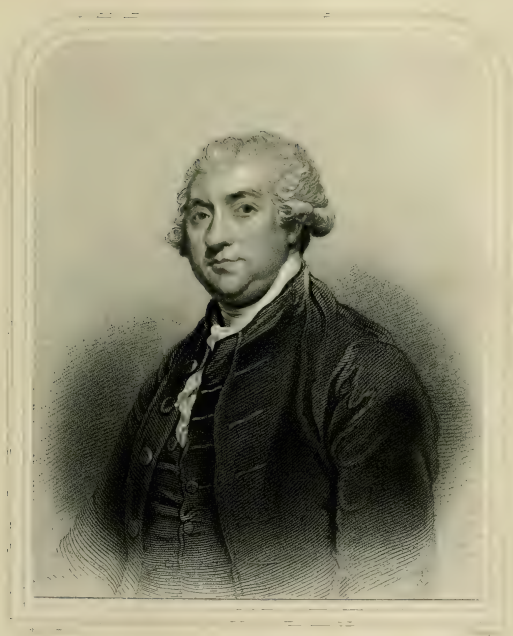
He received the rudiments of his education at the

school of Mr. James Mundell, in Edinburgh, a teacher of considerable reputation, who gave elemental instruction to many distinguished men. He afterwards went through a complete academical course at the college of Edinburgh, where he formed an intimacy with Mr. Temple of Allardeen in Northumberland, afterwards vicar of St. Gluvies in Cornwall, and known in literary history for a well-written character of Gray, which has been adopted both by Dr. Johnson and Mason in their memoirs of that poet. Mr. Temple and several other young English gentlemen were fellow-students of Boswell, and it is supposed that his intercourse with them was the original and principal cause of that remarkable predilection for English society and manners which characterized him through life.

Boswell very early began to show a taste for literary composition, in which he was encouraged by Lord Somerville, of whose flattering kindness he ever preserved a grateful recollection. His lively and sociable disposition, and passion for distinguishing himself as a young man of parts and vivacity, also led him, at a very early period of life, into the society of the actors in the theatre. While still at college, Lady Houston, sister of Lord Cathcart, put under his care a comedy, entitled *The Coquettes, or the Gallant in the Closet*, with a strict injunction that its author should be concealed. Boswell exerted his interest among the players to get this piece brought out upon the stage, and made himself further conspicuous by writing the prologue, which was spoken by Mr. Parsons. It was condemned at the third performance, and not unjustly, for it was found to be chiefly a bad translation of one of the worst plays of Corneille. Such, however, was the fidelity of Boswell, that, though universally believed to be the author, and consequently laughed at in the most unmerciful manner, he never divulged the name of the fair writer, nor was it known till she made the discovery herself.

After studying civil law for some time at Edinburgh, Boswell went for one winter to pursue the same study at Glasgow, where he, at the same time, attended the lectures of Dr. Adam Smith on moral philosophy and rhetoric. Here he continued, as at Edinburgh, to adopt his companions chiefly from the class of English students attending the university.

Inspired, by reading and conversation, with an almost enthusiastic notion of London life, Boswell paid his first visit to that metropolis in 1760, and his ardent expectations were not disappointed. "The society, amusements, and general style of life which he found in the modern Babylon, and to which he was introduced by the poet Derrick, were suited exactly to his taste and temper. He had already given some specimens of a talent for writing occasional essays and poetical *jeux d'esprit*, in periodical works, and he therefore appeared before the wits of the metropolis as entitled to some degree of attention. He was chiefly indebted, however, for their friendship, to Alexander, Earl of Eglintoun, one of the most amiable and accomplished noblemen of his time, who, being of the same county, and from his earliest years acquainted with the family of Auchinleck, insisted that young Boswell should have an apartment in his house, and introduced him, as Boswell himself used to say, "into the circle of the great, the gay, and the ingenious." Lord Eglintoun carried his young friend along with him to Newmarket; an adventure which seems to have made a strong impression on Boswell's imagination, as he celebrated it in a poem called *The Cub at Newmarket*, which was published by Dodsley, in 1762,



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in 4to. The *cub* was himself, as appears from the following extract:—

"Lord Eglington, who loves, you know,
A little dash of whim or so
By chance a curious *cub* had got,
On Scotia's mountains newly caught."

In such terms was Boswell content to speak of himself in print, even at this early period of life, and, what adds to the absurdity of the whole affair, he could not rest till he had read *The Cub at Newmarket* in manuscript to Edward, Duke of York, and obtained permission from his royal highness to dedicate it to him.

It was the wish of Lord Auchinleck that his son should apply himself to the law, a profession to which two generations of the family had now been devoted, and in which Lord Auchinleck thought that his own eminent situation would be of advantage to the success of a third. Boswell himself, though, in obedience to his father's desire, he had studied civil law at the colleges of Edinburgh and Glasgow, was exceedingly unwilling to consign himself to the studious life of a barrister at Edinburgh, where at this time the general tone of society was the very reverse of his own temperament. He had already cast his eyes upon the situation of an officer in the foot-guards, as calculated to afford him that indulgence in London society which he so much desired, while it was, at the same time, not incompatible with his prospects as a Scottish country gentleman, and it was with some difficulty that his father prevailed upon him to return to Scotland and consult about the choice of a profession. The old judge even took the trouble to put his son through a regular course of instruction in the law, in the hope of inspiring him with an attachment to it. But though he was brought the length of standing his trials as a civilian before a committee of the faculty, he could not be prevailed upon to enter heartily into his father's views.

During part of the years 1761 and 1762, while confined to Edinburgh and to this partial and unwilling study of the law, he contrived to alleviate the irksomeness of his situation by cultivating the society of the illustrious men who now cast a kind of glory over Scotland and Scotsmen. Kames, Blair, Robertson, Hume, and Dalrymple, though greatly his seniors, were pleased to honour him with their friendship; more, perhaps, on account of his worthy and dignified parent than on his own. He also amused himself at this time in contributing *jeux d'esprit* to *A Collection of Original Poems by Scottish Gentlemen*, of which two volumes were successively published by Alexander Donaldson, an enterprising bookseller; being an imitation of the *Miscellanies* of Dodsley.

At this time he cultivated a particular intimacy with the Hon. Andrew Erskine, a younger brother of the musical Earl of Kelly, and who might be said to possess wit by inheritance, his father being remarkable for this property (though not for good sense), while his mother was the daughter of Dr. Pitcairne. Erskine and Boswell were, in frivolity, *Arcades ambo*; or rather there seemed to be a competition betwixt them which should exhibit the greater share of that quality. A correspondence, in which this contest seems to be carried on, was published in 1763, and, as there was no attempt to conceal names, the two letter-writers must have been regarded, in that dull and decorous age, as little better than fools—fools for writing in such a strain at all, but doubly fools for laying their folly in such a permanent shape before the world.

At the end of the year 1762, Boswell, still retaining his wish to enter the guards, repaired once more

to London to endeavour to obtain a commission. For this purpose he carried recommendations to Charles, Duke of Queensberry—the amiable patron of Gay—who, he believed, was able to obtain for him what he wished. Owing, however (as is understood), to the backwardness of Lord Auchinleck to enforce his claims, his patrons put him off from time to time, till he was again obliged to return to Scotland. At length, in the spring of 1763, a compromise was made between the father and his son—the latter agreeing to relinquish his favourite project, and resume the study of the civil law for one winter at Utrecht, with the view of ultimately entering the legal profession, on the condition that, after the completion of his studies he should be permitted to make what was then called "the grand tour." Boswell set out for this purpose early in 1763; and, according to the recollection of an ancient inhabitant of Glasgow, his appearance in riding through that city on his way from Auchinleck was as follows:—"A cocked hat, a brown wig, brown coat, made in the court fashion, red vest, corduroy small clothes, and long military-looking boots. He was on horseback, with his servant at a most aristocratic distance behind, and presented a fine specimen of the Scottish country gentleman of that day."—*Edin. Lit. Jour.* ii. 327.

In Boswell's previous visits to London he had never had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Dr. Samuel Johnson. He had now that pleasure. On the 16th of May, as he himself takes care to inform us, while sitting in the backshop of Thomas Davies, the bookseller, No. 8 Russell Street, Covent Garden, Johnson came in, and Boswell was introduced by Davies as a young gentleman "from Scotland." Owing to the antipathy of the lexicographer to that country, his conversation with Boswell was not at first of so cordial a description as at all to predicate the remarkable friendship they afterwards formed. Boswell, however, by the vivacity of his conversation, soon beguiled the Doctor of his prejudices; and their intimacy was confirmed by a visit which he soon after paid to Johnson at his apartments in the Temple. During the few months which Boswell spent in town before setting out for Utrecht, he applied himself assiduously to cultivate this friendship, taking apartments in the Temple in order that he might be the oftener in the company of the great man. Even at this early period he began that practice of noting down the conversation of Johnson, which eventually enabled him to compose such a splendid monument to their common memory.

He set out for Utrecht in August, 1763, and, after studying for the winter under the celebrated civilian Trotz, proceeded, according to the compact with his father, upon the tour of Europe. In company with the Earl Marischal, whose acquaintance he had formed, he travelled through Switzerland and Germany, visiting Voltaire at Ferney, and Rousseau in the wilds of Neuchâtel—men whom his regard for the principles of religion might have taught him to avoid, if his itch for the acquaintance of noted men—one of the most remarkable features of his character—had not forced him into their presence. He afterwards crossed the Alps, and spent some time in visiting the principal cities in Italy. Here he formed an acquaintance with Lord Mountstuart, the eldest son of the Earl of Bute, to whom he afterwards dedicated his law thesis on being admitted to the bar.

At this time the inhabitants of the small island of Corsica were engaged in their famous struggle for liberty against the Genoese; and Pasquale de Paoli, their heroic leader, was, for the time, one of the most noted men in Europe. Boswell, struck by an irre-

pressible curiosity regarding this person, sailed to Corsica in autumn, 1765, and introduced himself to Paoli at his palace by means of a letter from Rousseau. He was received with much distinction and kindness, and noted down a good deal of the very striking conversation of the Corsican chief. After a residence of some weeks in the island, during which he made himself acquainted with all its natural and moral features, he returned through France, and arrived in London, February, 1766, his journey being hastened by intelligence of the death of his mother. Dr. Johnson received him, as he passed through London, with renewed kindness and friendship.

Boswell now returned to Scotland, and, agreeably to the treaty formed with Lord Auchinleck, entered (July 26, 1766) as a member of the faculty of advocates. His temper, however, was still too volatile for the studious pursuit of the law, and he did not make that progress in his profession which might have been expected from the numerous advantages with which he commenced. The Douglas cause was at this time pending, and Boswell, who was a warm partisan of the young claimant, published (November, 1767) a pamphlet entitled *The Essence of the Douglas Cause*, in answer to one entitled *Considerations on the Douglas Cause*, in which a strenuous effort had been made to prove the claimant an impostor. It is said that Mr. Boswell's exertions on this occasion were of material service in exciting a popular prepossession in favour of the doubtful heir. This, however, was the most remarkable appearance made by Mr. Boswell as a lawyer, if it can be called so.

His Corsican tour and the friendship of Paoli had made a deep impression on Boswell's mind. He conceived that he had seen and made himself acquainted with what had been seen and known by few; and he was perpetually talking of the islanders and their chief. This mania, which was rather perhaps to be attributed to his vain desire of showing himself off in connection with a subject of popular talk than any appreciation of the noble character of the Corsican struggle, at length obtained him the nickname of *Paoli*, or *Paoli-Boswell*. Resolving that the world at large should participate in what he knew of Corsica, he published, in the spring of 1768, his account of that island, which was printed in 8vo by the celebrated brothers Foulis at Glasgow, and was well received. The sketches of the island and its inhabitants are lively and amusing; and his memoir of Paoli, which follows the account of the island, is a spirited narrative of patriotic deeds and sufferings. The work was translated into the German, Dutch, French, and Italian languages, and everywhere infected its readers with its own enthusiastic feeling in behalf of the oppressed islanders. Dr. Johnson thus expressed himself regarding it:—"Your journal is curious and delightful; I know not whether I could name any narrative by which curiosity is better excited or better gratified." On the other hand, Johnson joined the rest of the world in thinking that the author indulged too much personally in his enthusiasm upon the subject, and advised him, in a letter dated March 23, 1768, to "empty his head of Corsica." Boswell was so vain of his book as to pay a visit to London in the spring court vacation, chiefly for the purpose of seeking Dr. Johnson's approbation more at large.

In the following winter a patent was obtained, for the first time, by Ross, the manager of the Edinburgh theatre; but, nevertheless, a violent opposition was still maintained against this public amusement by the more rigid portion of the citizens. Ross, being anxious to appease his enemies, solicited Boswell to write a prologue for the opening of the house,

which request was readily complied with. The verses were, as Lord Mansfield characterized them, witty and conciliating; and their effect, being aided by friends properly placed in different parts of the house, was instantaneous and most triumphant; the tide of opposition was turned, the loudest plaudits were given, and Ross at once entered upon a very prosperous career.

In 1769 Boswell paid a visit to Ireland, where he spent six or seven weeks, chiefly at Dublin, and enjoyed the society of Lord Charlemont, Dr. Leland, Mr. Flood, Dr. Macbride, and other eminent persons of that kingdom, not forgetting the celebrated George Falconer, the friend of Swift and Chesterfield. Viscount, afterwards Marquis Townshend, was then lord-lieutenant, and the congeniality of their dispositions united them in the closest friendship. He enjoyed a great advantage in the union of one of his female cousins to Mr. Sibthorpe, of the county of Down, a gentleman of high influence, who was the means of introducing him into much good society. Another female cousin, Miss Margaret Montgomery, daughter of Mr. Montgomery of Lainslaw, accompanied him on the expedition, and not only added to his satisfaction by her own delightful company, but caused him to be received with much kindness by her numerous and respectable relations. This jaunt was the means of converting Boswell from a resolution which he appears to have formed to live a single life. He experienced so much pleasure from the conversation of Miss Montgomery, that he was tempted to seek her society for life in a matrimonial engagement. He had resolved, he said, never to marry—had always protested, at least, that a large fortune would be indispensable. He was now, however, impressed with so high an opinion of her particular merit, that he would waive that consideration altogether, provided she would waive his faults also, and accept him for better for worse. Miss Montgomery, who was really an eligible match, being related to the noble family of Eglintoun, while her father laid claim to the dormant peerage of Lyle, acceded to his proposal with corresponding frankness; and it was determined that they should be married at the end of the year, after he should have paid one parting visit to London.

Before this visit was paid, Mr. Boswell was gratified in the highest degree by the arrival of General Paoli, who, having been forced to abandon his native island, in consequence of the French invasion, had sought that refuge on the shores of Britain which has never yet been refused to the unfortunate of any country. In autumn, 1769, General Paoli visited Scotland and Boswell; an account of his progress through the country, with Boswell in his train, is given in the *Scots Magazine* of the time. Both on this occasion and on his subsequent visit to London, Boswell attended the exiled patriot with an obsequious fidelity, arising no doubt as much from his desire of appearing in the company of a noted character, as from gratitude for former favours of a similar kind. Among other persons to whom he introduced his Corsican friend, was Dr. Johnson, an entirely opposite being in destiny and character, but who, nevertheless, was at some pains to converse with the unfortunate stranger—Boswell acting as interpreter. It would be curious to know in what light Paoli, who was a high-minded man, beheld his eccentric *cicerone*.

During the time of his visit to London, September, 1769, the jubilee took place at Stratford, to celebrate the birth of Shakspeare. As nearly all the literary, and many of the fashionable persons of the day were collected at this solemnity, Boswell entered

into it with a great deal of spirit, and played, it is said, many fantastic tricks, more suited to a carnival scene on the Continent, than to a sober festival in England. To pursue a contemporary account, "One of the most remarkable masks upon this occasion was James Boswell, Esq., in the dress of an armed Corsican chief. He entered the amphitheatre about 12 o'clock. He wore a short, dark-coloured coat of coarse cloth, scarlet waistcoat and breeches, and black spatterdashes; his cap or bonnet was of black cloth; on the front of it was embroidered in gold letters, *Viva la libertà*; and on one side of it was a handsome blue feather and cockade, so that it had an elegant as well as a warlike appearance. On the breast of his coat was sewed a Moor's head, the crest of Corsica, surrounded with branches of laurel. He had also a cartridge-pouch, into which was stuck a stiletto, and on his left side a pistol was hung upon the belt of his cartridge-pouch. He had a fusée slung across his shoulder, *wore no powder in his hair!* but had it plaited at full length, with a knot of blue ribbons at the end of it. He had, by way of staff, a very curious vine all of one piece, with a bird finely carved upon it, emblematical of the sweet bard of Avon. He wore no mask; saying, that it was not proper for a gallant Corsican. So soon as he came into the room, he drew universal attention. The novelty of the Corsican dress, its becoming appearance, and the character of that brave nation, concurred to distinguish the armed Corsican chief. He was first accosted by Mrs. Garrick, with whom he had a good deal of conversation. Mr. Boswell danced both a minuet and a country-dance with a very pretty Irish lady, Mrs. Sheldon, wife to Captain Sheldon of the 38th regiment of foot, who was dressed in a genteel domino, and before she danced, threw off her mask." *London Magazine, September, 1769*, where there is a portrait of the modern Xenophon in this strange guise.

On the 25th of November he was married at Lainshaw, in Ayrshire, to Miss Montgomery, and what is rather a remarkable circumstance, his father was married on the same day, at Edinburgh, to a second wife. With admirable sense, affection, and generosity of heart, the wife of James Boswell possessed no common share of wit and pleasantry. She died in June, 1789, leaving two sons, Alexander and James, and three daughters, Veronica, Euphemia, and Elizabeth. For two or three years after his marriage Boswell appears to have lived a quiet professional life at Edinburgh, paying only short occasional visits to London. In autumn, 1773, Dr. Johnson gratified him by coming to Edinburgh, and proceeding in his company on a tour through the north of Scotland and the Western Islands. On this occasion Boswell kept a journal, as usual, of every remarkable part of Dr. Johnson's conversation. The journey being made rather late in the season, the two travellers encountered some hardships, and a few dangers; but they were highly pleased with what they saw, and the reception they everywhere met with; Boswell, for his own part, declaring that he would not have missed the acquisition of so many new and delightful ideas as he had gained by this means for five hundred pounds. Dr. Johnson published an account of their trip, and the observations he made during its progress, under the title of a *Journey to the Western Islands*; and Boswell, after the death of his friend (1785), gave to the world the journal he had kept, as a *Tour to the Hebrides*, 1 volume 8vo. The latter is perhaps one of the most entertaining works in the language, though only rendered so, we must acknowledge, at the expense of the author's dignity. It ran through three edi-

tions during the first twelvemonth, and has since been occasionally reprinted.

For many years after the journey to the Hebrides, Boswell only enjoyed such snatches of Johnson's company and conversation as he could obtain by occasional visits to London, during the vacations of the Court of Session. Of these interviews, however, he has preserved such ample and interesting records, as must make us regret that he did not live entirely in London. It appears that, during the whole period of his acquaintance with Johnson, he paid only a dozen visits to London, and spent with him only a hundred and eighty days in all; which, added to the time they spent in their northern journey between August 18th and November 23d, 1773, makes the whole period during which the biographer enjoyed any intercourse with his subject, only two hundred and seventy-six days, or one hundredth part of Johnson's life.

The strangely vain and eccentric conduct of Boswell had, long ere this period, rendered him almost as notable a character as any of those whom he was so anxious to see. His social and good-humoured character gained him universal friendship; but this friendship was never attended with perfect respect. Men of inferior qualifications despised the want of natural dignity which made him go about in attendance upon every great man, and from no higher object in life than that of being the commemorator of their conversations. It is lamentable to state that, among those who despised him, was his own father; and even other relations, from whom respect might have been more imperatively required, were fretted by his odd habits. "Old Lord Auchinleck," says Sir Walter Scott, "was an able lawyer, a good scholar, after the manner of Scotland, and highly valued his own advantages as a man of good estate and ancient family, and, moreover, he was a strict Presbyterian and Whig of the old Scottish cast." To this character his son presented a perfect contrast—a light-headed lawyer, an aristocrat only in theory, an Episcopalian, and a Tory. But it was chiefly with the unsettled and undignified conduct of his son that the old gentleman found fault. "There's nae hope for Jamie, man," he said to a friend about the time of the journey to the Hebrides; "Jamie's gane clean gyte: What do ye think, man? he's aff wi' the land-louping scoundrel of a Corsican; and whase tail do ye think he has pinned himself to now, man?" Here the old judge summoned up a sneer of most sovereign contempt. "A dominie, man (meaning Johnson), an auld dominie, that keepit a schule, and ca'd it an academy!" By the death of Lord Auchinleck, in 1782, Boswell was at length freed from what he had always felt to be a most painful restraint, and at the same time became possessed of his paternal estate.

Boswell's mode of life, his social indulgences, and his frequent desertion of business for the sake of London literary society, tended greatly to embarrass his circumstances; and he was induced to try if they could be repaired by exertions in the world of politics. In 1784, when the people were in a state of most alarming excitement in consequence of Mr. Fox's India Bill, and the elevation of Mr. Pitt, he wrote a pamphlet, entitled *A Letter to the People of Scotland, on the Present State of the Nation*; and endeavoured, by means of it, to obtain the favourable notice of Mr. Pitt; but we are informed that, though the youthful minister honoured the work with his approbation, the efforts of the author to procure an introduction to political life were attended with a mortifying want of success. He was, nevertheless, induced to appear once more as a pamphleteer in

1785, when he published a second *Letter to the People of Scotland*, though upon an humbler theme, namely, "On the alarming attempt to infringe the articles of union, and introducing a most pernicious innovation, by diminishing the numbers of the lords of session." This proposal had been brought forward in the House of Commons; the salaries of the judges were to be raised, and that the expense might not fall upon the country, their number was to be reduced to ten. Boswell (to use a modern phrase) immediately commenced a vehement agitation in Scotland, to oppose the bill; and among other measures which he took for exciting public attention, published this letter. His chief argument was, that the number of the judges was established immutably by the act of union; an act which entered into the very constitution of parliament itself, and how then could parliament touch it? The agitation prevailed, and the court remained as it had been, for another generation.

Boswell, whose practice at the Scottish bar was never very great, had long wished to remove to the English, in order that he might live entirely in London. His father's reluctance, however, had hitherto prevented him. Now that the old gentleman was dead, he found it possible to follow his inclination, and accordingly he began, from time to time, to keep his terms at the Inner Temple. At Hilary term, 1786, he was called to the English bar, and in the ensuing winter removed his family to London. His first professional effort is said to have been of a somewhat ominous character. A few of the idlers of Westminster Hall, conspiring to quiz poor *Boazey*, as he was familiarly called, made up an imaginary case, full of all kinds of absurdities, which they caused to be presented to him for his opinion. He, taking all for real, returned a *bonafide* note of judgment, which, while it almost killed his friends with laughter, covered himself with ineffaceable ridicule.

It is to be regretted that this decisive step in life was not adopted by Boswell at an earlier period, as thereby he might have rendered his *Life of Johnson* still more valuable than it is. Johnson having died upwards of a year before his removal, it was a step of little importance in a literary point of view; nor did it turn out much better in respect of professional profit.

So early as 1781, when Mr. Burke was in power, that great man had endeavoured to procure an extension of the government patronage towards Boswell. "We must do something for you," he said, "for our own sakes," and recommended him to General Conway for a vacant place, by a letter in which his character was drawn in glowing colours. The place was not obtained; but Boswell declared that he valued the letter more. He was now enabled, by the interest of Lord Lowther, to obtain the situation of recorder of Carlisle. Finding this recordership, at so great a distance from London, attended with many inconveniences, Boswell, after holding it for about two years, resigned it.

It was well known at this time that he was very anxious to get into parliament; and many wondered that so sound a Tory should not have obtained a seat at the hands of some great parliamentary proprietor. Perhaps this wonder may be explained by a passage in his last *Letter to the People of Scotland*. "Though ambitious," he says, "I am uncorrupted; and I envy not high situations which are attained by the want of public virtue in men born without it, or by the prostitution of public virtue in men born with it. Though power, and wealth, and magnificence, may at first dazzle, and are, I think, most desirable, no

wise man will, upon sober reflection, envy a situation which he feels he could not enjoy. My friend—my 'Mæcenas atavis edite regibus'—Lord Mountstuart flattered me once very highly without intending it. 'I would do anything for you,' he said, 'but bring you into parliament, for I could not be sure but you would oppose me in something the very next day.' His lordship judged well. Though I should consider, with much attention, the opinion of such a friend before taking my resolution, most certainly I should oppose him in any measure which I was satisfied ought to be opposed. I cannot exist with pleasure, if I have not an honest independence of mind and of conduct; for, though no man loves good eating and drinking better than I do, I prefer the broiled blade-bone of mutton and humble port of 'downright Shippen,' to all the luxury of all the statesmen who play the political game all through."

He offered himself, however, as a candidate for Ayrshire, at the general election of 1790; but was defeated by the interest of the minister, which was exerted for a more pliant partisan. On this and all other proper occasions, he made no scruple to avow himself a Tory and a royalist; saying, however, in the words of his pamphlet just quoted, "I can drink, I can laugh, I can converse, in perfect good humour, with Whigs, with Republicans, with Dissenters, with Moravians, with Jews—they can do me no harm—my mind is made up—my principles are fixed—but I would vote with Tories, and pray with a dean and chapter."

If his success at the bar and in the political world was not very splendid, he consoled himself, so far as his own fancy was to be consoled, by the grateful task of preparing for the press his *magnum opus*—the life of Dr. Johnson. This work appeared in 1791, in two volumes quarto, and was received with an avidity suitable to its entertaining and valuable character. Besides a most minute narrative of the literary and domestic life of Johnson, it contained notes of all the remarkable expressions which the sage had ever uttered in Mr. Boswell's presence, besides some similar records from other hands, and an immense store of original letters. As decidedly the most faithful biographical portraiture in existence, and referring to one of the most illustrious names in literature, it is unquestionably the first book of its class; and not only so, but there is no other biographical work at all approaching to it in merit. While this is the praise deserved by the work, it happens, rather uncommonly, that no similar degree of approbation can be extended to the writer. Though a *great work*, it is only so by accident, or rather through the persevering assiduity of the author in a course which no man fit to produce a designedly great work could have submitted to. It is only great by a multiplication and agglomeration of little efforts. The preparation of a second edition of the life of Dr. Johnson was the last literary performance of Boswell, who died, May 19, 1795, at his house in Great Poland Street, London, in the 55th year of his age; having been previously ill for five weeks of a disorder which had commenced as an intermittent fever. He was buried at the family seat of Auchinleck.

The character of Boswell is so amply shadowed forth by the foregoing account of his life, that little more need be said about it. That he was a good-natured social man, possessed of considerable powers of imagination and humour, and well acquainted with literature and the world of common life, is universally acknowledged. He has been, at the same time, subjected to just ridicule for his total want of that natural dignity by which men of the world

secure and maintain the respect of their fellow-creatures in the daily business of life. He wanted this to such a degree, that even those relations whose respect was most necessary, according to the laws of nature, could scarcely extend it; and from the same cause his intellectual exertions, instead of shedding a lustre upon his name, have proved rather a kind of blot in his pedigree. His unmanly obsequiousness to great men—even though some of these were great only by the respect due to talent—his simpleton drollery—his degrading employment as a chronicler of private conversations—his mean tastes, among which was the disgusting one of a fondness for seeing executions—and the half folly, half vanity, with which he could tell the most delicate things, personal to himself and his family, in print—have altogether conspired to give him rather notoriety than true fame, and, though perhaps leaving him affection, deprive him entirely of respect. It was a remarkable point in the character of such a man, that, with powers of entertainment almost equal to Shakspeare's description of Yorick, he was subject to grievous fits of melancholy in private. One of his works, not noticed in the preceding narrative, was a series of papers under the title of *The Hypochondriac*, which appeared in the *London Magazine* for 1782, and were intended to embody the varied feelings of a man subject to that distemper.

BOSWELL, ALEXANDER and JAMES, sons of the preceding. It has been remarked, as creditable to the memory of James VI., that he educated two sons, who were, both in point of personal and intellectual character, much above the standard of ordinary men. The same remark will apply to the biographer of Johnson, who, whatever may be thought of his own character, reared two sons who stood forth afterwards as a credit to his parental care. A wish to educate his children in the best manner, was one of the ruling passions of this extraordinary *litterateur* in his latter years. He placed both his sons at Westminster School, and afterwards in the university of Oxford, at an expense which appears to have been not altogether justified by his own circumstances.

ALEXANDER BOSWELL, who was born October 9, 1775, succeeded his father in the possession of the family estate. He was distinguished as a spirited and amiable country gentleman, and also as a literary antiquary of no inconsiderable erudition. Perhaps his taste, in the latter capacity, was greatly fostered by the possession of an excellent collection of old manuscripts and books, which was gathered together by his ancestors, and has acquired the well-known title of the "AUCHINLECK LIBRARY." From the stores of this collection, in 1804, Sir Walter Scott published the romance of *Sir Tristram*, which is judged by its learned editor to be the earliest specimen of poetry by a Scottish writer now in existence. Besides this invaluable present to the literary world, the Auchinleck Library furnished, in 1812, the black letter original of a disputation held between John Knox and Quentin Kennedy at Maybole in 1562, which was printed at the time by Knox himself, but had latterly become so scarce that hardly another copy, besides that in the Auchinleck Library, was known to exist. Mr. Boswell was at the expense of printing a fac-simile edition of this curiosity, which was accepted by the learned as a very valuable contribution to our stock of historical literature.

The taste of Alexander Boswell was of a much milder and more sterling character than that of his father; and instead of being alternately the active and passive cause of amusement to his friends, he

shone exclusively in the former capacity. He possessed, indeed, a great fund of volatile talent, and, in particular, a most pungent vein of satire, which, while it occasionally inspired fear and dislike in those who were liable to become its objects, produced no admiration which was not also accompanied by respect. At an early period of his life, some of his poetical *jeux d'esprit* occasionally made a slight turmoil in that circle of Scottish society in which he moved. He sometimes also exercised his pen in that kind of familiar vernacular poetry which Burns again brought into fashion; and in the department of song-writing he certainly met with considerable success. A small volume, entitled, *Songs chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, was published by him, anonymously, in 1803, with the motto, "Nulla venenato litera mixta joco," a motto which it would have been well for him if he had never forgot. In a brief note on the second folio of this little work, he mentioned that he was induced to lay these trivial compositions in an authentic shape before the public, because corrupted copies had previously made their appearance. The truth is, some of his songs had already acquired a wide acceptance in public life, and were almost as familiar as those of Burns.¹ The volume also contains some English compositions, which still retain a popularity—such as "Taste Life's Glad Moments," which, he tells us, he translated at Leipsig, in 1795, from the German song, "Freu't euch des Lebens." Mr. Boswell also appears, from various compositions in this little volume, to have had a turn for writing popular Irish songs. One or two of his attempts in that style are replete with the grotesque character of the nation.²

In 1810 Mr. Boswell published a small volume under the title, *Edinburgh, or the Ancient Royalty, a Sketch of former Manners, by Simon Gray*. It is a kind of city eclogue, in which a farmer, who knew the town in a past age, is supposed to converse regarding its modern changes, with a city friend. It contains some highly curious memorials of the simple manners which obtained in Edinburgh, before

¹ We may instance, "Auld Gudeman, ye're a Drucken Carle," "Jenny's Bawbee," and "Jenny Dang the Weaver."

² It is hardly worth while to say more of a few fugitive lyrics; but yet we cannot help pointing out a remarkably beautiful antithesis, in one styled "The Old Chieftain to his Sons:—"

"The auld will speak, the young maun hear,
Be canny, but be gude and leal;
Your ain ill's aye hae heart to bear,
Anither's aye hae heart to feel."

In another he thus ludicrously adverts, in a fictitious character, to the changes which modern manners, rather than time, have produced upon the external and internal economy of the Scottish capital:—

Hech! what a change hae we now in this town!

A' now are braw lads, the lasses a' glancin';
Folk maun be dizzy gaun aye in this rout,

For deil a hae't's done now but feastin' and dancin'.
Gowd's no that scanty in ilk siller pock,

Whan ilka bit laddie maun hae his bit staigie;

But I kent the day when there was na a Jock,

But trotted about upon honest shanks-naigie.

Little was stown then, and less gaed to waste,

Barely a mullin for mice or for rattens;

The thrifty gudewife to the flesh-market paced,

Her equipage a'—just a gude pair o' pattens.

Folk were as gude then, and friends were as leal;

Though coaches were scant, wi' their cattle a' cantrin';

Right are we were tell't by the housemaid or chiel,

'Sir, an' ye please, here's yer lass and a lantern.'

The town may be cloutit and pieced till it meets,

A' neebours benorth and besouth without haltin';

Brigs may be biggit ower lums and ower streets,

The Nor-Loch itsel' heaped as heigh as the Calton.

But whar is true friendship, and whar will ye see

A' that is gude, honest, modest, and thrify?

Tak' gray hairs and wrinkles, and hurple wi' me,

And think on the seventeen-hundred and fifty.

the change described in the song just quoted. At a subsequent period, Mr. Boswell established a private printing-press at Auchinleck, from which he issued various trifles in prose and verse, some of which are characterized by much humour. In 1816 appeared a poetical tale, somewhat like Burns' *Tam o' Shanter*, entitled, *Skeldon Haughs, or the Sow is Flitted!* being founded on a traditionary story regarding an Ayrshire feud of the fifteenth century.¹ In 1821 Mr. Boswell was honoured with what had been the chief object of his ambition for many years, a baronetcy of Great Britain. About this period, politics ran very high in the country, and Sir Alexander, who had inherited all the Tory spirit of his father, sided warmly with the ministry. In the beginning of the year 1821, a few gentlemen of similar prepossessions conceived it to be not only justifiable, but necessary, that the fervour of the radical press, as it was called, should be met by a corresponding fervour on the other side, so that the enemies of the government might be combated with their own weapons. Hence arose a newspaper in Edinburgh, styled the *Beacon*, to which Sir Alexander Boswell contributed a few *jeux d'esprit*, aimed at the leading men on the other side, and alleged to have far exceeded the proper line of political sarcasm. These being continued in a subsequent paper, which was published at Glasgow, under the name of the *Sentinel*, at length were traced to their author by James Stuart, Esq. younger of Dunearn, who had been the object of some of the rudest attacks, and repeatedly accused of cowardice. The consequence of this discovery was a challenge from Mr. Stuart to Sir Alexander, and the hostile parties having met near Auchtertool in Fife, March 26, 1822, the latter received a shot in the bottom of the neck, which terminated his existence next day. Mr. Stuart was tried for this offence, by the High Court of Justiciary, but most honourably acquitted. Sir Alexander left a widow and several children.

JAMES BOSWELL, the second son of the biographer of Johnson, was, as already mentioned, educated at Westminster School. He was afterwards entered of Brazen-nose College, and there had the honour to be elected fellow upon the Vinerian foundation. Mr. Boswell possessed talents of a superior order, sound classical scholarship, and a most extensive and intimate knowledge of our early literature. In the investigation of every subject he pursued, his industry, judgment, and discrimination, were equally remarkable; his memory was unusually tenacious and accurate; and he was always as ready as he was competent, to communicate his stores of information

for the benefit of others. Mr. Malone was influenced by these qualifications, added to the friendship which he entertained for Mr. Boswell, to select him as his literary executor; and to his care this eminent commentator intrusted the publication of an enlarged and amended edition of *Shakspeare*, which he had long been meditating. As Mr. Malone's papers were left in a state scarcely intelligible, it is believed that no man but one of kindred genius, like Mr. Boswell, could have rendered them at all available. This, however, Mr. Boswell did in the most efficient manner; farther enriching the work with many excellent notes of his own, besides collating the text with all the earlier editions. This work, indeed, which extends to twenty-one volumes, 8vo, must be considered as not only the most elaborate edition of *Shakspeare*, but perhaps the greatest edition of any work in the English language. In the first volume, Mr. Boswell has stepped forward to defend the literary reputation of Mr. Malone against the severe attacks made by a writer of distinguished eminence, upon many of his critical opinions and statements; a task of great delicacy, and which Mr. Boswell performed in so spirited and gentlemanly a manner, that his preface may be fairly quoted as a model of controversial writing. In the same volume are inserted "Memoirs of Mr. Malone," originally printed by Mr. Boswell for private circulation; and a valuable essay on the metre and phraseology of *Shakspeare*, the materials for which were partly collected by Mr. Malone, but which was entirely indebted to Mr. Boswell for arrangement and completion.

Mr. Boswell inherited from his father a keen relish of the society of the metropolis, and accordingly he spent his life almost exclusively in the Middle Temple. Few men were better fitted to appreciate and contribute to the pleasures of social intercourse; his conversational powers, and the unflinching cheerfulness of his disposition, rendered him everywhere an acceptable guest; but it was the goodness of his heart, that warmth of friendship which knew no bounds when a call was made upon his services, which formed the sterling excellence, and the brightest feature of Mr. Boswell's character. This amiable man and excellent scholar died, February 24, 1822, in the forty-third year of his age, and was buried in the Temple church, by a numerous train of sorrowing friends. It is a melancholy circumstance that his brother, Sir Alexander, had just returned from performing the last offices to a beloved brother, when he himself was summoned from existence in the manner above related.

BOWER, ARCHIBALD, a learned person, but of dubious fame, was born on the 17th of January, 1686, near Dundee. He was a younger son of a respectable Catholic family, which, for several centuries, had possessed an estate in Forfarshire. In 1702 he was sent to the Scots College at Douay, where he studied for the church. At the end of the year 1706, having completed his first year of philosophy, he went to Rome, and there, December 9, was admitted into the order of Jesus. After his novitiate, he taught classical literature and philosophy, for two years, at Fano, and subsequently he spent three years at Fermo. In 1717 he was recalled to Rome, to study divinity in the Roman college. His last vows were made at Arezzo, in 1722.

Bower's fame as a teacher was now, according to his own account, spread over all the Italian states, and he had many invitations to reside in different places, to none of which he acceded, till the college of Macerata chose him for their professor. He was now arrived at the mature age of forty; and it was

¹ Kennedy of Bargeny tethered a sow on the lands of his feudal enemy Crawford of Kerse, and resolved that the latter gentleman, with all his vassals, should not be permitted to remove or "flit" the animal. To defeat this bravado at the very first, the adherents of Crawford assembled in great force, and entered into active fight with the Kennedys, who, with their sow, were at length driven back with great slaughter, though not till the son of the laird of Kerse, who had led his father's forces, was slain. The point of the poem lies in the dialogue which passed between the old laird and a messenger who came to apprise him of the event:—

"'Is the sow flittit? tell me, loon!
Is auld Kyle up and Carrick down?
Mingled wi' sobs, his broken tale
The youth began: 'Ah, Kerse, bewail
This luckless day!—Your blythe son, John,
Ah, wae's my heart, lies on the loon—
And he could sing like ony merle!
'Is the sow flitted?' cried the carle:
'Gie me my answer—short and plain,—
Is the sow flitted, yammerin wean?
'The sow (deil tak her) 's over the water—
And at their backs the Crawford batters—
The Carrick couths are cowed and bitted!
'My thumb for Jock! THE SOW IS FLITTID'!"

not to have been expected that any sudden change, either in his religious sentiments or in his moral conduct, would take place after that period of life. Probably, however, Bower had never before this time been exposed to any temptation. Being now appointed confessor to the nunnery of St. Catherine at Macerata, he is alleged to have commenced a criminal intercourse with a nun of the noble family of Buonacorsi. Alarmed, it is said, for the consequences of his imprudence, he determined upon flying from the dominions of the Pope; a step which involved the greatest danger, as he had previously become connected, in the capacity of counsellor, with the holy inquisition, which invariably punished apostasy with death. Bower's own account of his flight sets forth conscientious scruples on the score of religion, as having alone urged him to take that step; but it is hardly credible that a man in his situation could expose his life to imminent danger from a sudden access of scrupulosity. The circumstances of his flight are given in the following terms by himself:

"To execute that design with some safety, I purposed to beg leave of the inquisitor to visit the virgin at Loretto, but thirteen miles distant, and to pass a week there, but, in the meantime, to make the best of my way to the country of the Grisons, the nearest country to Macerata out of the reach of the inquisition. Having, therefore, after many conflicts with myself, asked leave to visit the neighbouring sanctuary, and obtained it, I set out on horseback the very next morning, leaving, as I purposed to keep the horse, his full value with the owner. I took the road to Loretto, but turned out of it at a small distance from Recenati, after a most violent struggle with myself, the attempt appearing to me, at that juncture, quite desperate and impracticable; and the dreadful doom reserved for me, should I miscarry, presenting itself to my mind in the strongest light. But the reflection that I had it in my power to avoid being taken alive, and a persuasion that a man in my situation might lawfully avoid it, when every other means failed him, at the expense of his life, revived my staggering resolution; and all my fears ceasing at once, I steered my course to Calvi in the dukedom of Urbino, and from thence through the Romagna into the Bolognese, keeping the by-roads, and at a good distance from the cities of Fano, Pisaro, Rimini, Forli, Faenza, and Tivola, through which the high-road passed. Thus I advanced very slowly, travelling, generally speaking, in very bad roads, and often in places where there was no road at all, to avoid, not only the cities and towns, but even the villages. In the meantime, I seldom had any other support than some coarse provisions, and a very small quantity even of them, that the poor shepherds and wood-cleavers could spare me. My horse fared not better than myself; but, in choosing my sleeping-place, I consulted his convenience as much as my own, passing the night where I found most shelter for myself, and most grass for him. In Italy there are very few solitary farm-houses or cottages, the country people there all living together in villages, and I thought it far safer to lie where I could be anyway sheltered, than to venture into any of them. Thus I spent seventeen days before I got out of the ecclesiastical state; and I very narrowly escaped being taken or murdered on the very borders of that state. It happened thus:

"I had passed two whole days without any kind of subsistence whatever, meeting nobody in the by-roads that would supply me with any, and fearing to come near any house. As I was not far from the borders of the dominions of the Pope, I thought I

should be able to hold out till I got into the Modenese, where I believed I should be in less danger than while I remained in the papal dominions; but finding myself, about noon of the third day, extremely weak and ready to faint, I came into the high road that leads from Bologna to Florence, at a few miles distance from the former city, and alighted at a post-house that stood quite by itself. Having asked the woman of the house whether she had any victuals ready, and being told that she had, I went to open the door of the only room in the house (that being a place where gentlemen only stop to change horses), and saw, to my great surprise, a placard pasted on it with a most minute description of my whole person, and the promise of a reward of 800 crowns, about £200 English money, for delivering me up alive to the inquisition, being a fugitive from the holy tribunal, and 600 crowns for my head. By the same placard, all persons were forbidden, on pain of the greater excommunication, to receive, harbour, or entertain me, to conceal or to screen me, or to be any way aiding or assisting to me in making my escape. This greatly alarmed me, as the reader may well imagine; but I was still more affrighted when, entering the room, I saw two fellows drinking there, who, fixing their eyes upon me as soon as I came, continued looking at me very steadfastly. I strove, by wiping my face, by blowing my nose, by looking out at the window, to prevent their having a full view of me. But one of them saying, 'The gentleman seems afraid to be seen,' I put up my handkerchief, and turning to the fellow, said boldly, 'What do you mean, you rascal? Look at me, I am not afraid to be seen.' He said nothing, but, looking again steadfastly at me, and nodding his head, went out, and his companion immediately followed him. I watched them, and seeing them with two or three more in close conference, and no doubt consulting whether they should apprehend me or not, I walked that moment into the stable, mounted my horse unobserved by them, and, while they were deliberating in the orchard behind the house, rode off at full speed, and in a few hours got into the Modenese, where I refreshed, both with food and rest, as I was there in no immediate danger, my horse and myself. I was indeed surprised that those fellows did not pursue me; nor can I any other way account for it, but by supposing, what is not improbable, that, as they were strangers as well as myself, and had all the appearance of banditti or ruffians flying out of the dominions of the pope, the woman of the house did not care to trust them with her horses."

Bower now directed his course through the cantons of Switzerland, and as some of these districts were Catholic, though not under the dominion of the inquisition, he had occasionally to resume the mode of travelling above described, in order to avoid being taken. At length, May 1726, he reached the Scots College at Douay, where he threw himself upon the protection of the rector. According to his own narrative, which, however, has been contradicted in many points, he thus proved that, though he had fled from the horrors of the holy tribunal, and had begun to entertain some doubts upon several parts of the Catholic doctrines, he was not disposed to abandon entirely the profession of faith in which he had been educated. He even describes a correspondence which he entered into with the superior of his order in France, who at length recommended him to make the best of his way to England, in order that he might get fairly beyond the reach of the inquisition. Thus he did under such circumstances of renewed danger, that he would have been detained

at Calais, but for the kindness of an English nobleman, Lord Baltimore, who conveyed him over to Dover in his own yacht. He arrived at London in July or August, 1726.

His first friend of any eminence in England was Dr. Aspinwall, who, like himself, had formerly belonged to the order of Jesus. His conversations with this gentleman, and with the more celebrated Dr. Clarke, and Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, produced, or appeared to produce, such a change in his religious sentiments, that he soon after abjured the Catholic faith. For six years he continued a Protestant, but of no denomination. At length he joined the communion of the Church of England, which he professed to consider "as free in her service as any reformed church from the idolatrous practices and superstitions of Popery, and less inclined than many others to fanaticism and enthusiasm." By his friends he was recommended to Lord Aylmer, who wanted a person to assist him in reading the classics. While thus employed he conducted a review or magazine, which was started in 1730, under the title *Historia Literaria*, and was finished in eight volumes, in 1734. Being little acquainted with the English tongue, he composed the early part of this work in Italian, and had it translated by an English student; but before the work was concluded, he had made himself sufficiently acquainted with English, to dispense with his translator. After its conclusion, he was engaged by the publishers of the *Ancient Universal History*, for which work he wrote during a space of nine years, contributing, in particular, the article "Roman History." It is said that the early part of this production is drawn out to an undue length, considering that there were various other abridgments of that portion of the history of Rome; while the latter part, referring to the Eastern empire, though comparatively novel and valuable, was, from the large space already occupied, cut down into as many paragraphs as it ought to have occupied pages. The second edition of the *Universal History* was committed for revision to Mr. Bower's care, and it is said that, though he received £300 from the publishers, he performed his task, involving though it did a very large commercial interest, in the most superficial and unsatisfactory manner. His writings had been so productive before the year 1740, that he then possessed £1100 in South Sea annuities. It is alleged that he now wished to be restored to the bosom of the church, in order that he might share in its bounty as a missionary. In order to conciliate its favour, and attest his sincerity, he is said to have offered to it, through Father Shirburn, then provincial of England, the whole of his fortune on loan. The money was received on the conditions stipulated by himself, and was afterwards augmented to £1350, for which, in August, 1743, a bond was given, allowing him an annuity equal to 7 per cent. upon the principal. He is said to have been so far successful in his object that, in 1744 or 1745, he was re-admitted into, or rather reconciled to the order of Jesus—though it does not appear that he ever received the employment which he expected. In 1747, having been tempted, by a considerable offer, to write a history of the popes in a style agreeable to Protestant feeling, he is alleged to have commenced a correspondence with Father Shirburn for the purpose of getting back his money, lest, on breaking again with the church, the whole should be forfeited. He pretended that he had engaged in an illicit intercourse with a lady, to whom the money in reality belonged, and that, in order to disengage himself from a connection which lay heavily upon his conscience, he wished to refund the money. Accordingly, on the 20th of

June, 1747, he received it back. If we are to believe himself, he did not lend the money to Shirburn, but to Mr. Hill, a Jesuit, who transacted money affairs in his capacity as an attorney. He retracted it, he said, in order to be able to marry. The letters shown as having been written by him to Father Shirburn, were, he said, forgeries prepared by Catholics in order to destroy his popularity with the Protestants. But the literary world has long settled the question against Bower. The letters were published in 1756 by his countryman Dr. John Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, along with a commentary proving their authenticity. The replies of Bower, though ingenious, are by no means satisfactory, and it is obvious that the whole transaction proves him to have been a man who little regarded principle, when he had the prospect of improving his fortune.

The first volume of his *History of the Popes* was published in 1748; and he was soon after, by the interest of Lord Lyttleton, appointed librarian to Queen Caroline. It must be remarked that this irreproachable nobleman remained the friend of Bower, while all the rest of the world turned their backs upon him; and it must be confessed, that such a fact is calculated to stagger the faith of many even in the acuteness of Bishop Douglas. On the 4th of August, 1749, when he had just turned the grand climacteric, he married a niece of Bishop Nicholson, with a fortune of £4000. In 1751 he published his second volume, and in 1753 his third, which brought down the history to the death of Pope Stephen. This work, partly from the circumstances of the author, appears to have been received with great favour by the dissenters and more devout party of the church. Bower is alleged by his enemies to have kept up the interest of the publication, by stories of the danger in which he lay from the malignity of the Catholics, who, as he gave out, attempted on one occasion, to carry him off by water from Greenwich. Lord Lyttleton, in April, 1754, appointed him clerk of the buck warrants. It was in 1756 that his personal reputation received its first grand shock from the exposure of Dr. Douglas, who next year published a second tract, as fully condemnatory of his literary character. This latter production, entitled *Bower and Tillemont compared*, showed that a great part of his *History of the Popes* was nothing more than a translation of the French historian. He endeavoured to repel the attack in three laboured pamphlets; but Dr. Douglas, in a reply, confirmed his original statements by unquestionable documents. Before the controversy ended, Bower had issued his fourth volume, and, in 1757, an abridgment of what was published appeared at Amsterdam. The fifth volume appeared in 1761, during which year he also published *Authentic Memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition, in a Series of Letters to a Friend*, 8vo. *The History of the Popes* was finally completed in seven volumes; and on the 3d of September, 1766, the author died at his house in Bond Street, in the eighty-first year of his age.¹ He was buried in Mary-le-Bone churchyard, where there is a monument to him, bearing the following inscription:—

"A man exemplary for every social virtue. Justly esteemed by all who knew him for his strict honesty and integrity. A faithful friend and a sincere Christian.

"False witnesses rose up against him, and laid to

¹ A letter written at the request of his widow to notify his death to his nephew in Scotland (which I have seen), mentions that he bore a final illness of three weeks "in every way suitable to the character of a good Christian."

his charge things that he knew not; they imagined wickedness in their hearts, and practised it: their delight is in lies: they conspired together, and laid their net to destroy him guiltless: the very abjects came together against him, they gaped upon him with their mouths, they sharpened their tongues like a serpent, working deceitfully; they compassed him about with words of malice, and hated, and fought against him without a cause.

"He endured their reproach with fortitude, suffering wrongfully."

"Unhappy vanity!" exclaims Samuel Ayscough, who preserves the inscription, "thus endeavouring, as it were, to carry on the deception with God, which he was convicted of at the bar of literary justice: how much better would it have been to let his name sink in oblivion than thus attempt to excite the pity of those only who are unacquainted with the history of his life; and, should it raise a desire in any person to inquire, it must turn their pity into contempt."

In Bower we contemplate a man of considerable merit, in a literary point of view, debased by the peculiar circumstances in which he entered the world. A traitor to his own original profession of faith, he never could become a good subject to any other. His subsequent life was that of an adventurer and a hypocrite; and such at length was the dilemma in which he involved himself by his unworthy practices, that, for the purpose of extricating himself, he was reduced to the awful expedient of denying upon oath the genuineness of letters which were proved upon incontestable evidence to be his. Even, however, from the evil of such a life much good may be extracted. The infamy in which his declining years were spent must inform even those to whom good is not good alone for its own sake, that the straight paths of candour and honour are the only ways to happiness, and that money or respect, momentarily enjoyed at the expense of either, can produce no permanent or effectual benefit.

BOWER, WALTER, an historical writer of the fifteenth century, was born at Haddington in 1385. At the age of eighteen he assumed the religious habit; and after finishing his philosophical and theological studies, visited Paris in order to study the laws. Having returned to his native country, he was unanimously elected abbot of St. Colm in the year 1418. After the death of Fordoun, the historian (see that article), he was requested by Sir David Stewart of Rossyth to undertake the completion of the *Scotti-chronicon*, or *Chronicles of Scotland*, which had been brought up by the above writer only to the 23d chapter of the fifth book. In transcribing the part written by Fordoun, Bower inserted large interpolations. He completed the work in sixteen books, which brought the narrative to the death of James I.; and he is said to have been much indebted for materials to the previous labours of Fordoun. Bower, like Fordoun, wrote in a scholastic and barbarous Latin; and their work, though it must be considered as one of the great fountains of early Scottish history, is characterized by few of the essential qualities of that kind of composition.

BOYD, MARK, an extraordinary genius, who assumed the additional name of ALEXANDER, from a desire of assimilating himself to the illustrious hero of Macedon, was a younger son of Robert Boyd of Pinkell in Ayrshire, who was great-grandson to Robert Boyd, Great Chamberlain of Scotland. Mark Boyd was born on the 13th of January, 1562. His father having died while he was a child, he was educated under the care of his uncle, James Boyd of

Trochrig, titular Archbishop of Glasgow. His headstrong temper showed itself in early youth in quarrels with his instructors, and before he had finished his academical course, he left the care of his friends, and endeavoured to obtain some notice at court. It affords a dreadful picture of the character of Boyd, that, even in a scene ruled by such a spirit as Stuart, Earl of Arran, he was found too violent: one duel and numberless broils in which he became engaged rendered it necessary that he should try his fortune elsewhere. By the advice of his friends, who seem to have given up all hope of his coming to any good in his own country, he travelled to France, in order to assume the profession of arms. While lingering at Paris he lost his little stock of money at dice. This seems to have revived better feelings in his breast. He began to study under various teachers at Paris; then went to the university of Orleans, and took lessons in civil law from Robertus; lastly, he removed to Bourges, where he was received with kindness by the celebrated Cujacius. This great civilian happening to have a crazy fondness for the writings of the early Latin poets, Boyd gained his entire favour by writing a few poems in the barbarous style of Ennius. The plague breaking out at Bourges, he was obliged to flee to Lyons, whence he was driven by the same pestilence into Italy. After spending some time in this country, he returned to France, and is supposed to have there acted for some time as private tutor to a young gentleman named Dauconet. In 1587 commenced the famous wars of the League. Boyd, though a Protestant, or afterwards professing to be so, joined with the Catholic party, in company with his pupil, and for some time led the life of a soldier of fortune. His share in the mishaps of war consisted of a wound in the ankle. In 1588, the Germans and Swiss being driven out of France, the campaign terminated, and Boyd retired to Toulouse, where he recommenced the study of civil law. His studies were here interrupted by a popular insurrection in favour of the Catholic interest, but in which he took no part. Having fallen under some suspicion, probably on account of his country, he was seized by the insurgents, and thrown into prison. By the intercession of some of his learned friends he was relieved from this peril, and permitted to make his escape to Bordeaux. He has left a most animated account of the insurrection, from which it may be gathered that the expedients assumed in more recent periods of French history for protecting cities by barricades, chains, and other devices, were equally familiar in the reign of Henry the Great. For several years Boyd lived a parti-coloured life, alternating between study and war. He had a sincere passion for arms, and entertained a notion that to live entirely without the knowledge and practice of military affairs was only to be *half a man*. It is to be regretted that his exertions as a *soldier* were entirely on the side adverse to his own and his country's faith—a fact which proves how little he was actuated by principle. In the midst of all the broils of the League, he had advanced considerably in the preparation of a series of lectures on the civil law; but he never found an opportunity of delivering them. He also composed a considerable number of Latin poems, which were published in one volume at Antwerp, in 1592. Having now turned his thoughts homewards, he endeavoured in this work to attract the favourable attention of James VI., by a very flattering dedication. But it does not seem to have had any effect. He does not appear to have returned to his native country for some years after this period. In 1595, when his elder brother died, he was still in France. Returning soon after, he is said to have

undertaken the duty of travelling preceptor to John, Earl of Cassilis; and when his task was accomplished, he returned once more. He died of a slow fever, April 10th, 1601, and was buried in the church of Daily.

Mark Alexander Boyd left several compositions behind him, of which a few have been published. The most admired are his *Epistole Heroidum*, and his *Hymni*, which are inserted in the *Delicia Poetarum Sotorum*, published at Amsterdam, in 1637. His style in Latin poetry is shown by Lord Hailes to be far from correct, and his ideas are often impure and coarse. Yet when regarded as the effusions of a soaring genius, which seems to have looked upon every ordinary walk of human exertion as beneath it, we may admire the general excellence, while we overlook mean defects. "The Tears of Venus on the Death of Adonis," which has been often extracted from his *Epistole*, is sometimes regarded as a beautiful specimen of Latin versification, and in impassioned feeling almost rivalling Pope's *Eloise*. An exact list of the remainder of his compositions, which still lie in manuscript in the Advocates' Library, is given in his life by Lord Hailes, which was one of the few *tentamina* contributed by that great antiquary towards a *Scottish Biographical Dictionary*. Lord Hailes represents the vanity of Boyd as having been very great; but it is obvious that he could offer as high incense to others as to himself. He has the hardihood to compliment the peaceful James VI. as superior to Pallas or Mars: in another place, he speaks of that monarch as having distinguished himself at battles and sieges. It is well known that neither the praise nor the facts were true; and we can only account for such inordinate flattery, by supposing, what there is really much reason to believe, that panegyric in those days was a matter of course, and not expected to contain any truth, or even *vraisemblance*. This theory receives some countenance from a circumstance mentioned by Lord Hailes. The dedication, it seems, in which King James was spoken of as a hardy warrior, was originally written for a real warrior; but the name being afterwards changed, it was not thought necessary to alter the praise; and so the Scottish Solomon, who is said to have shrunk from the very sight of cold iron, stands forth as a second Agamemnon.

BOYD, ROBERT, of Trochrig, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was born at Glasgow in 1578. He was the son of James Boyd, "tulchan-archbishop" of Glasgow, and Margaret, daughter of James Chalmers of Gaitgirth, chief of that name. On the death of his father, which happened when he was only three years old, his mother retired to the family residence in Ayrshire, and Boyd, along with Thomas, his younger brother, was in due time sent to the grammar-school of the county town. From thence he was removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he studied philosophy under Mr. Charles Ferme (or Fairholm), one of the regents, and afterwards divinity under the celebrated Robert Rollock. In compliance with the custom of the times, he then went abroad for the purpose of pursuing his studies, and France was destined to be the first sphere of his usefulness. He taught various departments of literature in the schools of Tours and Montauban, at the first of which places he became acquainted with the famous Dr. Rivet. In 1604 he was ordained pastor of the church at Verteuil, and in 1606 he was appointed one of the professors in the university of Saumur, which had been founded in 1593 by the amiable Philip de Mornay, better known by the title of Du Plessis. Boyd also dis-

charged the duties of a pastor in the church at the same town, and, soon after, became professor of divinity. As he had now the intention of remaining for some years abroad, he bethought himself of entering into the married state, and having met with "an honest virgin of the family of Malivern," says Wodrow, "he sought her parents for their consent, who, having received a satisfactory testimonial of the nobility of his birth, and the competency of his estate, they easily yielded; and so he took her to wife, with the good liking of the church and the university, who hoped that by this means he would be fixed among them, so as never to entertain thoughts of returning to Scotland to settle there." But in this they were soon disappointed, for King James having heard through several noblemen, relations of Mr. Boyd, of his worth and talents, offered him the principalship of the university of Glasgow.

The duties of principal in that college were, by the charter of this monarch, not confined even to those connected with that institution. He was required to teach theology on one day, and Hebrew and Syriac the next, alternately; but this was not all. The temporalities of the rectory and vicarage of Govan had been annexed to it, under the condition that the principal should preach on Sunday in the church of that parish. Under these circumstances, it could not be expected that Mr. Boyd could have much leisure to premeditate his lectures. Wodrow informs us that he did not read them, "but uttered all in a continued discourse, without any hesitation, and with as much ease and freedom of speech as the most eloquent divine is wont to deliver his sermons in his mother tongue." It will be remembered that the prelections were then delivered in Latin, and Principal Baillie, who studied under Mr. Boyd, mentions that, at a distance of thirty years, the tears, the solemn vows, and the ardour of the desires produced by the principal's Latin prayers, were still fresh in his memory.¹

From the assimilation which was then rapidly taking place to the Episcopalian form of church government, Mr. Boyd felt his situation peculiarly unpleasant. He could not acquiesce in the decisions of the Perth Assembly, and it could not be expected that he would be allowed to retain his office under any other condition than that of compliance. He therefore preferred voluntarily resigning his office, and retiring to his country residence. Soon after this period he was appointed principal of the university of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of that city; but there he was not long allowed to remain. His majesty insisted upon his compliance with the Perth articles, and an intimation to that effect having been made to him, he refused, and, to use the quaint expression of the historian, "swa took his leave of them." He was now ordered to confine himself within the bounds of Carrick. His last appointment was to Paisley, but a quarrel soon occurred with the widow of the Earl of Abercorn, who had lately turned Papist, and this was a source of new distress to him. Naturally of a weakly constitution, and worn down by a series of misfortunes, he now laboured under a complication of diseases, which led to his death at Edinburgh, whither he had gone to consult the physicians, on the 5th of January, 1627, in the 49th year of his age.

Of his works, few of which are printed, the largest and best known is his *Praelectiones in Epistolam ad Ephesios*. From the circumstances which occurred in the latter part of his life, he was prevented getting it printed as he intended. After his death a copy

¹ *Bodii Praelectiones in Epist. ad Ephes. Praefat. ad Lectorem.*

of the MS. was sent to Dr. Rivet, who agreed with Chouet of Geneva for the printing, but when returning to that place with the MS. in his possession, the ship was taken by the Dunkirkers, and the work was seized by some Jesuits, who would part with it "nec prece nec pretio." Fortunately the original still remained, and it was, after many delays, printed "Impensis Societatis Stationariorum," in 1652, folio. To the work is prefixed a memoir of the author, by Dr. Rivet; but as their acquaintance did not commence till 1598 or 1599, there are several errors in his account of the earlier part of Boyd's life, all of which Wodrow has with great industry and accuracy corrected. The only other prose work of Mr. Boyd ever published, is his *Monita de Filii sui Primogeniti Institutione, ex Authoris MSS. Autographis per R(obertum) S(ibbald), M.D., edita*, 8vo, 1701. The style of this work, according to Wodrow, is pure, the system perspicuous; and prudence, observation, and piety appear throughout. Besides these, the *Hecatombæ ad Christum*, the ode to Dr. Sibbald, and the laudatory poem on King James, are in print. The two first are printed in the *Delicia Poetarum Sotorum*. The *Hecatombæ* has been reprinted at Edinburgh in 1701, and subsequently in the *Poetarum Sotorum Musa Sacra*. The verses to King James have been printed in Adamson's *Muses' Welcome*; and it is remarkable that it seems to have been altogether overlooked by Wodrow. All these poems justify the opinion that, had Boyd devoted more of his attention to the composition of Latin poetry, he might have excelled in that elegant accomplishment.

In the time of Wodrow several MSS. still remained in the possession of the family of Trochrig, consisting of *Sermons in English and French*, his *Philotheca*, a kind of obituary, extracts from which have lately been printed in the second part of the *Miscellany* of the Bannatyne Club. His life has been written at great length by the venerable historian of the sufferings of the Scottish Church, already frequently quoted. Those who wish to know more of this learned man than the limits of our work will permit, are referred to the very interesting series of the Wodrow biographies in the library of the university of Glasgow—article "Boyd."

BOYD, ZACHARY, an eminent divine and religious writer of the seventeenth century, was born before the year 1590, and was descended from the family of the Boyds of Pinkell, in Carrick (Ayrshire). He was cousin to Mr. Andrew Boyd, Bishop of Argyle, and Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrig, the subject of the preceding memoir. He received the rudiments of his education at the school of Kilmarnock, and passed through an academical course in the college of Glasgow. About the year 1607 he had finished his studies in his native country. He then went abroad, and studied at the college of Saumur in France, under his relation Robert Boyd. He was appointed a regent in this university, in 1611, and is said to have been offered the principalship, which he declined. According to his own statement, he spent sixteen years in France, during four of which he was a preacher of the gospel. In consequence of the persecution of the Protestants he was obliged, in 1621, to return to his native country. He relates, in one of his sermons, the following anecdote of the voyage:—"In the time of the French persecution I came by sea to Flanders, and as I was sailing from Flanders to Scotland a fearful tempest arose, which made our mariners reel to and fro, and stagger like drunken men. In the meantime, there was a Scots Papist who lay near mee. While the ship gave a great shake, I observed the man, and

after the Lord had sent a calme, I said to him, 'Sir, now ye see the weakness of your religion; as long as yee are in prosperitie, yee cry to this saint and that saint: in our great danger I heard yee cry often, Lord, Lord; but not a word yee spake of our Lady.'" On his reaching Scotland, he further informs us that he "remained a space a private man at Edinburgh, with Doctor Sibbald, the glory and honour of all the physicians of our land." Afterwards he lived successively under the protection of Sir William Scott of Elie, and of the Marquis of Hamilton and his lady at Kinneil; it being then the fashion for pious persons of quality in Scotland to retain one clergyman at least, as a member of their household. In 1623 he was appointed minister of the large district in the suburbs of Glasgow, styled the Barony parish, for which the crypts beneath the cathedral church then served as a place of worship; a scene well fitted by its sepulchral gloom to add to the impressiveness of his Calvinistic eloquence. In this charge he continued all the remainder of his life. In the years 1634-35 and 45 he filled the office of rector of the university of Glasgow—an office which appears from its constituency to have then been very honourable.

In 1629 Mr. Zachary—to use the common mode of designating a clergyman in that age—published his principal prose work, "*The Last Battell of the Soule in Death*;" whereby are shown the diverse skirmishes that are between the soule of man on his death-bed, and the enemies of our salvation, carefully digested for the comfort of the sicke, by &c. Printed at Edinburgh for the heires of Andro Hart." This is one of the few pious works, not of a controversial nature, produced by the Scottish church before a very recent period; and it is by no means the meanest in the list. It is of a dramatic, or, at least, a conversational form; and the dramatical personæ, such as, "Pastour, Sicke Man, Spirituall Friend, Carnal Friend, Sathan, Michael," &c., sustain their parts with such spirit as to show, in connection with his other works of the like nature, that he might have excelled in a department of profane literature, for which, no doubt, he entertained the greatest horror, namely, writing for the stage. The first volume of the work is dedicated, in an English address, to King Charles I., and then in a French one, to his consort Henrietta Maria. It says much for the dexterity of Mr. Zachary, that he inscribes a religious work to a Catholic princess, without any painful reference to her own unpopular faith. He dedicates the second volume to the electress palatine, daughter of James VI., and adds a short piece, which he styles her *Lamentations for the death of her Son*, who was drowned while crossing in a ferry-boat to Amsterdam. The extravagant grief which he describes in this little work is highly amusing. It strikes him that the electress must have conceived a violent antipathy to water, in consequence of the mode of her son's death, and he therefore makes her conclude her lamentations in the following strain:—

"O cursed waters! O waters of Marah, full bitter are yee to me! O element which of all others shall be most detestable to my soule, *I shall never wash mine hands with thee, but I shall remember what thou hast done to my best-beloved sonne, the darling of my soul!*" *I shall for ever be a friend to the fire, which is thy greatest foe.* Away rivers! away seas! Let me see you no more. If yee were sensible creatures, my dear brother Charles, prince of the European seas, should scourge you with his royal ships; *with his thundering cannons he should pierce you to the bottom.*

"O seas of sorrowes, O fearfull floodes, O tumb-

ling tempests, O wilful waves, O swelling surges,
O wicked waters, O dooleful deepes, O peartest
pooles, O botchful butcher boates, was there no
mercy among you for such an hopeful prince? O
that I could refrain from teares, and *that because
they are salt like yourselves!*" &c.

Childish as this language is in spirit, it is perhaps
in as good taste as most of the elegies produced
either by this or by a later age.

Mr. Zachary appears to have been naturally a
high loyalist. In 1633, when Charles I. visited his
native dominions to go through the ceremony of
his coronation, Mr. Zachary met him, the day after
that solemnity, in the porch of Holyrood Palace,
and addressed him in a Latin oration, couched in
the most exalted strains of panegyric and affection.
He afterwards testified this feeling under circum-
stances more apt to test its sincerity. When the
attempt to impose the Episcopal mode of worship
upon Scotland caused the majority of the people to
unite in a covenant for the purpose of maintaining
the former system, all who were connected with
Glasgow College, together with Mr. Zachary, set
themselves against the document, because, although
well meant and urgently necessary, it was feared that
it might become a stumbling-block in the subsequent
proceedings of the country. These divines resolved
rather to yield a little to the wishes of their sovereign,
than fly into open rebellion against him. Mr.
Robert Baillie paid them a visit to induce them to
subscribe the covenant, but was not successful; "we
left them," says he, "resolved to celebrate the com-
munion on Pasch in the High Church, *kneeling*." This
must have been about a month after the subscrip-
tion of the covenant had commenced. Soon
afterwards, most of these recusants, including Mr.
Zachary, found it necessary to conform to the national
movement. Baillie says, in a subsequent letter:
"At our townsmen's desire, Mr. Andrew Cant and
Mr. J. Rutherford were sent by the nobles to preach
in the High Kirk, and receive the oaths of that
people to the covenant. Lord Eglintoun was
appointed to be a witness there. With many a sigh
and tear, by all that people the oath was made.
Provost, bailies, council, all except three men, held
up their hands; *Mr. Zacharias*, and Mr. John Bell,
younger, has put to their hands. The college, it is
thought, will subscribe, and almost all who refused
before."

Though Boyd was henceforth a faithful adherent
of this famous bond, he did not take the same active
share with some of his brethren in the military pro-
ceedings by which it was supported. While Baillie
and others followed the army, "as the fashion was,
with a sword and pair of Dutch pistols at their
saddles,"¹ he remained at home in the peaceful exer-
cise of his calling, and was content to sympathize in
their successes by hearsay. He celebrated the fight
at Newburnford, August 28, 1640, by which the
Scottish covenanting army gained possession of New-
castle, in a poem of sixteen 8vo pages, which is
written, however, in such a homely style of versifica-
tion, that we would suppose it to be among the very
earliest of his poetical efforts. It opens with a
panegyric on the victorious Leslie, and then proceeds
to describe the battle.

"The Scots cannons powder and ball did spew,
Which with terror the Canterburians slew.
Bells rushed at random, which most fearfully
Menaced to break the portals of the sky.

In this conflict, which was both sowre and surly,
Eones, blood, and braines went in a *hurly-burly*,
All was made *hodge-podge*," &c.

¹ Baillie's *Letters*, i. 174.

The pistol-bullets were almost as bad as the cannon-
balls. They—

"——— in squadrons came, like fire and thunder,
Men's hearts and heads both for to pierce and plunder;
Their errand was (when it was understood),
To bathe men's bosoms in a scarlet flood."

At last comes the wail for the fallen—

"In this conflict, which was a great pite,
We lost the son of Sir Patrick Makgie."

In 1643 he published a more useful work in his
*Crosses, Comforts, and Councils, needfull to be con-
sidered and carefully to be laid up in the Hearts of the
Godly, in these Boysterous Broiles, and Bloody Times*.
We also find from the titles of many of his manuscript
discourses, that, with a diligent and affectionate zeal
for the spiritual edification of the people under his
charge, he had improved the remarkable events of
the time as they successively occurred.

That the reluctance of Mr. Zachary to join the
Covenanters did not arise from timidity of nature,
seems to be proved by an incident which occurred
at a later period of his life. After the death of
Charles I. it is well known that the Scottish Presby-
terians made a gallant effort to sustain the royal
authority against the triumphant party of Indepen-
dents. They invited home the son of the late king,
and rendered him at least the limited monarch of
Scotland. Cromwell, having crossed the Tweed
with an army, overthrew the Scottish forces at
Dunbar, September 3, 1650; and gained possession
of the southern portion of the country. Glasgow
was, of course, exposed to a visit from this unscrupu-
lous adversary. "Cromwell," says Baillie, "with the
whole body of his army, comes peaceably to Glasgow.
The magistrates and ministers all fled away; I got
to the Isle of Cumray, with my Lady Montgomery,
but left all my family and goods to Cromwell's
courtesy, which indeed was great, for he took such
measures with the soldiers, that they did less dis-
pleasure at Glasgow than if they had been at London,
*though Mr. Zachary Boyd railed on them all to their
very face in the High Church*." This was on the
13th of October, and we learn from a manuscript
note upon the preacher's own Bible, that the chapter
which he expounded on this occasion was Dan. viii.
In this is detailed the vision of the ram with two
horns, which is at first powerful, but at length over-
come and trampled down by a he-goat; being an
allegory of the destruction of the kings of Media and
Persia by Alexander of Macedon. It is evident that
Mr. Zachary endeavoured to extend the parable to
existing circumstances, and of course made out
Cromwell to be the *he-goat*. The preacher further
chose for a text the following passage in the Psalms:
—"But I as a deaf man heard not; and I was as a
dumb man that openeth not his mouth. Thus I was
as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are
no reproofs. For in thee, O Lord, do I hope: thou
wilt hear, O Lord my God" (Ps. xxxviii. 13-15).
This sermon was probably by no means faithful to
its text, for certainly Mr. Zachary was not the man
to keep a mouth clear of reproofs when he saw occa-
sion for blame. The *exposition*, at least, was so full
of bitter allusions to the sectarian general, that one
of his officers is reported to have whispered into his
ear for permission "to pistol the scoundrel." Crom-
well had more humanity and good sense than to
accede to such a request. "No, no," said he; "we
will manage him in another way." He asked Mr.
Zachary to dine with him, and gained his re-
spect by the fervour of the devotions in which he
spent the evening. It is said that they did not

finish their mutual exercise till three in the morning.¹

Mr. Zachary did not long survive this incident. He died about the end of the year 1653, or the beginning of 1654, when the famous Mr. Donald Cargill was appointed his successor. "In the conscientious discharge of his duty as a preacher of God's word, which he had at the same time exercised with humility, he seems, whether in danger or out of it, to have been animated with a heroic firmness. In a mind such as his, so richly stored with the noble examples furnished by sacred history, and with such a deep sense of the responsibility attached to his office, we are prepared to expect the same consistency of principle, and decision of conduct in admonishing men, even of the most exalted rank.

... We have every reason to suppose that the tenor of his conduct in life became the high office of which he made profession. From the sternness with which he censures manners and customs prevalent in society, the conforming to many of which could incur no moral guilt, it is to be presumed that he was of the most rigid and austere class of divines. . . . We are ignorant of any of the circumstances attending his last moments, a time peculiarly interesting in the life of every man; but from what we know of him, we may venture to say, without the hazard of an erroneous conclusion, that his state of mind at the trying hour was that of a firm and cheerful expectation in the belief in the great doctrines of Christianity which he had so earnestly inculcated, both from the pulpit and the press, with the additional comfort and support of a long and laborious life in his Master's service. About twenty-five years before his death, he was so near the verge of the grave, that his friends had made the necessary preparation for his winding-sheet, which he afterwards found among his books. He seems to have recovered from the disease with a renewed determination to employ the remainder of his life in the cause to which he had been previously devoted: he pursued perseveringly to near its termination this happy course, and just lived to complete an extensive manuscript work, bearing for its title *The Notable Places of the Scripture Expounded*, at the end of which he adds, in a tremulous and indistinct handwriting, "Heere the author was neere his end, and was able to do no more, March 3d, 1653."²

Mr. Zachary had been twice married, first to Elizabeth Fleming, of whom no memorial is preserved, and secondly, to Margaret Mure, third daughter of William Mure of Glanderston (near Neilston, Renfrewshire). By neither of his wives had he any offspring. The second wife, surviving him, married for her second husband the celebrated Durham, author of the *Commentary on the Revelation*—to whom, it would appear, she had betrayed some partiality even in her first husband's lifetime. There is a traditional anecdote, that, when Mr. Zachary was dictating his last will, his spouse made one modest request, namely, that he would bequeath something to Mr. Durham. He answered, with a sarcastic reference to herself, "I'll lea' him what I canna keep frae him." He seems to have possessed

an astonishing quantity of worldly goods for a Scottish clergyman of that period. He had lent 11,000 merks to Mure of Rowallan, 5000 to the Earl of Glencairn, and 6000 to the Earl of Loudon; which sums, with various others, swelled his whole property in money to £4527. This, after the deduction of certain expenses, was divided, in terms of his will, between his relict and the college of Glasgow. About £20,000 Scots is said to have been the sum realized by the college, besides his library and manuscript compositions; but it is a mistake that he made any stipulation as to the publication of his writings, or any part of them. To this splendid legacy we appear to be chiefly indebted for the present elegant buildings of the college, which were mostly erected under the care of Principal Gillespie during the period of the Commonwealth. In gratitude for the munificent gift of Mr. Zachary, a bust of his figure was erected over the gateway within the court, with an appropriate inscription. There is also a portrait of him in the divinity hall of the college. Nineteen works, chiefly devotional and religious, and none of them of great extent, were published by Mr. Zachary during his lifetime; but these bore a small proportion to his manuscript writings, which are no less than eighty-six in number, chiefly comprised within thirteen quarto volumes, written in a very close hand, apparently for the press. Besides those contained in the thirteen volumes, are three others—*Zion's Flowers, or Christian Poems for Spiritual Edification*, 2 vols. 4to; *The English Academie, containing Precepts and Purpose for the Weal both of Soul and Body*, 1 vol. 12mo; and *The Four Evangelis in English Verse*.

"Mr. Boyd appears to have been a scholar of very considerable learning. He composed in Latin, and his qualifications in that language may be deemed respectable. His works also bear the evidence of his having been possessed of a critical knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and other languages. As a prose writer, he will bear comparison with any of the Scottish divines of the same age. He is superior to Rutherford, and, in general, more grammatically correct than even Baillie himself, who was justly esteemed a very learned man. His style may be considered excellent for the period. Of his characteristics as a writer, his originality of thought is particularly striking. He discusses many of his subjects with spirit and ingenuity, and there is much which must be acknowledged as flowing from a vigorous intellect, and a fervid and poetical imagination. . . . We have now to notice Mr. Boyd in the character in which he has hitherto been best known to the world, namely, in that of a poet. One of his most popular attempts to render himself serviceable to his country was in preparing a poetical version of the book of Psalms for the use of the church. It had been previous to 1646 that he engaged in this, as the Assembly of 1647, when appointing a committee to examine Rous's version, which had been transmitted to them by the Assembly at Westminster, 'recommended them to avail themselves of the psalter of Rowallan, and of Mr. Zachary Boyd, and of any other poetical writers.' It is further particularly recommended to Mr. Zachary Boyd to translate the other Scriptural songs in metre, and to report his travails therein to the commission of that Assembly: that after their examination thereof they may send the same to the presbyteries to be there considered until the next General Assembly. (*Assembly Acts*, Aug. 28, 1647.) Mr. Boyd complied with this request, as the Assembly, Aug. 10, 1648, 'recommends to Mr. John Adamson and Mr. Thomas Crawford to revise the labours of Mr. Zachary Boyd upon the other Scripture songs, and

¹ The accurate editor of a new edition of *The Last Battell of the Soule* (Glasgow, 1831), from whose memoir of Mr. Zachary most of these facts are taken, blames Mr. Baillie, in my opinion unjustly, for having fled on this occasion, while Mr. Zachary had the superior courage to remain. It should be recollected that Mr. Baillie had particular reason to dread the vengeance of Cromwell and his army, having been one of the principal individuals concerned in the bringing home of the king, and consequently in the provocation of the present war.

² Life prefixed to new edition of *The Last Battell of the Soule*.

to prepare a report thereof to the said commission for public affairs,' who, it is probable, had never given in any 'report of their labours.' Of his version Baillie had not entertained a high opinion, as he says, 'Our good friend, Mr. Zachary Boyd, has put himself to a great deal of pains and charges to make a psalter, but I ever warned him his hopes were groundless to get it received in our churches, yet the flatteries of his unadvised neighbours makes him insist in his fruitless design.' There seems to have been a party who did not undervalue Mr. Boyd's labours quite so much as Baillie, and who, if possible, were determined to carry their point, as, according to Baillie's statement, 'the Psalms were often revised, and sent to presbyteries,' and, 'had it not been for some who had more regard than needed to Mr. Zachary Boyd's psalter, I think they (*Rous's version*) had passed through in the end of last Assembly; but these, with almost all the references from the former Assemblies, were remitted to the next.' On 23d November, 1649, Rous's version, revised and improved, was sanctioned by the commission with authority of the General Assembly, and any other discharged from being used in the churches, or its families. Mr. Boyd was thus deprived of the honour to which he aspired with some degree of zeal, and it must have been to himself and friends a source of considerable disappointment.

"Among other works, he produced two volumes, under the title of *Zion's Flowers, or Christian Poems for Spiritual Edification*, and it is these which are usually shown as his bible, and have received that designation. These volumes consist of a collection of poems on select subjects in Scripture history, such as that of 'Josiah,' 'Jephtha,' 'David and Goliath,' &c., rendered into the dramatic form, in which various 'speakers' are introduced, and where the prominent facts of the Scripture narrative are brought forward, and amplified. We have a pretty close parallel to these poems in the *Ancient Mysteries* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in the sacred dramas of some modern writers."

The preceding criticism and facts which we have taken the liberty to borrow from Mr. Neil,¹ form an able and judicious defence of the memory of this distinguished man. As some curiosity, however, may reasonably be entertained respecting compositions which excited so much vulgar and ridiculous misrepresentation, we shall make no apology for introducing some specimens of Mr. Boyd's poetry—both of that kind which seems to have been dictated when his Pegasus was careering through "the highest heaven of invention," and of that other sort which would appear to have been conceived while the sacred charger was cantering upon the mean soil of this nether world, which it sometimes did, I must confess, very much after the manner of the most ordinary beast of burden. The following "Morning Hymn for Christ," selected from his work entitled *The English Academie*, will scarcely fail to convey a respectful impression of the writer:—

"O Dayspring from on high,
Cause pass away our night;
Clear first our morning sky,
And after shine thou bright.

"Of lights thou art the Light,
Of righteousness the Sun;
Thy beams they are most bright,
Through all the world they run.

"The day thou hast begun
Thou wilt it clearer make;
We hope to see this Sun
High in our zodiak.

"O make thy morning dew
To fall without all cease;
Do thou such favour show
As unto Gideon's fleece.

"O do thou never cease
To make that dew to fall—
The dew of grace and peace,
And joys celestial.

"This morning we do call
Upon thy name divine,
That thou among us all
Cause thine Aurora shine.

"Let shadows all decline,
And wholly pass away,
That light which is divine,
May bring to us our day:

"A day to shine for aye,
A day that is most bright,
A day that never may
Be followed with a night.

"O, of all lights the light,
The Light that is most true,
Now banish thou our night,
And still our light renew.

"Thy face now to us show
O Son of God most dear;
O Morning-star, most true,
Make thou our darkness clear.

"Nothing at all is here,
That with thee may compare;
O unto us draw near,
And us thy children spare!

"Thy mercies they are rare,
If they were understood;
Wrath due to us thou bare,
And for us shed thy blood.

"Like beasts they are most rude,
Whom reason cannot move—
Thou most perfectly good,
Entirely for to love.

"Us make mind things above,
Even things that most excel;
Of thine untainted love,
Give us the sacred seal.

"O that we light could see
That shineth in thy face!
So at the last should we
From glory go to grace.

"Within thy sacred place
Is only true content,
When God's seen face to face,
Above the firmament.

"O that our hours were spent
Among the sons of men,
To praise the Omnipotent,
Amen, yea, and Amen!"

The ludicrous passages are not many in number. The following is one which Pennant first presented to the world; being the soliloquy of Jonah within the whale's belly; taken from *The Flowers of Zion*:—

"Here apprehended I in prison ly;
What goods will ransom my captivity?
What house is this, where's neither coal nor candle,
Where I nothing but guts of fishes handle?
I and my table are both here within,
Where day neere dawned, where sunne did never shine;
The like of this on earth man never saw,
A living man within a monster's maw.
Buried under mountains which are high and steep,
Plunged under waters hundreth fathoms deep.
Not so was Noah in his house of tree,
For through a window he the light did see;
Hee sailed above the highest waves;—a wonder,
I and my boat are all the waters under;
But in his ark might goe and also come,
Hee I sit still in such a straitened roome
As is most uncouth, head and feet together,
Among such grease as would a thousand smother.
I find no way now for my shrinking hence,
But heere to lie and die for mine offence.
Eight prisoners were in Noah's hulk together,
Comfortable they were, each one to other;
In all the earth like unto mee is none,
Far from all living, I heere lye alone,
Where I entombed in melancholy sink,
Choakt, suffocat, &c.

¹ *Life of Zachary Boyd*, prefixed to the new edition of his *Last Battell of the Soule*.

And it is strange that, immediately after this grotesque description of his situation, Pegasus again ascends, and Jonah begins a prayer to God, conceived in a fine strain of devotion.

BRISBANE, GENERAL SIR THOMAS MACDOUGALL, Bart., G.C.B., &c. This gallant soldier and talented astronomer was born, we believe, in 1773. His ancestors were the Brisbanes of Bishopton, a family of note in their day, whose possessions extended in the fourteenth century from Erskine Ferry, on the Clyde, to Largs; and one of them, William Brisbane, according to Lord Hailes, held in 1332 the high office of chancellor of the kingdom of Scotland. In 1789, Sir Thomas entered the army with the rank of ensign, in the 38th infantry, then stationed in Ireland, and on joining his regiment he was so fortunate as to form an intimate acquaintance with the future Duke of Wellington, at that time unknown to fame, and a young lieutenant in a regiment of cavalry. When the war broke out in 1793, Sir Thomas raised an independent company in Glasgow, with which he joined the 53d at Edinburgh, with the rank of captain; and as this regiment formed part of the army of the Duke of York, Sir Thomas shared in all the battles, reverses, and hardships of that distinguished campaign. This was especially the case at the engagement of Lilloe, where he was not only himself severely wounded, but had twenty-two men killed and wounded out of the thirty-three composing his company.

In the spring of 1795 Sir Thomas Brisbane returned to England with his regiment, in which he had obtained a majority by purchase, and embarked in the expedition to the West Indies under Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Among the other gallant exploits of the young major in the West India campaign of 1796, one of them is particularly commemorated. Being ordered to attack a fort which was generally supposed to be all but impregnable, he was met on his march by a brother officer, who, on learning the nature of his expedition, bewailed its rashness, and represented that the fort could not be taken. "It can be taken," replied the other hopefully; "for I have the order in my pocket." However veterans might smile at this confidence and the cause that inspired it, Sir Thomas was successful, and the fort was captured. He was also at the reduction of St. Lucia, the siege of Morne-Fortune, the encounters of Chalcot, Castries, and Vigie; and in the reduction of the island of St. Vincent, and during the whole of the Caribbean warfare.

His health having suffered from the West India climate, the friends of Sir Thomas purchased for him the colonelcy of the 69th regiment, which had just returned from the West Indies; but on arriving in England, in 1799, he found that the regiment had been unexpectedly sent back to its old quarters. Having recruited his health as hastily as he could, he returned to Jamaica; and, taught by his own experience, he paid there such attention to the health of his men, that on the return of the regiment to England in 1802, only one invalid was left behind. On the regiment being ordered to India, Sir Thomas, in consequence of a severe liver complaint, endeavoured to obtain an exchange into the guards or the cavalry, but being unable to effect it, he was obliged for a time to retire upon half-pay. In 1810 he was appointed assistant adjutant-general to the staff at Canterbury, until he was promoted to the command of a brigade under the Duke of Wellington, whom he joined at Coimbra in 1812. He accompanied the army during the whole of the eventful war in the Peninsula, and as his brigade formed

a part of Picton's fighting division, Sir Thomas found no lack of military service or personal danger during the whole campaign. His gallant services, however, in its memorable engagements, were crowned with clasp of distinction and parliamentary thanks, and when the war was removed into France, he was present at the battles of Orthes and Toulouse. After the abdication of Napoleon, Sir Thomas was sent to North America, and at the unfortunate affair on Lake Champlain he was ordered to cover the retreat, which he effectually accomplished without loss, by the destruction of the bridge across the Dead Creek. The value of his services in this disastrous campaign in North America was attested by the grand cross of the Bath, which was conferred upon him by government.

The escape of Napoleon from Elba occasioned the recall of Sir Thomas and his brigade from America, and he arrived off the coast of France with twelve regiments, comprising about 10,000 men; but they were too late to participate in the glories of Waterloo. The appearance of such a powerful contingent, on being reviewed before the Duke of Wellington, drew from him the exclamation, "Had I had these regiments at Waterloo, I should not have wanted the Prussians." Sir Thomas remained in France with the army of occupation until 1818, and his scientific attainments being appreciated, he was during this sojourn in Paris unanimously elected a corresponding member of the Institute of France. On his return, he in 1819 married Anna Maria, only daughter of Sir Henry Hay Macdougall, the representative of a very ancient Scottish family, on whose death he succeeded, in right of his wife, to valuable estates, and assumed the name of Macdougall prefixed to his own surname. In 1820 he was appointed to the staff in Ireland, where he commanded the Munster district until the following year, when, by the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, he was appointed governor of New South Wales.

The period of his soldier-life was ended, but a new and more difficult one had commenced. He was now the governor of a penal settlement containing a population of about 38,000 souls bond and free, but in which the convict population rather predominated, and where, from the nature of such a people, all the vices of an impaired state of society were to be found, with few of its redeeming virtues. To such materials our military officers were accustomed, where their regiments were chiefly composed of the dissolutely idle and the emptying of our prisons; and government, that saw how such unpromising materials were manufactured into brave, obedient, and orderly soldiers, hoped for a similar result in their selection of military governors to rule the convict colony. But they forgot that this could only be accomplished by placing the population under martial law, and in vesting the governor with an arbitrary and irresponsible military power to reward and punish. The bond and free, though always at war with each other, were at one in hating and opposing their ruler; and from the *Magna-Charta* which was permitted to New South Wales, its governors were charged with all those evils which they had neither the means nor authority to redress. It was thus that Sir Thomas Brisbane found Australia at the close of 1821, when he entered upon his antipodean government: everything was so reversed, both physically and mentally, that to see them aright he must have stood upon his head. Of course, his administration was complained of, but this was inevitable, and he only added one name more to the list of New South Wales governors who had successively been worried, calumniated, and wearied out. It

was much, however, that he was, upon the whole, the least unpopular of all who had held the office, and that his departure from the colony was witnessed with regret. Who at that time would have conjectured, or even have dreamed, that only forty years after the population of Australia would be increased more than fiftyfold, and that it would be one of the wealthiest, as well as most populous, of all colonies?

In spite of these great impediments, the administration of Sir Thomas Brisbane during the four years of his rule in New South Wales was neither inert nor unproductive; and of his labours as governor the following brief summary is given by his biographer:—"He improved the condition of the convicts, substituted useful labour for the treadmill, and above all gave them the blessing of hope by offering tickets of leave for good conduct. At his own expense he introduced into the colony good breeds of horses, as well as the cultivation of the vine, the sugar-cane, cotton, and tobacco." These industrial arts and improvements were what the colony especially needed, and as much perhaps as his limited commission could overtake in a society so constituted. But an act by which he especially distinguished himself will endear him to every lover of science. Availing himself of the bright pure sky of Australia to prosecute his favourite study of astronomy, he established a large observatory at his residence at Paramatta, which was afterwards continued by government; and there, by his careful observations, fixed the positions of, and catalogued, 7385 stars hitherto scarcely known to astronomers. For this splendid work, *The Brisbane Catalogue of Stars*, he was honoured with the Copley medal from the Royal Society, a reward which he preferred to all his military distinctions. The degree of D.C.L. was also conferred upon him by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Sir Thomas Brisbane returned from Australia at the close of 1825, and established his residence chiefly at Makerstoun, the property of Lady Brisbane. Here he established both an astronomical and a magnetic observatory, and with the aid of a staff of very able observers, he compiled three large volumes of observations, which were published in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Military honours still continued to flow upon him. In 1826 government conferred upon him the colonelcy of the 34th regiment; he was offered the command of the troops in Canada, and soon afterwards the chief command in India; but from the counsels of his medical advisers he was induced to decline both of these honourable appointments. In 1835 he was created a baronet; in 1837 he received the Grand Cross of the order of the Bath; and in 1841 he was made a general in the army. On the death of Sir Walter Scott he was elected president of the Royal Society, Edinburgh. He also founded two gold medals as rewards for scientific merit—one for the Royal Society, and the other for the Society of Arts. After a long life spent in distinction and usefulness, the first part as a gallant soldier, and the last as a man of science, Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane died at Brisbane House, on January 31, 1860, at the age of eighty-seven; and as he left no children he was succeeded by his nephew, the son of Admiral Brisbane.

BROWN, JAMES, a traveller and scholar of some eminence, was the son of James Brown, M.D., who published a translation of two *Orations of Isocrates*, without his name, and who died in 1733. The subject of this article was born at Kelso, May 23, 1709, and was educated at Westminster school, where he made great proficiency in the Latin and

Greek classics. In the year 1722, when less than fourteen years of age, he accompanied his father to Constantinople, where, having naturally an aptitude for the acquisition of languages, he made himself a proficient in Turkish, modern Greek, and Italian. On his return in 1725 he added the Spanish to the other languages which he had already mastered. About 1732 he was the means of commencing the publication of the *London Directory*, a work of vast utility in the mercantile world, and which has since been imitated in almost every considerable town in the empire. After having laid the foundation of this undertaking, he transferred his interest in it to Mr. Henry Kent, a printer in Finch Lane, Cornhill, who carried it on for many years, and eventually, through its means, acquired a fortune and an estate. In 1741 Brown entered into an engagement with twenty-four of the principal merchants in London, to act as their chief agent in carrying on a trade, through Russia, with Persia. Having travelled to that country by the Wolga and the Caspian Sea, he established a factory at Reshd, where he continued nearly four years. During this time he travelled in state to the camp of the famous Kouli Khan, with a letter which had been transmitted to him by George II. for that monarch. He also rendered himself such a proficient in the Persian language, as to be able, on his return, to compile a copious dictionary and grammar, with many curious specimens of Persian literature, which, however, was never published. A sense of the dangerous situation of the settlement, and his dissatisfaction with some of his employers, were the causes of his return; and his remonstrances on these subjects were speedily found to be just, by the factory being plundered of property to the amount of £80,000, and a period being put to the Persian trade. From his return in 1746 to his death, which took place in his house at Stoke-Newington, November 30, 1788, he appears to have lived in retirement upon his fortune. In the obituary of the *Gentleman's Magazine* he is characterized as a person of strict integrity, unaffected piety, and exalted but unostentatious benevolence.

BROWN, JOHN, author of the *Self-Interpreting Bible*, and many popular religious works, was born in the year 1722 at Carpow, a village in the parish of Abernethy and county of Perth. In consequence of the circumstances of his parents, he was able to spend but a very limited time at school in acquiring the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic. "One month," he has himself told us, "without his parents' allowance, he bestowed upon Latin." His thirst for knowledge was intense, and excited him, even at this early period, to extraordinary diligence in all departments of study, but particularly to religious culture. About the eleventh year of his age he was deprived by death of his father, and soon after of his mother, and was himself reduced, by four successive attacks of fever, to a state which made it probable that he was about speedily to join his parents in the grave. But having recovered from this illness, he had the good fortune to find a friend and protector in John Ogilvie, a shepherd venerable for age and eminent for piety, yet so destitute of education as to be unable even to read. To supply his own deficiency, Ogilvie was glad to engage young Brown to assist him in tending his flock, and read to him during the intervals of his occupation. To screen themselves from the storm and the heat, they built a little lodge among the hills, and to this their mountain *tabernacle* (long after pointed out under this name by the peasants) they frequently repaired to celebrate their pastoral devotions.

Ogilvie having soon retired from his occupation as a shepherd, and settled in the town of Abernethy, young Brown entered the service of a neighbouring farmer, who maintained a more numerous establishment than his former friend. This step he laments as having been followed by a sensible decline of religious attainments, and a general lukewarmness in religious duty, although his external character was remarkably distinguished by many virtues, and especially by the rare and truly Christian grace of meekness. In the year 1733 four ministers of the Church of Scotland, among whom was Mr. Moncrieff of Abernethy, declared a secession from its judicatures, alleging as their reasons for taking this step the following list of grievances:—"The sufferance of error without adequate censure; the infringement of the rights of the Christian people in the choice and settlement of ministers under the law of patronage; the neglect or relaxation of discipline; the restraint of ministerial freedom in opposing maladministration, and the refusal of the prevailing party to be reclaimed." To this body our young shepherd early attached himself, and ventured to conceive the idea of one day becoming a shepherd of souls in that connection. He accordingly prosecuted his studies with increasing ardour, and began to attain considerable knowledge of Latin and Greek. These acquisitions he made entirely without aid from others, except at an occasional hour when he sought a solution of such difficulties as his unaided efforts could not master, from two neighbouring clergymen—the one Mr. Moncrieff of Abernethy, who has just been mentioned as one of the founders of the secession, and the other Mr. Johnston of Arngask, father of the late venerable Dr. Johnston of North Leith; both of whom were very obliging and communicative, and took great interest in promoting the progress of the studious shepherd-boy. An anecdote has been preserved of this part of his life and studies which deserves to be mentioned. He had now acquired so much knowledge of Greek as encouraged him to hope that he might be able to read the New Testament in its original language. Full of this hope, he became anxious to possess a copy of the invaluable volume, and for this purpose set out on a midnight journey to St. Andrew's, a distance of twenty-four miles. Having reached his destination in the morning, he repaired to the nearest bookseller, and asked for a copy of the Greek New Testament. The master of the shop, astonished by such an application from so unlikely a person, was rather disposed to taunt him with his presumption. Meanwhile a party of gentlemen, said to have been professors in the university, entered the shop, and having understood the matter, questioned the lad about his employment and studies. After hearing his tale, one of them ordered the volume to be brought, and throwing it down upon the table, "Boy," said he, "read that book, and you shall have it for nothing." Young Brown acquitted himself to the admiration of his judges, carried off his cheaply-purchased Testament in triumph, and, ere the evening arrived, was studying it in the midst of his flock upon the hills of Abernethy.

His extraordinary acquisitions about this time subjected him to a suspicion that he received a secret aid from the enemy of man, upon the pledge of his own soul. It was probably in consequence of this annoyance that he abandoned the occupation of a shepherd, and undertook that of pedlar or travelling-merchant. This mode of life was once of much greater importance and higher esteem in Scotland than at present, when the facilities of communication have been multiplied to such a degree, and was often

pursued by persons of great intelligence and respectability. Its peculiar tendency to imbue the mind with a love of nature, and form it to a knowledge of the world, have been finely illustrated by a great poet of our day: nor is the Scottish pedlar of the *Excursion*, though certainly somewhat too metaphorical, the unnatural character which it has been represented. It will not, however, be considered very surprising that young Brown did not shine in his new profession. During his mercantile peregrinations, which lay chiefly in the interior parts of Fife and Kinrossshire, he made it a rule to call at no house of which the family had not the character of being religious and given to reading. When he was received into any such dwelling, his first care was to have all the books it could furnish collected together, among which, if he did but light upon a new one, he fell to the literary feast, losing in the appetite of the soul the hunger of the body, and forgetting the merchandise of pedlar's wares. It is related, that the contents of his pack, on his return to headquarters, used to present a lively image of chaos, and that he was very glad to express his obligations to any neat-handed housewife who would take the arrangement of them upon herself. Many a time and oft was he prudently reminded of the propriety of attending more to his business, and not wasting his time on what did not concern him—till his monitors at last gave up the case, and wisely shaking their heads, pronounced him "good for nothing but to be a scholar."

Soon after the close of the rebellion of 1745, during which he served as a volunteer in the regiment of militia raised by the county of Fife, in behalf of the government, he resolved to undertake the more dignified duties of schoolmaster. He established himself in 1747 at Gairney Bridge, a village in the neighbourhood of Kinross, and there laid the foundation of a school which subsisted for a considerable time, and, fifteen years after, was taught by another individual whose name has also become favourably known to the world—the tender and interesting young poet, Michael Bruce. During Mr. Brown's incumbency, which lasted for two years, this school was remarkably successful, and attracted scholars from a considerable distance. He afterwards taught for a year and a half another school at Spittal, in the congregation of Linton, under Mr. James Mair. The practical character of his talents, the accuracy of his learning, the intimate experience which, as a self-taught scholar, he must have had of elementary difficulties and the best mode of solving them, must have peculiarly qualified him for the discharge of his present duties. Nor did he relax the while in the prosecution of his own. On the contrary, his ardour seems to have led him into imprudent extremes of exertion. He would commit to memory fifteen chapters of the Bible as an evening exercise after the labours of the day, and after such killing efforts, allow himself but four hours of repose. To this excess of effort he was probably stimulated by the near approach of the period to which he had long looked forward with trembling hope—the day which was to reward the toils and trials of his varied youth, by investing him with the solemn function of an ambassador of Christ. During the vacations of his school he was now engaged in the regular study of philosophy and divinity under the inspection of the Associate Synod, and the superintendence of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, and James Fisher, two of the original founders, and principal lights, of the Secession church. At length, in the year 1751, having completed his preparatory course of study, and approved himself on trial before the Associate Presbytery

of Edinburgh, he was licensed by that reverend body, at Dalkeith, to preach the gospel in their society. He had not been long a probationer when he received two nearly simultaneous calls to the settled discharge of ministerial duty; one from the congregation of Stow, a village in the shire of Edinburgh, and the other from that of Haddington, the principal town in the county of that name. The presbytery of Edinburgh, within whose bounds both congregations were included, and which had therefore, according to the Presbyterian constitution, the right of deciding between their competing claims, submitted the matter to his own discretion. His choice was determined to Haddington, and over this congregation therefore he was finally ordained pastor in the month of June, 1751. It deserves to be mentioned, however, that he continued regularly to visit and examine the congregation of Stow until it was supplied with a regular minister.

To the duties of the sacred office he devoted himself with the most zealous and laborious industry. The smallness of his congregation enabled him at once to undertake the widest range of ministerial duty, and to execute it with the greatest minuteness and accuracy. Besides regularly preaching four discourses every Sunday during the summer, and three during winter in his own place of worship, and occasionally in the country during the week, he visited all his people annually in his pastoral capacity, and carried them twice in the same period through a course of public catechetical examinations. He was very assiduous in his visits to the sick and the afflicted, and that not merely to those of his own congregation, but to all of every denomination who desired his services. The peculiar characteristic of his manner of address on all these occasions, public and private, was an intense solemnity and earnestness, which extorted attention even from the scorner, and was obviously the genuine expression of his own overwhelming sense of the reality and importance of the message. "His grave appearance," says a late English divine who had attended his ministry for some time, "his solemn, weighty, and energetic manner of speaking used to affect me very much. Certainly his preaching was close, and his address to the conscience pungent. Like his Lord and Master, he spoke with authority and hallowed pathos, having tasted the sweetness and felt the power of what he delivered." To the same effect the celebrated David Hume, having been led to hear him preach on one occasion at North Berwick, remarked, "That old man preaches as if Christ were at his elbow." Except for his overawing seriousness, and occasionally a melting sweetness in his voice, it does not appear that his delivery was by any means attractive. "It was my mercy," he says, with characteristic modesty, that "the Lord, who had given me some other talents, withheld from me a popular delivery, so that, though my discourses were not disrelished by the serious, so far as I heard, yet they were not so agreeable to many hearts as those of my brethren, which it was a pleasure to me to see possessed of that talent which the Lord, to restrain my pride, had denied to me." His labours were not in vain, and the members of his congregation, the smallness of which he often spoke of as a mercy, seem to have been enabled to walk, in a great measure, suitable to their profession and their privileges. In ecclesiastical policy he was a staunch Presbyterian and Seceder in the original sense of the term, as denoting one separated, not from the constitution of the Established church, either as a church or as an establishment, but from the policy and control of the predominant party in her judicatures. At the unhappy

division of the Secession church in 1745, commonly known by the name of the breach, on the question of making refusal of the burghess oath a term of communion, though personally doubtful of the propriety of a Seceder's swearing the oath in question, he attached himself to that party, who, from declining peremptorily to pronounce it unlawful, obtained the popular appellation of Burghers,—justly considering that a difference of opinion on this point was by no means sufficient to break the sacred bond of Christian fellowship. His public prayers were liberal and catholic, and he always showed the strongest affection for gospel ministers and true Christians of every name. In an unpublished letter to a noble lady of the Episcopal communion, he expresses his hope "that it will afford her a delightful satisfaction to observe how extensive and important the agreement, and how small the difference of religious sentiments, between a professedly staunch Presbyterian and a truly conscientious Episcopalian, if they both cordially believe the doctrine of God's free grace reigning to men's eternal life, through the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ our Lord." He made a point of regularly attending and acting in the church courts, though he avoided taking any leading part in the management of ecclesiastical business. The uniformity and universality of his habits of personal devotion were remarkable. Of him it might well be said that he walked with God, and that in God he, as it were, to his own consciousness, lived, and moved, and had his being. The extent of his pecuniary liberality was surprising. He considered it a binding duty on every individual to devote at least a tenth part of his revenue to pious uses; and out of an income which, during the greater part of his life, amounted to only forty pounds a year, and never exceeded fifty, and from which he had a numerous family to support, he generally exceeded that proportion. He distributed his benevolence with strict attention to the Saviour's command, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

He was aware of the importance of conversation among the various means of doing good, and, though he laments his own "sinful weakness and unskillfulness in pushing religious discourse," he was too conscientious to neglect the opportunities which presented themselves of promoting, in this way, the glory of God and the best interests of men. It is related that, having accidentally met Ferguson the poet walking in Haddington churchyard, and being struck with his pensive appearance, he modestly addressed him, and offered him certain serious advices, which deeply affected him at the time, and doubtless had their share in exciting and promoting those terrible convictions which latterly overwhelmed the poet's mind, and which it may perhaps be hoped there was something better than "the sorrow that worketh death." He knew, however, that there was a certain discretion to be used in such cases, and a selection to be made of the "*molli tempora fandi*," the seasons when words are "fitly spoken." Of this the following anecdote is an example:—Having occasion to cross the ferry between Leith and Kinghorn, with a Highland gentleman as his fellow-passenger, he was much grieved to hear his companion frequently take the name of God in vain, but restrained himself from taking any notice of it in the presence of the rest of the company. On reaching land, however, observing the same gentleman walking alone upon the beach, he stepped up, and calmly reminded him of the offence he had been guilty of, and the law of God which forbids and condemns it. The gentleman received the reproof with expressions of thanks, and declared his resolu-

tion to attend to it in future. "But," added the choleric Celt, "had you spoken to me so in the boat, I believe I should have run you through."

It will not be supposed that, after having studied with such ardour in circumstances of comparative disadvantage, he neglected the more favourable opportunities he now enjoyed of extending and consolidating his knowledge. By a diligent improvement of the morning hours, and economy of time throughout the day, he rarely spent fewer than twelve hours of the twenty-four in his study. No degree of toil in the way of reading, or even of writing, seemed to daunt or to fatigue him. He transcribed most of his works several times with his own hand; and even without a view to the press, he more than once undertook the same fatigue for the convenience of private individuals. In this way, at the request of the Countess of Huntingdon, he copied out his *System of Divinity*, before its publication, for the use of her ladyship's theological seminary in Wales. He had remarkable facility in the acquisition of languages; and of this species of knowledge he possessed an extraordinary amount. Besides the three commonly called the learned tongues, he was acquainted with Arabic, Syriac, Persic, and Ethiopic; and of the modern languages, with the French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and German. In the various departments of *real* as distinguished from *verbal* knowledge, his reading was very wide in range and various in subject. His favourite pursuits were history and divinity; but every subject which more nearly or remotely bore on the literature of his profession, he considered worthy of his attention. He afterwards saw reason to repent of the wideness of his aims in this respect, and to regret "the precious time and talents," to use his own words, "he had vainly squandered in the mad attempt to become a universal scholar." His reading, though thus extensive, was at the same time very exact and accurate. In order to render it so, he in many cases adopted the tedious and laborious method of compiling regular abridgments of important and voluminous books. Among the works he thus epitomized, were Judge Blackstone's *Commentaries* and the *Ancient Universal History*.

In the month of September, 1753, about two years after his ordination, Mr. Brown married Miss Janet Thomson, daughter of Mr. John Thomson, merchant at Musselburgh. For eighteen years he enjoyed in her a "help meet" for him in his Christian course, and at the end of that period he surrendered her, as he himself expresses it, "to her first and better Husband." They had several children, of whom only two survived their mother—John and Ebenezer, both of whom their father had the satisfaction, before his death, of introducing as ministers into the church of Christ, the former at Whitburn, and the latter at Inverkeithing. Two years after the death of his first wife, which took place in 1771, he was married a second time to Miss Violet Crombie, daughter of Mr. William Crombie, merchant, Stenton, East Lothian, who survived him for more than thirty years, and by whom he left at his death four sons and two daughters. In his domestic economy and discipline, Mr. Brown laboured after a strict fidelity to his ordination vow, by which he promised to rule well in his own house. His notions in regard to the authority of a husband and a father were very high, and all the power which as such he thought himself to possess, was faithfully employed in maintaining both the form and the power of godliness.

In the year 1758 Mr. Brown, for the first time, appeared as an author. His first publication was entitled "*An Help for the Ignorant*," being an Essay

towards an Easy Explication of the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, compiled for the use of the Young Ones of his own Congregation." In addition to this he published, six years after, two short catechisms—one introductory to, the other explanatory of the Shorter Catechism. All these publications have been very extensively useful. In 1765 he published what was at the time by far the most popular and successful of his works, entitled *The Christian Journal, or Common Incidents Spiritual Instructors*. This work, though it has some of the literary defects which, on such a subject, might have been expected from an author so circumstanced, such as the occasional indulgence of unrefined images, the excess of detail in tracing the analogies, and a certain monotonous rhythm of style in many cases scarcely distinguishable from blank verse—nevertheless displays an extraordinary richness and ingenuity of fancy, and in many instances rises into a most impressive and heart-warming eloquence. In 1766 he published a *History of the Rise and Progress of the Secession*, and the year following, a series of *Letters on the Constitution, Discipline, and Government of the Christian Church*. These tracts were followed by his *Sacred Tropology*, the first of a series of works which he designed for the purpose of giving a clear, comprehensive, and regular view of the figures, types, and predictions of Scripture. The second and third parts were published in 1781.

In the year 1768, in consequence of the death of the Rev. John Swanton of Kinross, professor of divinity under the Associate Synod, Mr. Brown was elected to the vacant chair. The duties of this important office he discharged with great ability and exemplary diligence and success. His public prelections were directed to the two main objects, first, of instructing his pupils in the science of Christianity, and secondly, of impressing their hearts with its power. The system of divinity which he was led, in the course of his professional duty, to compile, and which was afterwards published, is perhaps the one of all his works which exhibits most striking proofs of precision, discrimination, and enlargement of thought; and is altogether one of the most dense, and at the same time perspicuous, views which has yet been given of the theology of the Westminster Confession. He likewise, A.D. 1768, gave to the world one of the most elaborate, and certainly one of the most valuable of all his writings, *The Dictionary of the Holy Bible*. For popular use it is unquestionably the most suitable work of the kind which yet exists, containing the results of most extensive and various reading both in the science and in the literature of Christianity, given without pretension or parade, and with a uniform reference to practical utility. In 1771 the Honourable and Reverend Mr. Shirley, by command of the Countess of Huntingdon, applied to Mr. Brown for his opinions on the grand subject of justification, in view of a conference to be held on this question with Mr. Wesley and his preachers. This application gave occasion to a long and animated correspondence with that noble lady, and to a series of articles from his pen on the doctrine of justification, which appeared from time to time in the *Gospel Magazine* and *Theological Miscellany*, between the years 1770 and 1776. In the same year he was led, by a desire to contribute to the yet better instruction of his students, to form the design of composing a manual of church history on a general and comprehensive plan. It was to consist of three parts, "the first comprehending a general view of transactions relating to the church from the birth of our Saviour to the present time; the second containing more

fully the histories of the reformed British churches in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America; the third to comprehend the histories of the Waldenses and the Protestant churches of Switzerland, France, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Hungary." Of these he completed the two former, his *General History* having been published in 1771, and his *History of the British Churches* in the beginning of 1784. These form very useful popular compends, though destitute of high historical authority. The *History of the British Churches*, as a work of original research, is much superior to the more general compilation, which is little more than an abridgment of Mosheim, written in a more fervid spirit than the latter is accustomed to display. Mr. Brown's next publication appeared in 1775, and was an edition of the metrical *Psalms, with Notes exhibiting the Connection, explaining the Sense, and for directing and animating the Devotion*. In 1778 he gave to the world the great work on which his reputation is chiefly founded, *The Self-Interpreting Bible*, the object of which is to condense, within a manageable compass, all the information which an ordinary reader may find necessary for attaining an intelligent and practical knowledge of the sacred oracles. The first publication of this work was attended with considerable difficulties, in consequence of the claim of the king's printers to the exclusive right of printing the authorized version of the Scriptures, whether accompanied or not with illustrative matter. This claim, however, having been set aside, the work was at length given to the world in 1778, and received with a high and gradually increasing and still unexhausted approbation. The same year he published a small tract entitled *The Oracles of Christ Abominations of Antichrist*, and four years after, his *Letters on Toleration*: strenuously maintaining the unlawfulness of tolerating by authority a false religion in a professedly Christian country. These publications originated in the universal sentiment of alarm entertained by the evangelical Presbyterians of Scotland, both within and without the Establishment, in consequence of the proposed abolition of the penal code against the Roman Catholics.

In 1781, besides his works on the types and prophecies formerly referred to, he published a sermon on the *Duty of Raising up Spiritual Children unto Christ*, preached partly at Whitburn, and partly after his son Ebenezer's ordination at Inverkeithing. He likewise, in the course of the same year, wrote a pamphlet in defence of the re-exhibition of the testimony, and a collection of the biographies of eminent divines, under the name of the *Christian Student and Pastor*. This was the first of a series of similar compilations intended as illustrations and examples of practical religion, and was followed in 1781 by the *Young Christian*, and in 1783 by the *Lives of thirteen Eminent Private Christians*. In 1783 he published a small *Concordance to the Bible*. The year following he received an invitation from the reformed Dutch church in America, to become their professor of divinity, which he declined, and modestly kept secret. And, in 1785, he concluded his career as an author, by a pamphlet against the travelling of the mail on the Lord's-day—a day for the observance of which, in the strictest degree of sanctity, he always showed himself peculiarly jealous, not only abstaining himself, but prohibiting his family, from speaking on that day on any worldly affair, even on such as related to what may be called the secularities of religion and the church. The tracts published by him in periodical works, along with his *Letters on Gospel Preaching and the Behav-*

iour of Ministers, were collected after his death, and published under the title of *Remains*.

Throughout his writings Mr. Brown's uniform aim was general utility; personal emolument formed no part of his object, and certainly very little of his attainment, as the whole profit accruing to himself from his voluminous, and in many cases successful, works, amounted to only £40. Without possessing much original genius, but on the other hand too ready, it may be, to submit the freedom of his mind to system and authority, he was endowed with a strong aptitude for acquisition, and great power of arrangement, a sound and generally sober judgment, and a rich and vivid fancy, though united with a defective, or rather, perhaps, an uncultivated taste. The selection of subjects, and general conception of almost every one of them, are very happy, and in many cases the execution proves his high endowments for the task he undertook.

The time now drew near that he should die. For some years previous he had been greatly annoyed with a gradual failure, at once in the bodily power of digestion and the mental faculty of memory—the symptoms of a constitution fairly worn out by the intense and incessant labours to which it had been subjected. In the beginning of 1787 his complaints increased in such an alarming degree, accompanied by a general and extreme debility, that he found it necessary to abandon the pulpit. During the months of spring, he lived in a continual state of earnest and active preparation for the great change he was about to undergo. He expired on the 19th June, and on the 24th his remains were followed to their place of repose in Haddington churchyard by nearly the whole inhabitants of the town, and a large concourse of his friends and brethren from a distance. At the first meeting of the Associate Synod after his decease, "the Synod," as their minute bears, "unanimously agreed to take this opportunity of testifying their respect to the memory of the Rev. John Brown, their late professor, whose eminent piety, fervent zeal, extensive charity, and unwearied diligence in promoting the interests of religion, will be long remembered by this court, especially by those members of it who had the happiness of studying divinity under his inspection."

BROWN, JOHN, M.D., founder of what is termed the Brunonian system in medicine, and one of the most eccentric and extraordinary men of his time, was a native of the parish of Bunkle, in Berwickshire, where he was born in the year 1735, or, as others assert, in 1737. Though only the son of a day-labourer, he contrived to obtain an excellent classical education at the school of Dunse, which was then taught by Mr. William Cruickshank, one of the most celebrated teachers that Scotland has produced. The genius and application of Brown were alike so great, that, at an age when the most of children are only beginning their letters, he was far advanced in a knowledge of Latin. His studies, after some time, were broken off in consequence of the inability of his father to maintain him at school. He was bound apprentice to the gloomy and monotonous craft of a weaver, which must have been peculiarly unsuitable to his lively faculties. However, he seems to have afterwards been enabled, by the kindness of his teacher, to renew his studies; and it is known that for this purpose he had employed himself on the harvest-field. His proficiency in Latin recommended him, first to the situation of usher in the school, and afterwards to that of tutor in a neighbouring family. When about twenty years of age he removed to Edinburgh, and, enter-

ing the university, advanced so far in the study of divinity, as to deliver a discourse preparatory to commencing his trials before the presbytery. Brown, however, was not destined to be a member of the clerical profession. Owing to some unexplained freak of feeling, he turned back from the very threshold, and for some years supported himself in the humble capacity of a *grinder* in the university. His services in this capacity to the medical students introduced him to a knowledge of medicine, which he suddenly resolved to prosecute as a profession. His natural ardour of mind enabled him very speedily to master the necessary studies, in which he was greatly assisted by the particular kindness and attention of Dr. Cullen, then professor of medicine in the university. At one period he acted as Latin secretary to this great man, with whom he afterwards quarrelled in the most violent manner. In 1765 he married, and set up a house for the purpose of receiving medical students as boarders. But his irregular and improvident conduct reduced him to bankruptcy in the short space of two years. A vacancy occurring in the high-school, he became a candidate; but being too proud of his real qualifications to think any other recommendation necessary, he was overlooked in favour of some child of patronage. It is said that, when his name, and his name alone, was presented to the eyes of the magistrates, they derisively asked who he was; to which Cullen, then separated in affection from his former pupil, is stated to have answered, with some real or affected hesitation—"Why, sure, this can never be our Jock!" Brown met with a similar repulse on applying for the chair of theoretical medicine in the university. Yet, notwithstanding every discouragement from the great men of his own profession, this eccentric genius was pressing on towards the completion of that peculiar system by which his name has been distinguished. His views were given to the world, in 1780, under the title *Elementa Medicinæ*; and he illustrated them further by lectures, which were attended, as a supernumerary course, by many of the regular students of the university. The Brunonian system simply consisted in the administration of a course of stimulants, instead of the so-called antiphlogistic remedies, as a means of producing that change in the system which is necessary to work a cure. The idea was perhaps suggested by his own habits of life, which were unfortunately so very disolute as to deprive him of all personal respect. He was, perhaps, the only great drinker who ever exulted in that degrading vice, as justified by philosophical principles. So far from concealing his practices, he used to keep a bottle of whisky, and another of laudanum, upon the table before him; and, throughout the course of the lecture, he seldom took fewer than three or four doses from each. In truth, Brown lived at a time when men of genius did not conceive it to be appropriate to their reputation as such, to conduct themselves with decency. Thus, a man who might have adorned the highest walks of society by his many brilliant qualities, was only fit for the company of the lowest and most despicable characters. He was a devout free-mason, but more for the sake of the conviviality to which it affords so fatal an excuse, than for the more recondite and mysterious attractions (if any such exist) of the fraternity. He was the founder of a peculiar lodge in Edinburgh, called the "Roman Eagle," where no language but Latin was allowed to be spoken. One of his friends remarked with astonishment the readiness with which he could translate the technicalities and slang of masonry into this language, which, however, he at all times spoke with

the same fluency as his vernacular Scotch. It affords a lamentable view of the state of literary society in Edinburgh between the years 1780 and 1790, that this learned lodge was perhaps characterized by a deeper system of debauch than any other. In 1786 Brown removed to London, in order to push his fortune as a lecturer on his own system of medicine, which had already acquired no little fame. But the irregularity of his conduct, and the irascibility of his temperament, rendered all his hopes fruitless. He died at London, October 7, 1788, of a fit of apoplexy, being then little more than fifty years of age. His works have been collected and published by his son; but, like the system which they explain, they are now forgotten.

BROWN, JOHN, an ingenious artist, was the son of Samuel Brown, goldsmith and watchmaker at Edinburgh, where he was born in 1752. He received an excellent education, after the fashion of Scotland, and was early destined to take up the profession of a painter. Having formed a school friendship of no ordinary warmth with Mr. David Erskine, son of Thomas Erskine of Cambo, he travelled with that young gentleman in 1774 into Italy, where he was kindly received by Charles Erskine of the Rota, an eminent lawyer and prelate, the cousin of his companion. He immediately attached himself to the academy, with a resolution to devote himself entirely to the arts. During the course of ten years' residence in Italy, the pencil and crayon were ever in his hand, and the sublime thoughts of Raphael and Michael Angelo ever in his imagination. By continual practice he obtained an elegance and correctness of contour never equalled by any British artist; but he unfortunately neglected the mechanism of the pallet till his taste was so refined, that Titian, and Morillo, and Corregio made his heart sink within him whenever he touched the canvas. When he attempted to lay in his colours, the admirable correctness of his contour was lost, and he had never self-sufficiency to persevere till it should be recovered in that tender evanescent outline which is so difficult to be attained even by the most eminent painters. He wished everything important to be made out, and when it was made out, he found his work hard and disagreeable, like the first pictures painted by Raphael, and by all that preceded that wonderful artist. Brown, besides his genius for painting, possessed a high taste for music. His evenings in Italy were spent at the opera, and he penetrated deeply into the study of music as a science.

At Rome Brown met with Sir William Young and Mr. Townley, who, pleased with some of his pen-and-ink sketches, engaged him to accompany them to Sicily as a draughtsman. Of the antiquities of this island he took several very fine views in pen and ink, exquisitely finished, yet still preserving the character and spirit of the buildings he intended to represent.

It was the belief of one of Brown's Scottish patrons, that if he had gone to Berlin, he would have obtained the favour of Frederick the Great, on account of his extraordinary talents and refined personal character. A pious regard, however, for his parents, induced him to return to his native city, where, though universally beloved and admired, he found no proper field for the exertion of his abilities. Amongst the few persons of taste who patronized him was Lord Monboddo, who, with that liberality by which he was distinguished, gave him a general invitation to his elegant and convivial table, and employed him in making several pencil-drawings.

He was also employed to draw pencil-heads of fifty of the more distinguished members of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, then just established; of which he finished about twenty. Among other works which he produced at Edinburgh, were heads of Dr. Blair, Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, Runciman, his friend and brother artist, Drs. Cullen and Black, all of which were done in the most happy and characteristic manner. His talent in this line is described as having been very great. Amidst the collection which he had brought home to Edinburgh, was a portrait of the celebrated Piranesi, who, being unable to sit two moments in one posture, reduced his painter to the necessity of shooting him flying like a bat or snipe. This *rara avis* was brought down by Brown at the first shot.

In 1786 Brown was induced to remove to London in order to prosecute, on a larger field, his profession as a portrait-draughtsman in black lead. He was here occasionally employed by Mr. Townley in drawing from his collection of Greek statues, a branch of art in which Brown is allowed to have greatly excelled. After some time spent in unremitting application, his health gave way, and he was recommended to try the benefit of a visit to his native country, by sea. On his passage from London to Leith, he was somehow neglected as he lay sick in his hammock, and, on his arrival, he was found at the point of death. With much difficulty he was brought up to town, and laid on the bed of his friend Runciman, who had died not long before in the same place. Here he expired, September 5, 1787, having only attained the age of thirty-five.

BROWN, REV. JOHN, D.D. This learned and profound expositor of theology and eloquent preacher, was the son of the Rev. John Brown, Secession minister of Whitburn, and grandson of the distinguished John Brown, Secession minister of Haddington, of whom a notice has been already given. The subject of the present memoir was born in the parish of Whitburn, county of Linlithgow, on the 12th of July, 1784. Even when a boy his devout disposition, his love of reading and contemplation, and the distinction which his father, and still more his grandfather, had obtained as clergymen, had their natural influence in his choice of a profession; and having decided for the church, John, after the usual education at the parish school of Whitburn, was sent, at the age of thirteen, to the university of Edinburgh, where he underwent the usual *curriculum* to qualify himself for the ministry. It was an early age at which to follow out the necessary studies of literature and philosophy; but that he was already competent for such an attempt was thus attested by the learned Principal Lee, sixty years afterwards:—"I had the happiness of becoming acquainted with Dr. Brown in the year 1800. By that time I believe he was sixteen years of age, and had been three years at college. I had been six years a student, and had not the reputation of being idle; but well do I remember how strongly I was impressed with the proofs which he exhibited of great maturity of intellect, and remarkable power of giving expression to his thoughts in clear and felicitous language, more attractive to my somewhat fastidious taste than even the kind enchantment of his winning smile, and the lustre of his speaking eyes. Pleasing as his aspect was, and cheerful as was his conversation, it required no great amount of penetration to perceive that the amenity of his manner, and his other engaging accomplishments, were all subordinate to the love of truth and soberness, the earnest pursuit of solid and spiritual knowledge, the admiration of things

superlatively excellent, and the ascendancy of Christian principle exercised in labours of love."

Having finished his course of languages and philosophy at the university, John Brown, in 1800, after an examination by the Burgher presbytery of Perth, as to his character and attainments, commenced the study of theology in the divinity hall of the Secession church, under the care of its professor, the Rev. Dr. Lawson of Selkirk. These courses of instruction, which lasted only a few weeks during each session, he attended until 1804; the rest of his time was occupied in teaching a school in the village of Elie, Fifeshire, where he continued three years. It was a partial and defective mode of theological instruction, that could do little more than point out to the pupil what it was necessary for him to learn, and how to set about it, while all beyond was left to his own diligence and conscientiousness. The chances, also, of diligent theological study were still fewer, if to these were added the laborious and monotonous daily duties of a schoolmaster, which afford so little opportunity or inclination for long-sustained study. Thus it happened that although Brown's proficiency in the several branches of divinity were above the general average, his superiority for the present chiefly consisted in his knowledge of general literature and poetry, those departments that require less application, and are more easily mastered by desultory efforts. It was only when he became a minister, and had commenced the work of his sacred calling in earnest, that he was in training to become what the church finally acknowledged him to be—a most able theological commentator and expositor.

Having finished the prescribed course of study, the subject of this memoir was licensed as a preacher on the 12th of February, 1805, although he had not as yet completed his twenty-first year; and only a few weeks after, he had calls from two congregations to be their minister. The one was in the town of Stirling, the other in the obscure village of Biggar; but to the latter and more humble field he wisely gave the preference, by which he secured those opportunities for study and self-improvement which had hitherto been too circumscribed. On the 6th of February, 1806, he was ordained minister of the Secession church of Biggar, which contained a congregation of 300 members, and in this lowly sphere he commenced those elaborate and eloquent sermons which in future years were to be so greatly admired in the Scottish metropolis. His whole heart, as well as his closest study, during the seventeen years of his stay in this charge, were as fully occupied as if his preparations had been made for the pulpit of a cathedral, while his studies went onward until they had extended over the entire field of theology. In this way the young poetical and sentimental student became a painstaking, systematic, and erudite theologian and divine. Nor were the popular graces of his oratory of small account in his Sabbath public ministrations. His figure was graceful, and his countenance so handsome that it might have been termed feminine, but for its intellectual brow, and classical statuesque features; and while his voice was clear, musical, and distinct, so that every syllable fell into the ears of his auditory, his impassioned manner, when he had reached the height of his argument, compelled them to sympathize in his earnestness, and commit themselves to his guidance. These qualities could not but tell, even in an obscure nook of the upper ward of Lanarkshire. His little congregation was increased by hearers from the neighbouring parishes, until the church was too small to hold them, so that another had to be erected. Many of his audience also consisted, not of dissenters, but

members of the Establishment, who became his regular hearers, but without joining his church as communicants. And not limiting himself to the usual round of public duties, Mr. Brown preached not only on Sabbath evenings, but also during the week, and in barns, in school-rooms, and, when the weather permitted, in the open-air; using on such occasions not loosely studied or extemporaneous addresses, but the choicest of his composed sermons. Such a proceeding, and the crowds which these ministrations collected, roused the indignation of the moderate clergy of the Establishment; and loud was their outcry that he was a recruiting sergeant beating up for recruits to the Secession. It was, however, a groundless charge, for with a liberality rare at that time among our Scottish dissenters, he did not insist that members of the Establishment should forsake their church, as a condition of their sitting down at the sacramental table with his own people. On this occasion he carried out the long-forgotten principles of free communion so liberally expressed in the Westminster standards. While Mr. Brown was thus zealously employed as a minister, catechist, and evangelist, and by a course of patient laborious study improving not only his people but himself also, and becoming not merely a distinguished and useful minister and preacher, but also a profound scholar in theology, his sphere of exertion was always continuing to widen with his increasing power of action. The missionary spirit, which was still languid in Scotland, he succeeded in stimulating among his flock at Biggar, so that their contributions for missions at length arose to £100 per annum—a liberality at that time unwonted in a rural congregation. Another scheme he started which was wholly new in the Secession, was the establishment of a minister's library, designed to be the property of the congregation, but under the charge of the minister, and subservient to his improvement. The advantage, and even the necessity, of such an institution, will be perceived by those who consider the scanty stipend of country ministers in the Secession, and their remoteness from the means of intellectual improvement. This library, commenced in the congregation of Biggar, was adopted so cordially, that in the course of eight years the collection accumulated to 143 volumes, many of them expensive quartos and folios, which the funds of the minister alone could never have reached. A plan so happy, however, was confined to this country congregation until 1852, when its usefulness being fully appreciated, it was adopted by other churches of the Secession, until 150 ministers' libraries had been established upon rules similar to those of the parent institution of Biggar. Amidst such training, it would have been singular if his pen had continued to be confined to the preparations for a country pulpit, which was so well fitted for a wider and more ambitious sphere; and that Mr. Brown should become an author was nothing more than a natural consequence. The occasion arrived in 1814, when the Unitarian controversy was at its height in Glasgow, between Mr. Yates and Dr. Wardlaw, and when the former had published his reply to the latter under the title of *A Vindication of Unitarianism*. Mr. Brown had been engaged to review this vindication in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*; but finding the article too copious for insertion in the magazine, Dr. Andrew Thomson, its distinguished editor, advised Mr. Brown to publish his critique as a separate work. This the latter did in a pamphlet of seventy octavo pages, under the title of *Strictures on Mr. Yates's Vindication of Unitarianism*. Happily these *Strictures* were almost wholly unnecessary, as the controversy itself

died out, with the speedy decline of Unitarianism in Scotland, but not until the controversial learning, trenchant logic, and clear impressive forcible style of Brown's pamphlet had been recognized and acknowledged. On the following year (1816) he became editor of a new periodical, *The Christian Repository and Religious Register*, intended to defend the principles of dissent, and of this periodical Mr. Brown held the editorship for five years, until it was united with *The Christian Monitor*, a new periodical conducted by the Antiburgher Secession. Of this last periodical Mr. Brown also continued editor until 1826. As such an office, however, was too limited for his intellectual energies, he continued to issue separate writings from the press, of which the following is a brief summary:—In 1816 he published a volume of discourses suited to the dispensation of the Lord's supper, discussing the nature of that sacred ordinance in its doctrinal and practical aspects. A year afterwards, he republished two of his articles contributed to the *Christian Repository* on the plans and publications of Robert Owen of New Lanark, upon which he brought such an amount of moral and political philosophy to bear, as might have sufficed to crush the system, and convince the originator of his errors, had that wayward genius been in any way open to conviction. In 1818 he republished in a separate and improved form, three discourses which he had originally contributed to the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, on "The Character, Duty, and Danger of those who Forget God." A far more important work which he published during the same year, was *On Religion and the Means of its Attainment*. In this little treatise he endeavoured to emancipate the subject from the artificial language of systems, and explain it in terms sufficiently intelligible. The contents of the work are thus briefly summed up by his biographer:—"Religion is defined to be right thinking, right feeling, and right action towards God; and this scheme, adapted to the most elementary divisions of the powers of human nature, is shown to include the whole of religion in general, and of Christian piety in particular. The grand means necessary, and yet effectual, of becoming thus religious, is faith; and this is neither more nor less than the belief—in the ordinary sense of the word—of the contents of revelation, since this secures right thinking, and by a necessary law of dependence, right feeling and action. Faith again is produced by the study of the meaning and the evidence of the truth which is set forth to be believed; and the inveterate disinclination of man to enter on and pursue this study, which is the only hindrance to religion, is overcome by the influence of the Holy Spirit." While the authorship of Mr. Brown was employed upon these subjects of general religious interest, he did not forget the claims of missionary enterprise, and these sermons which he preached in support of foreign and home missions appeared at intervals from the press. The first was *On the Danger of Opposing Christianity, and the Certainty of its Final Triumph*. The second was *On the Duty of Pecuniary Contribution for Religious Purposes*. The third, which had especial regard to the evangelization of the Highlands, was entitled, *On the State of Scotland in Reference to the Means of Religious Instruction*.

It was impossible that such an obscure locality as Biggar could long retain a minister who was rising to distinction in the Secession church. It was seen that such talents were fitted for a wider sphere of usefulness, and accordingly, in 1817, Mr. Brown received a call from a newly-formed congregation in North Leith to become their minister, with which,

however, he did not judge it fit to comply. Another call in 1822, from a congregation in Rose Street, Edinburgh, was more successful, and to this important ministerial charge he was translated after parting from his old flock with affectionate regret. The change came at the right time, as he was now in the thirty-eighth year of his age, in the full vigour of his intellectual faculties, and the field into which he entered was well fitted to task his previous training and experience to the uttermost. Not only the metropolitan pulpit, but the bar, possessed such eloquence and talent as no former period had witnessed; and no secondary excellence was needful to enable a dissenting minister to rise to distinction, or even to hold his own amidst such a formidable competition. But Mr. Brown stood the test and was successful; his weighty, well-studied sermons were winged with an eloquence and fervour that carried them to the hearts not only of general hearers, but of the learned and accomplished; and Rose Street church, which was a large building little more than half filled, was soon crowded to overflowing. And it was no mere ephemeral popularity which thus welcomed his entrance into Edinburgh, but a lasting esteem that continued to the close, and the following description, given by one of his hearers, will apply to every Sabbath of his pulpit appearances:—"I can well remember with hundreds then children, but now advancing in life, that though not able to comprehend the exact meaning of Mr. Brown's discourses, we used to walk in company, with the sanction of our parents, to a considerable distance, when it was known that Mr. Brown of Biggar was to preach in some country meeting-house, to enjoy the great luxury of at least seeing that never-to-be-forgotten face, and hearing the musical tones of his voice. From the time that he preached his induction sermon in Rose Street church, to the hour of his death, it was my unspeakable delight to sit under his ministry, and enjoy much of his personal friendship. The character of the attendance, from first to last, both at home and abroad, both in his early and later years, was such as to testify the high estimate formed of his pulpit services, and carries the mind back to kindred scenes witnessed in the early history of our church. On a Sabbath-day, between sermons, I have seen groups of intelligent working people speaking earnestly together of the impressive truths uttered by him in the morning, and waiting anxiously for the afternoon or evening service; and then the crowds were so dense, that he was frequently led from the session-house to the pulpit, hand to hand across the tops of the pews."

While such was the character, and such the effects, of Mr. Brown's preaching, his Sabbath ministrations were accompanied with an amount and variety of every-day duties, which of themselves would have been sufficient for any ordinary man. They were, however, diligently performed, while additional tasks of a more indirect and fortuitous character, but perhaps not less necessary and useful, were cheerfully undertaken and successfully carried through. These chiefly referred to home and foreign religious missions, the gratuitous instruction of young students in training for the ministry, and the defence of Christian truth against its numerous assailants whether within the church or without. The Scottish church, in all its forms, especially demands a working clergy, and it is in Edinburgh that their work is most abundant. But amidst all this multiplicity of toil, Mr. Brown continued to be a diligent student: in manhood and old age, and onward to the close of life, he was always seeking to perfect what he had already learned, or acquire something new, while

every fresh attainment was made subservient to his favourite investigations in theology. In 1829 he was transferred from his church in Rose Street to that of Broughton Place, and while the change filled this large building with a regular audience, the number of members, which at first was 600, rose to 1200. In the autumn of 1830 he had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him by Jefferson College, Pennsylvania. In 1834 he was elected to the chair of exegetical theology in the Secession church, and thus, in addition to his pastoral duties, the training of students for the ministry was devolved upon him. The importance of such a charge may be surmised from the fact, that during the twenty-four annual sessions, over which his tenure of office extended, not much less than a thousand students had passed under his hands. How well he was qualified for the office, the nature of his library, and his mastery of its contents, was one of many proofs. It contained several thousand volumes, many of them being rare and valuable, and all of them select and useful—the accumulation of a life-time, and purchased from a scanty revenue—and with these he was so well acquainted, that he could give an analysis of every book in the collection. When the Voluntary Controversy commenced, Dr. Brown, as might be expected, coincided with his dissenting brethren; and when the Disruption occurred, by which the Church of Scotland was rent, and a new secession established still greater than the first, Dr. Brown watched every step of the movement with deep interest. Another subject of interest, which involved him in controversy, was the Edinburgh annuity tax for the support of the city clergy of the Establishment. This impost, in common with many of the Edinburgh dissenters, he refused to pay upon the plea of conscience; and to justify his refusal, he published two lectures on the subject, which by subsequent additions were expanded into a goodly volume. Independently of the popularity of this work among dissenters in general, its abstract merits were so great, that Lord Brougham thus wrote of it: "I have never seen the subject of civil obedience and resistance so clearly and satisfactorily discussed." But not content with a simple protest, Dr. Brown was ready to endure those legal penalties with which non-payment of the tax was visited; and once and again his household goods were distrained and sold by the civic authorities, in consequence of his refusal to pay the tax. It was a painful predicament in which to stand, which fortunately, however, did not long continue, for in consequence of domestic changes, unconnected with this impost, he found it necessary to remove beyond the boundaries of the royalty of Edinburgh, where the annuity tax had no hold. But a more painful subject was the "atonement controversy," which arose in the Secession itself, into which Dr. Brown was compelled to enter, and that lasted during five years of keen and vexatious debate, in the course of which he was charged by the opposite party with having advocated heterodox and unscriptural sentiments. The doctor appealed to the Synod and demanded a trial, the result of which was a complete acquittal, while his congregation expressed their confidence in him as a teacher of sound doctrine by a gift of £200, and other tokens of affection, when the trial had ended.

A colleague having been appointed to him in 1842, and the vexatious atonement controversy having closed in 1845, Dr. Brown had leisure for a return to that kind of theological authorship by which his reputation, as well as usefulness, was the most permanently insured. In 1848 he published, in three volumes, his *Expository Discourses on the First*

Epistle of the Apostle Peter. These discourses had been preached to his congregation, at intervals, during a period of sixteen years, and were now published at their urgent request. Being delivered in the form of lectures, fashioned upon the old Scottish model, they may be properly considered as a commentary, where the critical and analytical learning is subordinated to the popular intelligence and practical bearing of the expositions. The work was favourably received both in Britain and America, and in scholarship alone it rivalled the best commentaries of the German school of theology, with a more sound and practical character than they can generally lay claim to. His next work of importance, also in three volumes, having for its title, *Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, Illustrated in a Series of Expositions*, appeared in 1850. His chief aim in this publication, for the illustration of which hundreds of volumes in various languages had been consulted, was to show the pre-eminent place which the person of Jesus holds in the Christian faith, as opposed to the rationalists of the age. "A personal deity," he writes, "is the soul of natural religion; a personal Saviour, the real living Christ, is the soul of revealed religion. How strange that it should not be impossible—how sad, that through a perverted ingenuity it should not be uncommon—in reference to both of these, to convert that into a veil which was meant to be a revelation." As a sequel to his *Discourses and Sayings of our Lord*, Dr. Brown, in 1850, published *An Exposition of our Lord's Intercessory Prayer*, in one volume. His next work, which appeared in 1851, was entitled "*The Resurrection of Life*, being an exposition in one volume of 1 Cor. xv." In 1852 he published his work called *The Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah*, and in 1853 appeared his *Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians*. This work, dedicated to the ministers, preachers, and students who had studied exegetical theology under his care, although comprised in a single unpretending volume, was one of the most carefully laboured of his writings, 114 critical and hermeneutical treatises having been consulted in the course of its preparation.

As the preceding works, although comprising ten volumes, had been published within little more than five years, it was time that their author should rest, and accordingly three years elapsed before he resumed his pen. He then, towards the close of 1856, and when he was seventy-two years old, published his work entitled *Parting Counsels*, being an exposition of 2 Pet. i., to which were added some other discourses of public interest. In the following year, he published his *Analytical Exposition of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, a subject which had exercised his mind for more than forty years, and upon which a vast amount of learning was concentrated. He intended to have produced upon this portion of Scripture an extensive commentary, but feeling the effects of old age, and the approach of death, was compelled to forego his design. In stating this, he adds, "Yet I am unwilling to go hence, without leaving some traces of the labour I have bestowed on this master-work of the apostle; without contributing some assistance, however limited, toward the production of what, whenever produced, will mark an era in the history of Scriptural exegesis,—a complete exposition of the Epistle to the Romans. Forbidden to build the temple, I would yet do what I can to furnish materials to him who shall be honoured to raise it." His contribution in this case was a valuable volume of more than 600 pages. One work yet remained, an *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, which he had prepared for the press, but did not live to publish.

While the last years of Dr. Brown were thus spent in a round of ceaseless activity, in which the duties of minister, professor, and author were so faithfully discharged, the esteem which he had won from the world at large was emphatically expressed when the fiftieth anniversary of his ministry had arrived. This was on the 6th of February, 1856, and on the 8th of April the event was celebrated as a religious jubilee in his church of Broughton Place, and in the evening in Tanfield hall. The addresses delivered by the chief ministers of his own and other religious denominations bore striking testimony to his worth and the high appreciation of his character, while not the least eloquent was a gift of £610 presented to him by his congregation as a token of their esteem and gratitude. Although Dr. Brown had never at any time been rich, he devoted the whole of this sum, with an additional donation of £50 from his own pocket, towards the formation of a fund for the relief of aged and impoverished ministers. In 1857 his increasing debility obliged him to resign his professorship, and in the following year his ministerial charge, after which he patiently awaited that solemn change from time to eternity for which his whole life had been a preparation. On the 13th of October, 1858, he passed away so gently that it seemed the tranquil act of falling asleep, after he had expressed his joyful hopes of immortality, and bid his sorrowing friends farewell. A week after, his remains were interred in the New Calton burying-ground; and the funeral, which was attended by ministers of various denominations, and a concourse of mourners as such an occasion had never collected in Edinburgh, showed the public sense of such a bereavement.

The character of Dr. Brown—his acquirements and accomplishments as a minister, professor, scholar, and Christian expositor—can be but faintly understood from this brief sketch of his history. His eloquence survives, but only in the memory of the living, while his authorship was of a kind that requires whole years fully to appreciate. But it will stand the test, and on that account will only be the more lasting. It is only necessary to add to this memoir, that Dr. Brown was twice married. His first wife was Miss Jane Nimmo of Glasgow, who died in May, 1816. His second wife was Margaret Fisher Crum, daughter of Alexander Crum, Esq., of Thornliebank, near Glasgow, whom he married after a widowhood of nineteen years, and who died in 1841.

BROWN, ROBERT, D.C.L. This eminent botanist, whom his friend Baron Humboldt characterized as the "botanicorum facile princeps," was the son of a Scottish Episcopalian minister, and was born at Montrose on the 21st of December, 1773. His education was prosecuted first at the Marischal College, Aberdeen, and subsequently at the university of Edinburgh, where he finished his course of medical study in 1795, in which year he accompanied a fencible regiment to Ireland, in the double capacity of ensign and assistant-surgeon. Near the close of the eighteenth century he had returned to Edinburgh, where he published his first scientific paper on the Asclepiadæ in the *Transactions of the Wernerian Society*, and on the 20th of November, 1798, he was elected an associate of the Linnæan Society of London.

The remarkable aptitude of Robert Brown for botany, and his proficiency in the science, had now secured for him the lasting friendship of Sir Joseph Banks, at whose recommendation he was attached in 1801 as naturalist to His Majesty's ship *Investigator*, then commissioned under the command of Captain

Flinders to make a survey of the coast of Australia. Relinquishing his medical and military commissions, Brown eagerly embarked in an enterprise where his favourite study would find such scope; and in the long exploration of the *Investigator* on the extensive coast of Australia, and its rocks, coral reefs, and shifting sandbanks, he zealously prosecuted his discoveries among the flora of this new continent, with the growing fame of which his name will henceforth be indelibly associated. He did not return to England until the end of 1805, bringing with him nearly 4000 species of plants, many of which had hitherto been unknown in botanical science, and an inexhaustible store of new ideas in relation to the characters, distribution, and affinities of the singular vegetation which distinguishes the continent of Australia from every other region. To arrange these specimens, to study them in their generalization and detail, and to publish the results of these labours, formed to Brown the work of his future years. But it was a labour of love, which he prosecuted with enthusiasm, and the world was compelled to recognize his superiority. Hitherto the system in natural science of Jussieu had been little known in England, or indeed in any country except France; but its adoption by Robert Brown—who was now accounted the first botanist of the age—and the modifications and improvements he introduced in it, made it be regarded as far superior to the Linnæan method, which it generally superseded.

On the return of Brown from his exploration, laden with the botanical treasures of Australia, his labours were rewarded by his being appointed librarian to the Linnæan Society. After the death of Dryander in 1810 he received the charge of the noble library and splendid collections of his friend, Sir Joseph Banks, who bequeathed to him their enjoyment for life, with the house in which these collections were contained, and an annuity of between £200 and £300 a year. At a later period these scientific treasures were transferred, with Brown's consent, to the British Museum, in which he was appointed keeper of botany. The public distinctions that were successively conferred upon him showed how highly his contributions to science were valued, and himself esteemed. In 1810 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was a member of the Institute of France, and also of the Imperial L. C. Academy of Germany, and was enrolled as an honorary member in almost every minor society in all parts of the old and new world. He received during the administration of Sir Robert Peel a pension of £200 per annum in recognition of his merits and public services. From the university of Oxford, in 1832, he received the honorary degree of D.C.L., in company with Brewster, Dalton, and Faraday. In 1849 he became president to the Linnæan Society; and he was invested by the king of Prussia with the decoration of the highest Prussian civil order, *pour le mérite*, of which Humboldt was the chancellor.

As an author, Robert Brown did not produce bulky volumes; on the contrary, with two exceptions, they are independent communications published in the transactions of various societies, or in the appendix to narratives of scientific expeditions. In this form they would have been somewhat inaccessible to the general scientific public, had they not, up to the year 1834, been carefully collected by the late Dr. Nees von Essenbeck, president of the Imperial Leop. Carol. Academy of Germany, who published them in five octavo volumes, under the title of *Robert Brown's Vermischte Schriften*. The excellence of this collection, and the rich knowledge contained in the articles, will make every lover of botanical science regret that

the collection was not continued still farther onward, and made more complete. The mere headings of these articles suffice to show the universality of Brown's botanical knowledge. His first separate publication after his return to England, which appeared in 1810, was the first volume of his *Prodomus Floræ Novæ Hollandiæ et Insulæ Van Diemen*; but some unlucky critical remarks in the *Edinburgh Review* upon the classicity of his Latin made him withdraw the volume, so that it is chiefly known in Von Essenbeck's collection. In 1830, however, Brown seemed to think better of it, and issued a supplement to the *Prodomus*, the only one that ever appeared. His second great work, the *Plantæ Javanicæ Rariores*, was published in conjunction with Dr. Horsfield and Mr. J. J. Bennett, and was completed within the years 1838 and 1852.

Thus silently, in contrast to his merits and the honourable recognition of those who could estimate them, the life of Robert Brown passed onward to the close. He was modest and shy of distinctions, so that he was eminently one of those who "have honour thrust upon them." But he had friends who understood and loved him well, and one of them, a distinguished contemporary, has thus delineated his personal worth: "Those who were admitted to the privilege of his intimacy, and who knew him as a man, will bear unanimous testimony to the unvarying simplicity, truthfulness, and benevolence of his character. With an appearance of shyness and reserve in the presence of strangers, he combined an open-heartedness in relation to his familiar friends, and a fund of agreeable humour, never bitter or caustic, but always appropriate to the occasion, the outpourings of which it was delightful to witness. But what distinguished him above all other traits was the singular uprightness of his judgment, which rendered him on all difficult occasions an invaluable counsellor to those who had the privilege of seeking his advice. How profoundly these admirable qualities had endeared him to the hearts of his friends was unmistakably manifested by the sympathetic tenderness with which his last hours were watched and soothed. With his faculties unclouded to the last, he died on the 10th instant [June, 1858], surrounded by his collections in the room which had formerly been the library of Sir Joseph Banks. 'It was in the year 1810,' says one of his distinguished friends, who contributed greatly to relieve the sufferings of his last illness, 'that I first became acquainted with Mr. Brown, within three feet of the same place, in the same room where I saw him so nearly drawing his last breath three days ago. He was the same simple-minded, kind-hearted man in November 1810 as he was in June 1858—nothing changed but as time changes us all.'"

BROWN, THOMAS, a distinguished modern philosophical writer, the son of the Rev. Samuel Brown, minister of the parish of Kirkmabreck in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, was born at the manse of that parish, January 9, 1778. Deprived of his father when between one and two years old, Thomas Brown was removed to Edinburgh, where for some years he lived under the charge of his widowed mother. By her he was taught the elements of learning, at a singularly early age, acquiring the whole alphabet, it is said, by one effort, or to use other words, in one lesson, and everything else with the same amazing facility. When between four and five years of age, he was able to read the Scriptures, and also, it would appear, partly to understand them. One day, at that period of his life, he was found sitting on the floor of his mother's parlour, with a large family Bible on his knee, which he was

dividing into different parts with his hand: being asked jocularly if he intended to preach, and was now choosing a text, he said, "No, I am only wishing to see what the evangelists differ in; for they do not all give the same account of Christ." From the kindly tutelage of his mother he was removed in the seventh year of his age, and placed by his maternal uncle, Captain Smith, in a school at Camberwell, from which in a short time he was transferred to one at Chiswick, where he continued for some years. In these and two other academies he spent the years between seven and fourteen, and acquired a perfect classical education. In 1792 he returned to the maternal roof at Edinburgh, and commenced a course of attendance at the university. At this period of his life he was deeply read in English belles-lettres, and had even collected a considerable library, which, however, was lost at sea in its passage from England to Scotland. Having gone to Liverpool to spend the vacation of 1793 with some friends, he became, boy as he was, the intimate friend of Dr. Currie, the amiable biographer of Burns, who is believed to have been the earliest cause of his directing his mind to metaphysical studies, by placing in his hands the first volumes of Professor Dugald Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, then just published. The impressions he received from this work were deepened next winter, when he attended its author's prelections in the moral philosophy class at Edinburgh College. Yet, much as he admired Professor Stewart, he did not fail, even at the early age of sixteen, to detect that deficiency of analysis which often lurks under the majestically flowing veil of his language and imagery. According to the late Dr. Welsh, whose very pleasing memoir of Dr. Brown is here followed, the scholar took an early opportunity of presenting to his master a few remarks which he had thrown together in reference to one of his theories. "Those who remember the dignified demeanour of Mr. Stewart in his class, which was calculated to convey the idea of one of those great and gifted men who were seen among the groves of the academy, will duly appreciate the boldness of our young philosopher. With great modesty he read his observations; to which Mr. Stewart, with a candour that was to be expected from a philosopher, but which not the less on that account did him infinite honour, listened patiently, and then, with a smile of wonder and admiration, read to him a letter which he had received from the distinguished M. Prevost of Geneva, containing the same argument which Dr. Brown had stated." This delightful incident was the commencement of an acquaintance between the master and the pupil, which led to more intimate relations, and only ended with the death of Dr. Brown. The varied and profound acquirements of this extraordinary young man, soon attracted to him the attention and friendship of many other personages, distinguished by academic rank and literary reputation, especially Professors Robison, Playfair, and Black, and Messrs. Horner, Leyden, Reddie, and Erskine. Ere he had completed his twentieth year, he was led, by the spirit of philosophical inquiry, to write *Observations upon Dr. Darwin's Zoonomia*, in a pamphlet that far surpassed the work which had called it forth. It appeared in 1798, and, while it excited astonishment in those who knew the years of the author, was received in other quarters as the work of a veteran in philosophy. Dr. Welsh justly characterizes it as one of the most remarkable exemplifications of premature intellect which has ever been exhibited, and states that, though unfortunate in its object, and the exposure of an unworthy production, it is found to contain the

germ of all Dr. Brown's subsequent discoveries as to mind, and of those principles of philosophizing by which he was guided in his future inquiries. Dr. Brown at this time belonged to an association of young men, which, whether from its peculiar object, the celebrity since acquired by several of its members, or one remarkable result of its existence, must be acknowledged as possessing no ordinary claims to attention. It was called the Academy of Physics, and its object is described in the minutes of its first meeting to have been, "the investigation of nature, the laws by which her phenomena are regulated, and the history of opinions concerning these laws." The first members were Messrs. Brougham, Erskine, Reddie, Brown, Rogerson, Birbeck, Logan, and Leyden; to whom were afterwards joined Lord Webb Seymour, the Rev. Sydney Smith, and Messrs. Horner, Jeffrey, and Gillespie. The Academy prosecuted its investigations with great assiduity and success for about three years; like many other clubs, the spirit in which it originated began to change with the changed years and altered views of its members; it flagged, failed, and was finally broken up. The remarkable result of its existence, above alluded to, was the establishment of the *Edinburgh Review*. The first writers in this work were Jeffrey, Brougham, Sydney Smith, Horner, and Brown. The leading article of the second number upon *Kant's Philosophy*, was by the last of these gentlemen. Mr. Brown, however, did not long continue to contribute; a misunderstanding with the gentleman who superintended the publication of the third number regarding some liberties taken with one of his articles, was the cause of his retirement.

Brown's first ideas as to a profession led him to choose the bar, and for a twelvemonth he prosecuted the dry studies of the law. An insurmountable repugnance, however, to this pursuit caused him afterwards to study medicine. He obtained his degree of M.D. in 1803, on which occasion he was honoured with the highest commendations from Dr. Gregory, not only for his proficiency in medical learning, but for the amazingly fluent and elegant style of his Latinity, of which no one could judge better than that learned professor, himself acknowledged to be the best Latinist of his time in Scotland. Previous to this period, namely in 1800, when he was only twenty-two years of age, his friends had, unsuccessfully, endeavoured to obtain for him the chair of rhetoric; but a system by which the clergy of the university seat were almost invariably preferred to the vacant chairs, blasted his hopes on this occasion. This disappointment, with his antipathy to the courtly party of the church, by which it was patronized, seems to have inspired him with a vehement aversion to a system which can only be palliated by a consideration of the narrow stipends then enjoyed by the clergy, and the propriety of enriching, by this oblique means, the prospects which were to induce men of abilities to enter the church. Upon the promotion of Mr. Playfair to the chair of natural philosophy, Mr. Leslie competed for the vacant chair of mathematics with a clergyman whose attainments in that study, though more than respectable, certainly could not be placed on an equality with those of the opposing candidate. The church party, knowing that they could not make out any superior qualifications in their candidate on the score of mathematics, endeavoured to produce the same effect by depreciating Mr. Leslie's qualifications on the score of religion. Their proof lay in a note to Mr. Leslie's essay on heat, containing an expression of approbation respecting Hume's doctrine of causation. The canvas, which lay in the

town-council, was the cause of great excitement in the literary world, and for some time absorbed every other topic of discourse in Edinburgh. Dr. Brown was tempted by his feelings on this subject to come forward with an essay, disproving the inferences which were drawn from Mr. Leslie's note; an essay which, in a subsequent edition, he expanded into a complete treatise on cause and effect. Through the influence of this powerful appeal, and other similar expressions of public feeling, the patrons of the chair were shamed for once out of their usual practice, and Mr. Leslie received the appointment.

Dr. Brown had before this period published two volumes of miscellaneous poems, which, though they did not meet with brilliant success, are yet to be admired as the effusions of an ingenious and graceful mind. In 1803, immediately after receiving his diploma, he began to practise as a physician, and he had hitherto met with considerable success. He was now (1806) taken into partnership by Dr. Gregory, and for some time his attention was occupied more exclusively by his profession than was at all agreeable to one disposed like him to give up worldly advantages for the sake of a darling study. The prospect of an occupation more germane to his mind opened up to him in the winter of 1808-9, when the state of Mr. Stewart's health induced him to request the services of Mr. Brown as his temporary substitute. The lectures which he delivered in this capacity attracted much attention, on account of their marvellous display of profound and original thought, of copious reading, of matchless ingenuity, and of the most admirable elocution; this last accomplishment having been acquired by Dr. Brown in the ordinary course of his school studies. "The Moral Philosophy Class at this period presented a very striking aspect. It was not a crowd of youthful students led into transports of admiration by the ignorant enthusiasm of the moment; distinguished members of the bench, of the bar, and of the pulpit, were daily present to witness the powers of this rising philosopher. Some of the most eminent of the professors were to be seen mixing with the students, and Mr. Playfair, in particular, was present at every lecture. The originality, and depth, and eloquence of the lectures, had a very marked effect upon the young men attending the university, in leading them to metaphysical speculations."—(*Welsh's Memoir*.) The effect of these exhibitions was so great, that when Mr. Stewart, two years after, expressed a wish to have Dr. Brown officially conjoined to him in the chair of moral philosophy, the usual influence in favour of the clergy was overcome with little difficulty. From the commencement of the session of 1810-11, he acted as the substitute of Mr. Stewart, who now retired to the country; and, what is certainly very wonderful, he wrote the whole of his first course of lectures during the evenings which preceded the days on which they were delivered. After the first and most difficult step had been got over, Dr. Brown obtained a little leisure to cultivate that poetical vein which had all along been one of his own favourite exercises of thought; and accordingly, in 1814, he published his largest versified work, entitled *The Paradise of Coquettes*. As this poem appeared anonymously, its success, which was considerable, must have given him high gratification. He was, therefore, tempted next year to bring forth another under the title of *The Wanderer in Norway*.

The health of Dr. Brown had never been good; and it was now the annual custom of this amiable and gifted being to retire during the summer vacation to some sequestered and beautiful nook of his romantic native land, in order to enjoy the country

air and exercise. Sometimes he would plant himself in some Swiss-like spot, hanging between Highland and Lowland, such as the village of Logie in Glendevon. At other times he would lose himself in the woody solitudes of Dunkeld. He had all his life a fondness for romantic and rugged scenery, amidst which he would occasionally expose himself to considerable risks. Walking was his favourite exercise, as he was thus able to pause and admire a rock, a wild flower, a brook, or whatever else of the beautiful presented itself. To his gentle and affectionate disposition, one object always appealed with irresistible power—namely, a cottage smoking amidst trees: he never could pass a scene of that kind without pausing to ruminate upon the inexplicable sympathy which it seems to find in almost every breast. Though possessing a heart as open as daylight, the weakly health of Dr. Brown, and the abstraction of his studies, seem to have checked that exuberant feeling which assumes the form called love: it is the impression of one of his surviving friends that he never experienced that sensation, at least to any extent worthy of the name. His affections were devoted to his mother, his sisters, nature, books, studies, literary fame. He seemed to have none for "the sex." In 1817 his feelings sustained a dreadful shock in the death of the former relative, who had been his first instructress, and to whom he bore an affection bordering upon reverence. Her remains were first placed in a vault in Edinburgh; and at the end of the winter-session moved to the family burying-ground in the old churchyard of Kirkmabreck. This romantic and secluded spot Dr. Brown had always viewed with great interest. A few years before, in visiting his father's grave, he had been altogether overcome, and when he saw the earth closing in upon all that remained of a mother that was so dear to him, "and the long grassy mantle cover all," his distress was such as to affect every person who saw him. In 1818 Dr. Brown published a poetical tale, entitled *Agnes*. But his reputation in this walk of literature was not on the increase. His mind by no means wanted poetical feeling and imagery; but he never could prevent the philosopher from intruding upon his warmest visions, and accordingly there is a decided tameness in all his verses. It may be said, that, if he had not been a great philosopher, he would have been a greater poet; and, on the other hand, if he had not attempted poetry, at least his *living* reputation as a philosopher would have been somewhat enhanced.

Towards the end of 1819 the ill health of Dr. Brown began to assume an alarming aspect, and early in the ensuing year he found himself so weak as to be obliged to appoint a substitute to deliver his lectures. This substitute was Mr. John Stewart, another of the devotees of science, and, like himself, destined soon to sink prematurely beneath the weight of intellectual exertion. Of Brown it might truly be said, that an active spirit had worn out the slender and attenuated frame in which it was enshrined. At the recommendation of his physicians, he took a voyage to London, and established himself at Brompton, then a healthy village in the vicinity, but now involved in the spreading masses of the great city. Here he gradually grew weaker and weaker, until the 2d of April, when he gently breathed his last.

"Dr. Brown," says his reverend biographer, "was in height rather above the middle size, about five feet nine inches; his chest broad and round; his hair brown; his features regular; his forehead large and prominent; his eyes dark gray, well formed, with very long eye-lashes, which gave them a very soft and pleasing expression; his nose might be said to be

a mixture of the Roman and Grecian, and his mouth and chin bore a striking resemblance to those of the Buonaparte family. The expression of his countenance altogether was that of calm reflection. . . . His temper was remarkably good; so perfect was the command he had over it, that he was scarcely ever heard to say an unkind word. Whatever provocation he received, he always consulted the dignity of his own character, and never gave way to anger. Yet he never allowed any one to treat him with disrespect; and his pupils must remember the effect of a single look in producing, instantaneously, the most perfect silence in his class. . . . At a very early period, Dr. Brown formed those opinions in regard to government to which he adhered to the end of his life. Though he was not led to take any active part in politics, he felt the liveliest interest in the great questions of the day, and his zeal for the diffusion of knowledge and of liberal opinion, was not greater than his indignation at every attempt to impede it. The most perfect toleration of all liberal opinions, and an unshackled liberty of the press, were the two subjects in which he seemed to take the most interest, and which he seemed to consider as most essential to national happiness and prosperity. In his judgment upon every political question, he was determined solely by its bearings upon the welfare of the human race; and he was very far from uniformly approving of the measures of the party to which he was generally understood to belong. Indeed, he often said that liberty, in Scotland at least, suffered more from the Whigs than the Tories—in allusion to the departure he conceived to be sometimes made from professed principles with a view to present advantage. . . . He was intimately acquainted with the principles of almost all the fine arts, and in many of them showed that practice only was wanting to insure perfection in his powers of execution. His acquaintance with languages was great: French, Italian, and German he read with the same ease as English. He read also Spanish and Portuguese, though not so fluently. . . . Among the more prominent features of Dr. Brown's character, may be enumerated the greatest gentleness, and kindness, and delicacy of mind, united with the noblest independence of spirit; a generous admiration of everything affectionate or exalted in character; a manly contempt for everything mean; a detestation for everything that even bordered on tyranny and oppression; a truly British love of liberty, and the most ardent desire for the diffusion of knowledge, and happiness, and virtue, among mankind. In private life he was possessed of almost every quality which renders society delightful, and was indeed remarkable for nothing more than for the love of home and the happiness he shed around him there. It was ever his strongest wish to make every one who was with him happy; his exquisite delicacy of perception gave him a quick fore-feeling of whatever might be hurtful to any one; and his wit, his varied information, his classical taste, and, above all, his mild and gentlemanly manners, and his truly philosophic evenness of temper, diffused around him the purest and most refined enjoyment. Of almost universal knowledge, acquired by the most extensive reading, and by wide intercourse with the world, there was no topic of conversation to which he seemed a stranger. . . . In the philosophic love of truth, and in the patient investigation of it, Dr. Brown may be pronounced as at least equal, and in subtlety of intellect and power of analysis, as superior to any metaphysician that ever existed. The predominating quality in his intellectual character was unquestionably his power of analyzing, the

most necessary of all qualities to a metaphysician. It is impossible, indeed, to turn to any page in his writings that does not contain some feat of ingenuity. States of mind that had been looked upon for ages as reduced to the last degree of simplicity, and as belonging to those facts in our constitution which the most sceptical could not doubt, and the most subtle could not explain, he brought to the crucible, and evolved from their simpler elements. For the most complicated and puzzling questions that our mysterious and almost inscrutable nature presents, he found a quick and easy solution. The knot that thousands had left in despair, as too complicated for mortal hand to undo, and which others more presumptuous had cut in twain, he unloosed with unrivalled dexterity. The enigmas which a false philosophy had so long propounded, and which, because they were not solved, had made victims of many of the finest and most highly gifted men of our race, he at last succeeded in unriddling." Dr. Brown's lectures were published after his death, in 4 volumes, 8vo, and have deservedly obtained a high reputation. An account of his life and writings has been published in one volume 8vo, by the late Rev. Dr. David Welsh.

BROWN, WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.D., an eminent theological and miscellaneous writer, was born January 7, 1755, at Utrecht, where his father, the Reverend William Brown, was minister to the English congregation. In 1757 his father removed with his family to St. Andrews, in order to undertake the duties of professor of ecclesiastical history; and the subject of our memoir, having commenced his education under his father's care, was placed successively at the grammar-school and university of that city, entering the latter at the early age of twelve. His native abilities, favoured by the fostering care of his father, enabled him, notwithstanding his immature years, to pass through his academical course with distinction; classical literature, logic, and ethics, being the branches of study to which he chiefly devoted his attention. After studying divinity for two years at St. Andrews, he removed to Utrecht, where he prosecuted the same study, and also that of civil law. In 1778, having previously been licensed by the presbytery of St. Andrews, he succeeded his uncle as minister of the English church at Utrecht; a field of exertion too narrow for his abilities, but which he, nevertheless, cultivated with the same zeal and application which a conscientious clergyman might be expected to bestow upon one more extensive. Such spare time as his duties left to him he employed in attention to a few pupils whom he received into his house. He at the same time enlarged his range of study, and occasionally made excursions into France, Germany, and Switzerland. In 1786 he married his cousin, Anne Elizabeth Brown, by whom he had five sons and four daughters.

The first literary effort of Mr. Brown was an essay on the origin of evil, written for a prize offered by the curators of the Holpian legacy at Utrecht, and which was adjudged the second honour among the essays of twenty-five competitors, that of being published at the expense of the trust. Soon after this, namely, in 1784, the university of St. Andrews conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Dr. Brown was successful in several other prize essays, two of which were published under the titles of *An Essay on the Folly of Scepticism*, London, 1788; and *An Essay on the Natural Equality of Man*, Edinburgh, 1793. The latter took a more sober view of the subject than was generally adopted at

the time of its publication; and it accordingly became the means of introducing Dr. Brown to the notice of the British government. Previously to the armed interposition of the Prussians in 1788, Dr. Brown was exposed to so much annoyance on account of his attachment to the dynasty of Nassau, that he found it necessary to proceed to London, in quest of another situation. The event alluded to not only enabled him to retain his former office, but caused his elevation to a professorship, newly erected in the university of his native city, for moral philosophy and ecclesiastical history. He unfortunately was not allowed sufficient time to prepare the two elaborate courses of lectures required in this new situation; and, by his extraordinary exertions to accomplish what was expected of him, laid the foundation of ailments, from which he never afterwards recovered. His inaugural discourse was published under the title of *Oratio de Religionis et Philosophiæ Societate et Concordia maxime Salutari*. Two years afterwards he was nominated rector of the university; and on depositing his temporary dignity, he pronounced an *Oratio de Imaginatione in Vita Institutione regenda*, which was published in 1790. Though offered the Greek professorship at St. Andrews, he continued in Utrecht till the invasion of Holland by the French, in the beginning of 1795, when he was obliged to leave the country in an open boat, with his wife and five children, besides some other relations. Notwithstanding the severity of the season, the roughness of the weather, and the frail nature of the bark to which so many lives were committed, he reached the English coast in safety. In London, to which he immediately proceeded, he met with a friendly reception from Lord Auckland, to whom he had become known during his lordship's residence as ambassador at the Hague, and who now exerted himself so warmly in his favour, that he was, in the course of a few months, appointed to succeed Dr. Campbell as professor of divinity in the Marischal College, Aberdeen; to which honourable appointment was soon after added that of principal of the same college.

We are informed by the writer of the life of Dr. Brown in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that "this new professorship imposed upon him a very serious task, that of composing a course of theological lectures, extending over five sessions. After a review of the different systems of religion which lay claim to a divine origin, he discussed most amply the evidences and doctrines of natural religion. He then proceeded to the evidences of revealed religion, of which he gave a very full and learned view. The Christian scheme formed the next subject of an inquiry, in which the peculiar doctrines of Christianity were very extensively unfolded. Christian ethics were also explained; and it formed part of his original plan, to treat of all the great controversies that have agitated the religious world. This portion of the course was not, however, completed." Besides attending to the duties of his chair and of his principality, Dr. Brown officiated as one of the ministers of the West Church in Aberdeen. A volume of his sermons appeared in 1803. He also occasionally attended the General Assembly, where his manly eloquence and impressive mode of speaking caused him to be listened to with great respect, though he never arrived at the character of a leader. While discharging every public duty with zeal and efficacy, he did not neglect his favourite pursuits of literature. In 1809 he published *Philemon, or the Progress of Virtue, a poem*, Edinburgh, 2 vols. octavo; and in 1816 appeared his greatest literary effort, *An Essay on the Existence of a Supreme Creator*, Aberdeen,

2 vols. octavo. The latter was the successful competing essay, among fifty, for Burnet's first prize of £1250; the second, of £400, being awarded to Dr. Sumner, afterwards Bishop of Chester. Dr. Brown also wrote a few pamphlets upon passing occurrences, political and otherwise; and one or two articles in Latin, relating to formalities in the university over which he presided. His last considerable work was *A Comparative View of Christianity, and of the other Forms of Religion which have existed, and still exist, in the World, particularly with regard to their Moral Tendency*, Edinburgh, 2 vols. octavo, 1826.

In addition to the preferments already mentioned, Dr. Brown was honoured, in 1800, with the appointment of chaplain in ordinary to the king; and, in 1804, was nominated dean of the chapel-royal, and of the order of the Thistle. He was, last of all, in 1825, appointed to read the Gordon course of lectures on practical religion, in the Marischal College. Though thus bearing such a multiplicity of offices, Dr. Brown was, upon principle, opposed to pluralities, and was, perhaps, only tempted to transgress the rule in his own case, by the want of adequate endowments for his two chief offices, those of divinity professor and of principal.

Dr. Brown died, May 11, 1830, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Besides his great talents and acquirements, he was characterized by many excellent personal qualities. His mind was altogether of a manly cast; and, though honoured with the regards of a court, he was incapable of cowering to mere rank and station. With some warmth of temper, he was open, sincere, and generous, and entertained sentiments of unbounded liberality towards his fellow-creatures of all ranks, and of all countries.

BRUCE, JAMES, a celebrated traveller, born on the 14th of December, 1730, at Kinnaird, in the county of Stirling. Bruce was by birth a gentleman, and might even be considered as nobly descended. He was the eldest son of David Bruce, Esq. of Kinnaird, who was in turn the son of David Hay of Woodcockdale in Linlithgowshire (descended from an old and respectable branch of the Hays of Errol), and of Helen Bruce, the heiress of Kinnaird, who traced her pedigree to that noble Norman family, which, in the fourteenth century, gave a king to Scotland. It will thus be observed that the traveller's paternal name had been changed from Hay to Bruce, for the sake of succession to Kinnaird. The traveller was extremely vain of his alliance to the hero of Bannockburn, inasmuch as to tell his engraver, on one occasion, that he conceived himself entitled to use royal livery! He took it very ill to be reminded, as he frequently was, that, in reality, he was not a Bruce, but a Hay, and though the heir of line, not the *heir male* of even that branch of the family which he represented. In truth the real Bruses of Kinnaird, his grandmother's ancestors, were but descended from a cadet of a cadet of the royal family of Bruce, and, as it will be observed, sprung off before the family became royal, though not before it had intermarried with royalty. His mother was the daughter of James Graham, Esq. of Airth, dean of the faculty of advocates, and judge of the high court of admiralty in Scotland—a man distinguished by his abilities and respected for his public and private virtues. Unfortunately, the traveller lost his mother at the early age of three years—almost the only worldly loss which cannot be fully compensated. His father marrying a second time, had an additional family of six sons and two daughters.

In his earliest years, instead of the robust frame



JAMES OGLETHORPE

OF GEORGIA

WAS THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA

and bold disposition which he possessed in manhood, Bruce was of weakly health and gentle temperament. At the age of eight years a desire of giving his heir-apparent the best possible education, and perhaps also the pain of seeing one motherless child amidst the more fortunate offspring of a second union, induced his father to send him to London, to be placed under the friendly care of his uncle, Counsellor Hamilton. In that agreeable situation he spent the years between eight and twelve, when he was transferred to the public school at Harrow, then conducted by Dr. Cox. Here he won the esteem of his instructors, as well as of many other individuals, by the extraordinary aptitude with which he acquired a knowledge of classic literature, and the singularly sweet and amiable dispositions which he always manifested. To this reputation his weakly health, and the fear that he was destined, like his mother, to an early grave, seems to have given a hue of tenderness; which is seldom manifested for merely clever scholars. The gentleness of his character, the result solely of bad health, led him at this early period of his life to contemplate the profession of a clergyman; a choice in which he might, moreover, be further satisfied, from a recollection of his ancestor, Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, who was the leading divine in Scotland little more than a century before. So completely, however, do the minds of men take colour from their physical constitution, that on his health becoming confirmed with advancing manhood, this tame choice was abandoned for something of a bolder character; which, in its turn, appears to have given way, in still further increased strength, for something bolder still. He left Harrow with the character of a first-rate scholar, in May, 1746, and, after spending another year at an academy in the study of French, arithmetic, and geometry, returned, May, 1747, to Kinnaird, where he spent some months in the sports of the field, for which he suddenly contracted a deep and lasting attachment. It was now determined that he should prepare himself for the profession of an advocate; a road to distinction, which, as it was almost the only one left to Scotland by the Union, was then, and at a much later period, assumed by an immense proportion of the young Scottish gentry. He entered, in the winter of 1747, as a student in the college of Edinburgh, and attended the lectures on civil law, Scottish law, and universal history. But the study was not congenial to his mind, and he probably thought it a happy event that a return of bad health relieved him from this bondage. He was remanded to Kinnaird for exercise and air; and for several years he remained undetermined as to his future course of life. Be it remarked, there might have been no necessity for his leaving the paternal home in search of fortune, had not the number of his father's second family diminished his prospects of wealth from that source.

Having at length resolved upon going to India, at that time a more adventurous field than it has since become, Bruce left Scotland, July, 1753, in the twenty-third year of his age, and arriving in London, was received in the kindest manner by those friends with whom he had formerly resided. While waiting for the permission of the East India directors to settle there as a free trader, he was introduced to Adriana Allan, the beautiful and most amiable daughter of a wealthy wine-merchant deceased. An attachment to this young lady, which soon proved mutual, once more changed his destination in life. On making known his feelings to the surviving parent of his mistress, it was suggested that, in marrying her, he might also wed himself to the excellent business left

by her father. Love easily overcame every scruple he might entertain regarding this scheme; and accordingly, on the 3d February, 1754, he was married to Miss Allan. For some months Bruce enjoyed the society of this excellent creature, and during that time he applied himself to business with an enthusiasm borrowed from love. But, unfortunately, the health of his partner began to decline. It was found necessary that she should visit the south of France for a milder climate. Bruce accompanied her on this melancholy journey. Consumption outstripped the speed with which they travelled. She was unable to move beyond Paris. There, after a week's suffering, she died in his arms. By this event the destiny of Bruce was once more altered. The tie which bound him to trade—almost to existence, was broken. He seems to have now thought it necessary that he should spend a life of travel. Abandoning the cares of business to his partner, and resolving to take an early opportunity of giving up his share altogether, he applied himself to the study of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, and also improved his skill in drawing, under a master of the name of Bonneau, recommended to him by Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Strange. Before this time he had chiefly cultivated that part of drawing which relates to the science of fortification, in hopes that he might, on some emergency, find it of use in military service. But views of a more extensive kind now induced him to study drawing in general, and to obtain a correct taste in painting. This notice of his application to the study of drawing we have given in the words of his biographer (Dr. Murray), because it was long and confidently reported by those who wished to lessen his reputation, that he was totally and incorrigibly ignorant of the art.

In July, 1757, he sailed for Portugal, landed at Corunna, and soon reached Lisbon. He was much struck by the ways of the Portuguese, many of which are directly opposite to those of all other nations. A Portuguese gentleman, showing out a friend, walks *before* him to the door; a Portuguese boatman rows with his face to the front of the vessel, and lands stern foremost; when a man and woman ride on horseback, the woman is foremost, and sits with her face to the right side of the animal. And what, in Bruce's opinion, accounted for all this contrariety, the children are rocked in cradles which move from head to foot. From Portugal, after four months' stay, Bruce travelled into Spain, where he also spent a considerable time. The sight of the remains of Moorish grandeur here inspired him with the wish of writing an account of the domination of that people in Spain; but he found the materials inaccessible through the jealousy of the government. Leaving Spain, he traversed France, visited Brussels, and, passing through Holland into Germany, there witnessed the battle of Crevelt. Returning by Rotterdam, he received intelligence of the death of his father, by which event he became laird of Kinnaird. The property he thus acquired was soon after considerably increased by the establishment of the Carron company, which was supplied with coal from his mines. He now employed himself in studying the Arabic language, a branch of knowledge then little regarded in Britain. In 1761 he withdrew entirely from the wine trade. About this time Bruce formed an acquaintance with Mr. Pitt (the elder), then at the head of affairs, to whom he proposed a scheme for making a descent upon Spain, against which country Britain was expected to declare war. Though this project came to nothing, Lord Halifax had marked the enterprising genius of this Scottish

gentleman, and proposed to him to signalize the commencement of the new reign by making discoveries in Africa. It was not part of this proposal that he should attempt to reach the source of the Nile; that prodigious exploit, which had baffled the genius of the civilized world for thousands of years, seemed to Lord Malifax to be reserved for some more experienced person; his lordship now only spoke of discoveries on the coast of Barbary, which had then been surveyed, and that imperfectly, by only one British traveller, Dr. Shaw. For this end Bruce was appointed to be consul at Algiers. In an interview with George III., with which he was honoured before setting out, his majesty requested him to take drawings of the ruins of ancient architecture which he should discover in the course of his travels. It having been provided that he should spend some time by the way in Italy, he set out for that country in June, 1762. He visited Rome, Naples, and Florence, and fitted himself by surveying the works of ancient art, for the observations he was to make upon kindred objects in Africa. Here he formed an acquaintance with a native of Bologna, named Luigi Balugani, whom he engaged to attend him in his travels, in the capacity of an artist. He at length sailed from Leghorn to Algiers, which he reached in March, 1763. Ali Pacha, who then acted as dey in this barbarous state, was a savage character, not unlike the celebrated personage of the same name, whom Lord Byron introduced to European notice. An injudicious yielding to his will, on the part of the English government, who changed a consul at his request, had just given an additional shade of insolence and temerity to his character; and he expected to tyrannize over Bruce as over one of his own officers. The intrepidity of the new consul, it may be imagined, was, under such circumstances, called into frequent action. He several times bearded this lion in his very den, always apparently indebted for his safety to the very audacity which might have been expected to provoke his ruin. A good idea of the true British fortitude which he exerted under such circumstances, may be gained from a letter to Lord Halifax, in which, after recommending forcible measures, which would have been highly dangerous to his own personal security, he says,—“I myself have received from a friend some private intimations to consult my own safety and escape. The advice is impracticable, nor would I take it were it not so. Your lordship may depend upon it, that till I have the king's orders, or find that I can be of no further service here, nothing will make me leave Algiers but force. One brother has already, this war, had the honour to lose his life in the service of his country. Two others, besides myself, are still in it, and if any accident should happen to me, as is most probable from these lawless butchers, all I beg of his majesty is that he will graciously please to extend his favour to the survivors, if deserving, and that he will make this city an example to others, how they violate public faith and the law of nations.” It is this constancy and firmness in postponing the consideration of danger to the consideration of duty, which has mainly tended to exalt the British character above those of other nations. Bruce weathered every danger till August, 1765, when, being relieved by the arrival of another consul, he left this piratical stronghold, and began to prosecute his researches along the coast of Africa. Landing at Bona, he paid a visit to Utica, “out of respect to the memory of Cato,” and then, with a proper retinue for his protection, penetrated into the interior of the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis. On the borders of these states he found a tribe named

the Welled Sidi Boogannim, who are exempted from taxes on condition of their living exclusively upon lions; a means of keeping down those enemies of the public. Dr. Shaw, the only British predecessor of Bruce in this line of research, had been much laughed at, and even openly scouted, for having hinted at the existence of such a custom. His friends at Oxford thought it a subversion of the established order of things, that a man should eat a lion, when it had long passed as almost the peculiar province of the lion to eat the man. Bruce was exactly the man to go the more boldly forward when such a lion was in the way.

After having traversed the whole of these states, and taken drawings of every antiquity which he esteemed worthy of notice, he moved further west to Tripoli, where he was received with great kindness by Mr. Fraser of Lovat, British consul at that place. From Tripoli he despatched the greater part of his drawings to Smyrna, by which precaution they were saved from the destruction which must have otherwise been their fate. Crossing the Gulf of Sidra, which makes a considerable sweep into the northern coast of Africa, Bruce now reached Bengazi—the ancient Berenice built by Ptolemy Philadelphus. From this place he travelled to Ptolema, where, finding the plague raging, he was obliged to embark hastily in a Greek vessel which he hired to carry him to Crete. This was perhaps the most unlucky step he took during the whole of his career. The vessel was not properly provided with ballast; the sails defied the management of the ignorant man who professed to steer it; it had not therefore got far from shore when a storm drove it to leeward, and it struck upon a rock near the harbour of Bengazi. Bruce took to the boat, along with a great number of the other passengers; but finding that it could not survive, and fearing lest he should be overwhelmed by a multitude of drowning wretches, he saw it necessary to commit himself at once to the sea, and endeavour to swim ashore. In this attempt, after suffering much from the violence of the surf, he was at last successful. He had only, however, become exposed to greater dangers. A plundering party of Arabs came to make prey of the wrecked vessel, and his Turkish clothing excited their worst feelings. After much suffering he got back to Bengazi, but with the loss of all his baggage, including many valuable instruments and drawings. Fortunately, the master of a French sloop, to whom he had rendered a kindness at Algiers, happened to be lying in that port. Through the grateful service of this person he was carried to Crete. An ague, however, had fixed itself upon his constitution in consequence of his exertions in the sea of Ptolema: it attacked him violently in Crete, and he lay for some days dangerously ill. On recovering a little, he proceeded to Rhodes, and from thence to Asia Minor, where he inspected the ruins of Baalbec and Palmyra. By the time he got back to Sidon he found that his letters to Europe announcing the loss of his instruments were answered by the transmission of a new set, including a quadrant from Louis XV., who had been told by Count Buffon of the unhappy affair of Bengazi. In June, 1768, he sailed from Sidon to Alexandria, resolved no longer to delay that perilous expedition which had taken possession of his fancy. “Previous to his first introduction to the waters of the Nile,” says Captain Head, “it may not be improper, for a moment, calmly and dispassionately to consider how far he was qualified for the attempt which he was about to undertake. Being thirty-eight years of age, he was at that period of life in which both the mind and body of man are capable

of their greatest possible exertions. During his travels and residence in Europe, Africa, and Asia, he had become practically acquainted with the religion, manners, and prejudices of many countries different from his own; and he had learned to speak the French, Italian, Spanish, modern Greek, Moorish, and Arabic languages. Full of enterprise, enthusiastically devoted to the object he had in view, accustomed to hardship, inured to climate as well as to fatigue, he was a man of undoubted courage; *in stature six feet four*, and with this imposing appearance possessing great personal strength; and lastly, in every proper sense of the word, he was a gentleman; and no man about to travel can give to his country a better pledge for veracity than when, like Bruce, his mind is ever retrospectively viewing the noble conduct of his ancestors—thus showing that he considers he has a stake in society which, by the meanness of falsehood or exaggeration, he would be unable to transmit unsullied to posterity."

From Alexandria he proceeded to Cairo, where he was received with distinction by the bey, under the character of a dervish, or soothsayer, which his acquaintance with eastern manners enabled him to assume with great success. It happened—fortunately for his design—that in the neighbourhood of Cairo resided a Greek patriarch who had lived some time under his roof at Algiers, and taught him the modern Greek language. This person gave him letters to many Greeks who held high situations in Abyssinia, besides a bull, or general recommendation, claiming protection for him from the numerous persons of that nation residing in the country. Bruce had previously acquired considerable knowledge of the medical art, as part of that preparatory education with which he had fitted himself for his great task. The bey fortunately took ill: Bruce cured him. His highness, in gratitude, furnished him with recom mendat ory letters to a great number of ruling personages throughout Egypt and along both shores of the Red Sea. Bruce, thus well provided, commenced his voyage up the Nile, December 12, 1768, in a large canja or boat, which was to carry him to Furshoot, the residence of Amner, the sheikh of Upper Egypt. For two or three weeks he enjoyed the pleasure of coasting at ease and in safety along the wonder-studded banks of this splendid river, only going on shore occasionally to give the more remarkable objects a narrower inspection. He was at Furshoot on the 7th of January, 1769. Advancing hence to Sheikh Amner, the encampment of a tribe of Arabs, whose dominion extended almost to the coast of the Red Sea, he was fortunate enough to acquire the friendship of the sheikh, or head of the race, by curing him of a dangerous disorder. This secured him the means of prosecuting his journey in a peaceable manner. Under the protection of this tribe he soon reached Cosseir—a fort on the Red Sea—having previously, however, sent all his journals and drawings, hitherto completed, to the care of some friends at Cairo. Bruce sailed from Cosseir on the 5th of April, and for several months he employed himself in making geographical observations upon the coasts of this important sea. On the 19th of September, after having for the first time determined the latitude and longitude of many places, which have since been found wonderfully correct, he landed at Massuah, the port of Abyssinia. Here he encountered great danger and difficulty, from the savage character of the *nyabé* or governor of Massuah, who, not regarding the letters carried by Bruce from the Bey of Cairo, had very nearly taken his life. By the kindness of Achmet, a nephew of the *nyabé*, whom Bruce rescued from a deadly sickness, he was

enabled to surmount the obstacles presented against him in this place, and on the 15th November began to penetrate the country of Abyssinia. In crossing the hill of Tarenta, a mountainous ridge which skirts the shore, the traveller encountered hardships under which any ordinary spirit would have sunk. Advancing by Dixan, Adowa, and Axum, he found himself greatly indebted for safety and accommodation to the letters which he carried for the Greeks, who formed the civilized class amongst that rude people. It was in the neighbourhood of Axum that he saw the unfortunate sight (the slicing of steaks from the rump of a live cow) which was the chief cause of his being afterwards generally discredited in his own country. On the 14th of February, after a journey of ninety-five days from Massuah, he reached Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia, a town containing about 10,000 families. The king and his chief minister Ras Michael, to both of whom Bruce had letters of introduction, were now absent with the army, putting down a rebellion which had been raised by Fasil, a turbulent governor of a province. But Bruce was favourably received by one Ayto Aylo, a Greek, and chamberlain of the palace. It happened that the favourite child of Ras Michael was at this time ill with the small-pox at the country palace of Koscam. Ozoro Esther, the beautiful young wife of Ras Michael, and the mother of this child, watched over the sick-bed with intense anxiety. Bruce, by the good offices of Ayto Aylo, was introduced to the distracted mother as a skilful physician; and after some preliminary civilities, he undertook to cure the child, in which task he very soon succeeded.

Having thus at once secured favour in a very high quarter, he waited patiently for two or three weeks, when the king and Ras Michael, having gained a victory, returned to Gondar, and Bruce was then presented to them. Ras Michael, at the first interview, acknowledged the powerful nature of Bruce's recommendations, but explained to him that, owing to the present convulsed state of the country, it would be difficult to afford him all the protection that might be wished. It appeared to Michael that the best way of insuring personal safety and respect for him throughout the country would be to give him a high office in the king's household. Bruce consented from the conviction that in becoming baalomaal, and commander of the Koccob horse, he was doing his best towards facilitating his journey. While acting in the capacity of baalomaal—which seems to have been somewhat like the British office of lord of the bed-chamber—he secured the king's favour and admiration by the common school-boy trick of shooting a small candle through a dense substance. He was now appointed to be governor of a large Mahometan province which lay on the way he designed to take in returning home: this duty, however, he could perform by deputy. In May the army set out from Gondar to meet the rebel Fasil, and Bruce took that share in the fatigues and perils of the campaign which his office rendered necessary. He was of great service in improving the discipline of the army, and was looked upon as a finished warrior. After a good deal of marching and counter-marching, the royal forces gained a complete victory over Fasil, who was consequently obliged to make his submission. This rebel now lived on amicable terms with the king and his officers, and Bruce, recollecting the interesting site of his government, busied himself in performing medical services to his principal officers. When the king came to ask Bruce what reward he would have for his share in the campaign, the enthusiastic traveller answered that he only wished two favours,—the property of the village of Geesh, with

the spot in its neighbourhood where he understood the Nile to arise, and a royal mandate obliging Fasil to facilitate his journey to that place. The king, smiling at the humility of his desires, granted the request, only regretting that Yagoube (such was the name assumed by Bruce in his travels) could not be induced to ask something ten times more precious. The attention of the sovereign and his minister were now distracted by the news of another insurrection in the western parts of the kingdom; and it was necessary to move the army in that direction. Bruce made the excuse of his health (which was really bad) to avoid attendance in this campaign; and at length, with some difficulty, he obtained the king's permission to set out for Geesh, which he was now resolved on, notwithstanding that the breaking out of another rebellion foreboded ill for the continued submission of Fasil, and consequently for the safety of the traveller. Bruce set out upon this last great stage of his journey on the 28th of October, 1770, and he was introduced to the presence of Fasil at a place called Bamba. Fasil, partly through the representations of those officers to whom Bruce had recommended himself, was in reality favourably disposed to him; but he at first thought proper to affect a contrary sentiment, and represented the design as impracticable. In the course of the wrangling which took place between the two on this subject, Bruce was so much incensed that his nose spontaneously gushed with blood, and his servant had to lead him from the tent. Fasil expressed sorrow at this incident, and immediately made amends by taking measures to facilitate Bruce's journey. He furnished him with a guide called Woldo, as also seven savage chieftains of the country for a guard, and furthermore added, what was of greater avail than all the rest—a horse of his own, richly caparisoned, which was to go before the travelling party as a symbol of his protection, in order to insure the respect of the natives. By way of giving a feasible appearance to the journey, Bruce was invested by Fasil with the property and governorship of the district of Geesh, in which the Nile rises; so that this strangely disguised native of Stirlingshire, in the kingdom of Scotland, looked entirely like an Abyssinian chief going to take possession of an estate in the highlands of that remote and tropical country.

Bruce left Fasil's house on the 31st of October, and as he travelled onward for a few days through this rude territory, the people, instead of giving him any annoyance, everywhere fled at his approach, thinking, from the appearance of Fasil's horse, that the expedition was one of taxation and contribution. Those few whom Bruce came in contact with, he found to have a religious veneration for the Nile, the remains of that pagan worship which was originally paid to it, and which was the sole religion of the country before the introduction of Christianity. Even the savages who formed his guard, would have been apt, as he found, to destroy him, if he had crossed the river on horseback, or employed its waters in washing any part of his dress. He also learned that there was still a kind of priest of this worship, who dwelt at the fountain of the Nile, and was called "the servant of the river." It thus appeared that, as in the ruder parts of Bruce's native country, the aboriginal religion had partly survived the ordinances of a new and purer worship for many centuries. It was early in the afternoon of November 3d, that Bruce surmounted a ridge of hills which separated him from the fountain of the Nile, and for the first time cast his European eyes on that object—the first, and, we believe, the only European eyes that have ever beheld it. It was pointed out to him

by Woldo, his guide, as a hillock of green sod in the middle of a marshy spot at the bottom of the hill on which he was standing. To quote his own account of so remarkable a point in his life—"Half undressed as I was, by the loss of my sash, and throwing off my shoes [a necessary preliminary to satisfy the pagan feelings of the people], I ran down the hill, towards the hillock of green sod, which was about 200 yards distant; the whole side of the hill was thick grown with flowers, the large bulbous roots of which appearing above the surface of the ground, and their skins coming off on my treading upon them, occasioned me two very severe falls before I reached the brink of the marsh. I after this came to the altar of green turf, which was apparently the work of art, and I stood in rapture above the principal fountain, which rises in the middle of it. It is easier to guess than to describe the situation of my mind at that moment—standing in that spot which had baffled the genius, industry, and inquiry of both ancients and moderns for the course of near 3000 years. Kings had attempted this discovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was distinguished from the last only by the difference of numbers which had perished, and agreed alone in the disappointment which had uniformly and without exception followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour had been held out for a series of ages to every individual of those myriads these princes commanded, without having produced one man capable of gratifying the curiosity of his sovereign, or wiping off this stain upon the enterprise and abilities of mankind, or adding this desideratum for the encouragement of geography. Though a mere private Briton, I triumphed here, in my own mind, over kings and their armies! and every comparison was leading nearer and nearer to presumption, when the place itself where I stood, the object of my vainglory, suggested what depressed my short-lived triumph. I was but a few minutes arrived at the sources of the Nile, through numberless dangers and sufferings, the least of which would have overwhelmed me but for the continual goodness and protection of Providence: I was, however, but then half through my journey and all those dangers through which I had already passed awaited me on my return;—I found a despondency gaining ground fast, and blasting the crown of laurels I had too rashly woven for myself." In this paragraph—one of the most deeply touching ever written—we find the Herculean mind of Bruce giving way, under the influence of success, to sensations which had scarcely ever affected him during the whole course of his journey, while as yet the desire of going onward and the necessity of providing the means of doing so with safety, possessed and amused his mind. There might also mingle with the varied tide of his sensations a reluctantly acknowledged sense of the futility of all his exertions, and perils, and sufferings, since they had only obtained for him the sight of a pagan altar from which proceeded one of the feeders, not certainly known to be the principal one, of the mighty Nile: to what good could this sight conduce, since, after all, it was only a sight? the object having been all along proved to exist, by the mere laws of nature. The traveller relates that his despondency continued for some time; and that, as he could not reason it away, he resolved to direct it till he might be able, on more solid reflection, to overcome its progress. Calling to Strates, a faithful Greek, who had accompanied him throughout all his Abyssinian travels, he said, "Strates, faithful squire! come and triumph with your Don Quixote at that island of Barataria, to which we have most wisely and fortunately brought ourselves! Come and triumph with

me over all the kings of the earth, all their armies, all their philosophers, and all their heroes!" "Sir," says Strates, "I do not understand a word of what you say, and as little of what you mean: you very well know I am no scholar." "Come," said I, "take a draught of this excellent water, and drink with me a health to his Majesty George III., and a long line of princes." I had in my hand a large cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, which I procured in Arabia, and which was brimful." [This cup was brought home by Bruce, and his representatives at Kinnaid still use it every day when they entertain company at dinner.] "He drank to the king speedily and cheerfully, with the addition of 'confusion to his enemies,' and tossed up his cap with a loud huzza. 'Now friend,' said I, 'there is to a more humble, but still a sacred name—here is to Maria!'" This was a Scottish lady, we believe, a Miss Murray of Polmaise, to whom Bruce had formed an attachment before leaving his native country. These ceremonies being completed, he entered the village of Geesh, and assumed for four days the sovereignty to which Fasil had given him a title. During this brief space he made forty observations as to the exact geographical site of the fountain, and found it to be in north latitude $10^{\circ} 59' 25''$, and $36^{\circ} 55' 30''$ east longitude, while its position was supposed from the barometer to be two miles above the level of the sea. Bruce left Geesh upon his return on the 10th of November, and he arrived at Gondar, without any remarkable adventure, on the 17th. Here he found that Fasil had set a new insurrection on foot, and had been again unsuccessful. For some time great numbers of his adherents, or rather the adherents of a mock king whom he had set up, were daily sacrificed. Bruce was at first somewhat uneasy in this disagreeable scene, and the maxim of the Abyssinians, never to permit a stranger to quit the country, came full upon his mind. Early, however, in January 1771, he obtained the king's permission, on the plea of his health, to return home, though not without a promise that he would come back when his health was re-established, bringing with him as many of his family as possible, with horses, muskets, and bayonets. Ere he could take advantage of this permission, fresh civil wars broke out, large provinces became disturbed, and Bruce found that, as he had had to take part in the national military operations in order to pave the way for reaching the head of the Nile, so was it now necessary that he should do his best for the suppression of the disturbances, that he might clear his way towards home. During the whole of the year 1771 he was engaged with the army, and he distinguished himself so highly as a warrior, that the king presented him with a massive gold chain, consisting of 184 links, each of them weighing $3\frac{1}{2}$ dwts. It was not till the 26th of December, thirteen months after his return from the source of the Nile, that he set out on his way towards Europe; nor even then was the country reduced to a peaceable condition. He was accompanied by three Greeks, an old Turkish Janissary, a captain, and some common muleteers; the Italian artist Balugani having died at Gondar. On account of the dangers which he had experienced at Massuah from the barbarous naybe, he had resolved to return through the great deserts of Nubia into Egypt, a tract by which he could trace the Nile in the greater part of its course.

On the 23d of March, after a series of dreadful hardships, he reached Teawa, the capital of Abbara, and was introduced to the sheikh, who, it seemed, was unwell, though not so much so as to have lost any part of his ferocious disposition. Bruce here met with an adventure, which, as it displays his matchless

presence of mind in a very brilliant light, may be here related. He had undertaken to administer medicine to the sheikh, who was in the alcove of a spacious room, sitting on a sofa surrounded by curtains. On the entrance of Bruce, he took two whiffs of his pipe, and when the slave had left the room said, "Are you prepared? Have you brought the money along with you?" Bruce replied, "My servants are at the other door, and have the vomit you wanted." "Curse you and the vomit too," cried the sheikh in great passion, "I want money and not poison. Where are your piastres?" "I am a bad person," replied Bruce, "to furnish you with either; I have neither money nor poison; but I advise you to drink a little warm water to clear your stomach, cool your head, and then lie down and compose yourself; I will see you to-morrow morning." Bruce was retiring when the sheikh exclaimed, "Hakim [physician], infidel, or devil, or whatever is your name, hearken to what I say. Consider where you are; this is the room where Mek Baady, a king, was slain by the hand of my father: look at his blood, where it has stained the floor, and can never be washed out. I am informed you have 20,000 piastres in gold with you; either give me 2000 before you go out of this chamber, or you shall die; I shall put you to death with my own hand." Upon this he took up his sword, which was lying at the head of his sofa, and drawing it with a bravado, threw the scabbard into the middle of the room, and, tucking the sleeve of his shirt above the elbow, like a butcher, he said, "I wait your answer." Bruce stepped one pace backwards, and laid his hand upon a little blunderbuss, without taking it off the belt. In a firm tone of voice he replied, "This is my answer: I am not a man to die like a beast by the hand of a drunkard; on your life, I charge you, stir not from your sofa. I had no need," says Bruce, "to give this injunction; he heard the noise which the closing of the joint in the stock of the blunderbuss made, and thought I had cocked it, and was instantly to fire. He let his sword drop, and threw himself on his back, upon the sofa, crying, 'For God's sake, hakim, I was but jesting.'" Bruce turned from the cowed bully, and coolly wished him a good night. After being detained three weeks at this place, he set out for Sennaar, the capital of Nubia, which he reached at the end of April. He was here received kindly by the king, but the barbarous maxims of the country caused his detention for upwards of four months, during which the exhaustion of his funds caused him to sell the whole of his gold chain except a few links. At length, on the fifth of September, he commenced his journey across the great desert of Nubia, and then only, it might be said, began the true hardships of his expedition. As he advanced upon the sandy and burning plain, his provisions became exhausted, his camels and even his men perished by fatigue, and he was in the greatest danger, almost every day, of being swallowed up by the moving sands which loaded the breath of the deadly simoom. For weeks and months the miserable party toiled through the desert, enduring hardships of which no denizen of a civilized state can form the least idea. At last, on the 29th of December, just as he had given his men the last meal which remained to them, and when all, of course, had given themselves up for lost, they came within hearing of the cataracts of the Nile, and reached the town of Syene or Assouan, where succour in its amplest forms awaited them. Twelve dreadful weeks Bruce had spent upon the desert: his journey from the capital of Abyssinia to this point had altogether occupied eleven months. It was now exactly four years since he had left civil-

ized society at Cairo; during all which time he had conversed only with barbarous tribes of people, from whose passions no man possessed of less varied accomplishment, less daring, and less address, could have possibly escaped. He sailed down the Nile to Cairo, which he reached on the 10th of January, 1773. He then sailed for Alexandria, whence he easily obtained a passage to Europe. Arriving at Marseilles in March, he was immediately visited and congratulated by a number of the French *savans*, at the head of whom was his former friend, Count de Buffon. For some time however, he was not sufficiently recovered from the debilitating effects of his journey to enjoy the polished society to which he was restored. A mental distress, moreover, had awaited his arrival in Europe. His *Maria*, whose health he had only postponed to that of his sovereign in drinking from the fountain of the Nile, despairing of his return, had given her hand to an Italian Marchese. Bruce withered under this disappointment more than under the sun of Nubia. In a transport of indignation he travelled to Rome, and in a style of *rodomontade*, only to be excused by a kind consideration of his impetuous and ingenuous character, called the Marchese to account for a transaction in which it was evident that only the lady could be to blame. The Marchese with Bruce's sword almost at his throat, disclaimed having married *Maria* with any knowledge of a previous engagement on her part: and with this Bruce had to rest satisfied. *Mente alta reposit*; his only resource was to bury his regrets in his own proud bosom, and despise the love which could permit a question of time or space to affect it.

In the summer of 1774 he returned to England, from which he had now been absent twelve years. His fame having gone before him, he was received with the highest distinction. He was introduced at court, where he presented to George III. those drawings of Palmyra, Baalbec, and the African cities, which his majesty had requested him to execute before his departure from the country. The triumphs of this enterprising traveller were, however, soon dashed and embittered by the mean conduct of a people and age altogether unworthy of him. Bruce, wherever he went, was required to speak of what he had seen and suffered in the course of his travels. He related anecdotes of the Abyssinian and Nubian tribes, and gave descriptions of localities and natural objects, which certainly appeared wonderful to a civilized people, though only because they were novel: he related nothing either morally or physically impossible. Unfortunately, however, the stories of Bruce were at the very first set down for imaginary tales, furnished forth by his own fancy. This view of the case was warmly taken up by a *clique* of literary men, who, without science themselves, and unchecked by science in others, then swayed the public mind. Even the country gentlemen in Scotland could sneer at the "*lies*" of Bruce. His mind shrunk from the meanness of his fellows; and he retired, indignant and disappointed, to Kinnaird, where, for some time, he busied himself in rebuilding his house, and arranging the concerns of his estate, which had become confused during his long absence. In March, 1776, he provided additional means of happiness and repose, by marrying, for his second wife, Mary Dundas, daughter of Thomas Dundas, Esq., of Fingask, and of Lady Janet Maitland, daughter of the Earl of Lauderdale. This amiable and accomplished person was much younger than Bruce, and it is rather a singular coincidence, remarks Captain Head, that she was born in the same year in which his first wife had died. For nine years

Bruce enjoyed too much domestic happiness to admit of his making a rapid progress in the preparation of his journals for the press. But after the death of his wife, in 1785, he applied to this task with more eagerness, as a means of diverting his melancholy. We have heard that in the composition of his book, he employed the assistance of a professional litterateur, who first transcribed his journals into a continuous narrative, and then wrote them over again, involving all the alterations, improvements, and additional remarks, which the traveller was pleased to suggest. The work appeared in 1790, seventeen years after his return to Europe. It consisted of five large quarto volumes, besides a volume of drawings, and was entitled *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773*, by James Bruce, of Kinnaird, Esq., F.R.S. It was dedicated to the king; and it is but justice to the memory of that sovereign to state that, while society in general raised against it the cry of envy, jealousy, and ignorant incredulity, his majesty stood boldly up in its favour, and contended that it was a very great work. The king used to say, that, had it not been for the indecorous nature of certain passages, he could have wished to find it in the hands of all his subjects, and he would himself have placed a copy of it in every one of his palaces. The taste of this monarch did not perhaps lead him to expend great sums in patronizing the arts of the lighter branches of literature, but he certainly was qualified to appreciate, and also disposed to encourage, any exertion on the part of his subjects which had a direct utility, and was consistent with honour and virtue. The *magnum opus* of Bruce was bought up by the public at its very first appearance; it required the whole of the *impression* to satisfy the first burst of public curiosity. It was, in the same year, translated into German and French.

Bruce, in his latter years, lost much of his capabilities of enjoying life by his prodigious corpulence, which at last was indirectly the cause of his death. On the evening of the 27th of April, 1794, after he had entertained a large party at dinner, he was hurrying to escort an old lady down stairs to her carriage, when his foot—that foot which had carried him through so many dangers—slipped upon the steps; he tumbled down the stair, pitched upon his head, and was taken up speechless, with several of his fingers broken. He expired the same night, and was buried in the churchyard of his native parish of Larbert, where a monument indicates his last resting-place. To quote the character which has been written for him by Captain Head, "Bruce belonged to that useful class of men who are ever ready 'to set their life upon a cast, and stand the hazard of the die.' He was merely a traveller—a knight-errant in search of new regions of the world; yet the steady courage with which he encountered danger—his patience and fortitude in adversity—his good sense in prosperity—the tact and judgment with which he steered his lonely course through some of the most barren and barbarous countries in the world, bending even the ignorance, passions, and prejudices of the people he visited to his own advantage—the graphic truth with which he described the strange scenes which he had witnessed, and the inflexible fortitude with which he maintained his assertions against the barbarous incredulity of his age, place him at the top of his own class, while he at least stands *second to no man*." Bruce understood French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese—the two former he could write and speak with facility. Besides Greek and Latin, which he read well, but not critically, he knew the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, and in the latter part of his life

compared several portions of the Scripture in those related dialects. He read and spoke with ease Arabic, Ethiopic, and Amharic, which had proved of the greatest service to him in his travels. It is said that the faults of his character were inordinate family pride, and a want of that power to accommodate one's self to the weaknesses of others, which is so important a qualification in a man of the world. But amidst the splendours of such a history, and such an intellect, a few trivial weaknesses—even allowing those to be so—are as notes in the meridian sun. A second edition of *Bruce's Travels* was published in 1805 by Dr. Alexander Murray, from a copy which the traveller himself had prepared to put to press. The first volume of this edition contains a biographical account of the author by Dr. Murray, whose learning well fitted him for so peculiar a task as that of revising *Bruce's Travels*.

BRUCE, JAMES. See ELGIN, EARL OF.

BRUCE, MICHAEL, with whose name is associated every regret that can be inspired by the early extinction of genius of a high order, still farther elevated by purity of life, was born at Kinrosswood, in the parish of Portnoak, Kinrosshire, on the 27th of March, 1746. His father, Alexander Bruce, a weaver, and his mother, whose name was also Bruce, were honest and pious Burghers; they had eight children, Michael being the fifth. Manifesting from his earliest years much delicacy of frame and quickness of parts, it was resolved to train him for the church; and after acquiring the elements of education at the school of his native parish and of Kinross, he was sent to the college of Edinburgh in 1762. Here he remained four years, devoting himself during the three first to those branches of learning pursued by what are called students of philosophy, and in the last applying also to the study of divinity.

Before quitting Kinrosshire, he had given proofs of his predilection for poetry, which was encouraged by his friendship with Mr. Arnot, a farmer on the banks of Lochleven, who, to the piety and good sense common among those of his profession, added classical scholarship and an acquaintance with elegant literature. He directed Bruce to the perusal of Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton, supplied him with the books, and became a judicious adviser in regard to his youthful essays in the poetic art. Mr. David Pearson, a man who read much with advantage, had also the taste to relish what Bruce had the talents to produce, and enjoyed his intimacy. After removing to Edinburgh, he lived in habits of close intercourse with Mr. George Henderson and Mr. William Dryburgh, who opened to him their stores of books and information as they did their affections, and with Logan, whose congenial turn of mind made him the friend of Bruce in his lifetime, and his warm eulogist and editor of his works when he was no more. No one deserved better the attachment of those with whom he associated. "No less amiable as a man," says Logan, "than valuable as a writer; endued with good nature and good sense; humane, friendly, benevolent; he loved his friends, and was beloved by them with a degree of ardour that is only experienced in the era of youth and innocence." The prominent place he has given in his poems to those from whose society he had derived delight, shows how sincere was the regard he cherished for them. As if that none of the ties by which life is endeared should be wanting to him, Bruce had fixed his affections on a young woman, modest and beautiful, with whose parents he resided while teaching a school at Gairny Bridge. He has celebrated her under the name of Eumelia, in his pastoral of *Alexis*, and she was also

the heroine of the only two songs he is known to have written.

It appears that the parents of the poet entertained peculiarly rigid notions in regard to religion, and would have been seriously displeased if they had known that any part of their son's attention was occupied by subjects apart from his theological studies. Bruce anxiously avoided giving these prejudices any cause of offence, and, when about to return home from college in 1765, took the precaution of transmitting to his friend Arnot those volumes of which he knew his father would disapprove. "I ask your pardon," says his letter on this occasion, "for the trouble I have put you to by these books I have sent. The fear of a discovery made me choose this method. I have sent Shakspeare's works, 8 vols., Pope's works, 4 vols., and Fontenelle's *Plurality of Worlds*."

Bruce acknowledges that he felt his poverty deeply when he saw books which he ardently desired to possess exposed to sale, and had not money to lay out in the purchase. The same regret has been experienced by many a poor scholar; but few perhaps terminate their complaints in the same train of pious reflection. "How well," he says, "should my library be furnished, 'nisi obstat res angusta domi!'

"My lot forbids; nor circumscribes alone
My growing virtues, but my crimes confines."

Whether any virtues should have accompanied me in a more elevated station is uncertain; but that a number of vices of which my sphere is incapable would have been its attendants is unquestionable. The Supreme Wisdom has seen this meet; and Supreme Wisdom cannot err."

Even when prosecuting his favourite studies, Bruce is said to have been liable to that depression which is frequently the attendant of genius indeed, but in his case was also the precursor of a fatal disease. In December 1764 he wrote to his friend Arnot,—"I am in health, excepting a kind of settled melancholy, for which I cannot account, that has seized on my spirits." Such seems to have been the first imperfect announcement of his consciousness that all was not well with him. It would be a mournful task, if it were possible, to trace the gradations by which his apprehensions strengthened and grew into that certainty which only two years after this produced the *Elegy*, in which so pathetically, yet so calmly, he anticipates his own death. In these years are understood to have been written the greater part of his poems which have been given to the public. He spent the winters at college, and the summer in earning a small pittance by teaching a school, first at Gairny Bridge, and afterwards at Forrest Mill, near Alloa. In this latter place he had hoped to be happy, but was not—having, he confesses, been too sanguine in his expectations. He wrote here *Lochleven*, the longest of his poems, which closes with these affecting lines:—

"Thus sung the youth, amid unfertile wilds
And nameless deserts, unpoetic ground!
Far from his friends he stray'd, recording thus
The dear remembrance of his native fields,
To cheer the tedious night, while slow disease
Prey'd on his pining vitals, and the blasts
Of dark December shook his humble cot."

A letter to Mr. Pearson, written in the same month in which he finished this poem, affords a still closer and more touching view of the struggle which he now maintained against growing disease, the want of comforts and of friendly consolation. "I lead a melancholy kind of life," he says, "in this place. I am not fond of company; but it is not good that a man be still alone: and here I can have no com-

pany but what is worse than solitude. If I had not a lively imagination, I believe I should fall into a state of stupidity and delirium. I have some evening scholars; the attending on whom, though few, so fatigues me, that the rest of the night I am quite dull and low-spirited. Yet I have some lucid intervals, in the time of which I can study pretty well."

"In the autumn of 1766," says Dr. Anderson, "his constitution—which was ill calculated to encounter the austerities of his native climate, the exertions of daily labour, and the rigid frugality of humble life—began visibly to decline. Towards the end of the year, his ill health, aggravated by the indigence of his situation, and the want of those comforts and conveniences which might have fostered a delicate frame to maturity and length of days, terminated in a deep consumption. During the winter he quitted his employment at Forrest Mill, and with it all hopes of life, and returned to his native village to receive those attentions and consolations which his situation required, from the anxiety of parental affection and the sympathy of friendship. Convinced of the hopeless nature of his disease, and feeling himself every day declining, he contemplated the approaches of death with calmness and resignation, and continued at intervals to compose verses and to correspond with his friends."

Bruce lingered through the winter, and in spring wrote that elegy, "the latter part of which," says Logan, "is wrought up into the most passionate strains of the true pathetic, and is not perhaps inferior to any poetry in any language." How truly this is said there are few that do not know; but they who have read it often will not be fatigued by reading it again.

"Now Spring returns; but not to me returns
The vernal joy my better years have known:
Dim in my breast life's dying taper burns,
And all the joys of life with health are flown.

"Starting and shivering in th' inconstant wind,
Meagre and pale, the ghost of what I was,
Beneath some blasted tree I lie reclined,
And count the silent moments as they pass:

"The winged moments, whose unstaying speed
No art can stop or in their course arrest;
Whose flight shall shortly come me with the dead,
And lay me down in peace with them that rest.

"Oft morning dreams presage approaching fate;
And morning dreams, as poets tell, are true;
Led by pale ghosts, I enter death's dark gate,
And bid the realms of light and life adieu.

"I hear the helpless wail, the shriek of woe;
I see the muddy wave, the dreary shore,
The sluggish streams that slowly creep below,
Which mortals visit and return no more.

"Farewell, ye blooming fields! ye cheerful plains!
Enough for me the churchyard's lonely mound,
Where melancholy with still silence reigns,
And the rank grass waves o'er the cheerless ground.

"There let me wander at the close of eve,
When sleep sits dewy on the labourer's eyes,
The world and its busy follies leave,
And talk with wisdom where my Daphnis lies.

"There let me sleep forgotten in the day,
When death shall shut these weary aching eyes,
Rest in the hope of an eternal day,
Till the long night is gone, and the last morn arise."

These were the last verses finished by the author. His strength was wasted gradually away, and he died on the 6th of July, 1767, in the twenty-first year of his age. What he might have accomplished had longer years been assigned to him, it were needless to conjecture; but of all the sons of genius cut off by an early death, there is none whose fate excites so tender a regret. His claims to admiration

are great without any counteracting circumstance. "Nothing," says Lord Craig, after a brief allusion to the leading facts of Bruce's life—"Nothing, methinks, has more the power of awakening benevolence than the consideration of genius thus depressed by situation, suffered to pine in obscurity, and sometimes, as in the case of this unfortunate young man, to perish, it may be, for want of those comforts and conveniences which might have fostered a delicacy of frame or of mind ill calculated to bear the hardships which poverty lays on both. For my own part, I never pass the place (a little hamlet skirted with old ash-trees, about two miles on this side of Kinross) where Michael Bruce resided—I never look on his dwelling (a small thatched house distinguished from the cottages of the other inhabitants only by a sashed window at the end, instead of a lattice, fringed with a honeysuckle plant which the poor youth had trained around it)—I never find myself in that spot but I stop my horse involuntarily, and looking on the window, which the honeysuckle has now almost covered, in the dream of the moment, I picture out a figure for the gentle tenant of the mansion. I wish—and my heart swells while I do so—that he were alive, and that I were a great man to have the luxury of visiting him there, and of bidding him be happy."

Three years after Bruce's death his poems were given to the world by Logan, who unfortunately mingled with them some of his own, and never gave any explanation by which these might be distinguished. This led to a controversy between their respective friends in regard to the authorship of a few pieces, into which it would be unprofitable to enter here, as the fame of Bruce is no way affected whichever way the dispute be decided. The attention of the public having been called to the volume by Lord Craig, in the thirty-sixth number of the *Mirror*, in 1779, a second edition was published in 1784; Dr. Anderson gave Bruce's works a place in his *Collection of British Poets*, and prefixed to them a memoir from which are derived the materials of the present sketch; and finally the unwearied benevolence of Principal Baird brought forward an edition in 1807 by subscription, for the benefit of the poet's mother. He could not restore her son to be the support of her old age, but made all that remained of him contribute to that end—one of the numberless deeds which now reflect honour upon his memory.

Perhaps Bruce's fame as a poet has been injured by the sympathy which his premature death excited, and by the benevolent purpose which recommended the latest edition of his works to public patronage. Pity and benevolence are strong emotions; and the mind is commonly content with one strong emotion at a time; he who purchased a book, that he might promote the comfort of the author's mother procured for himself, in the mere payment of the price, a pleasure more substantial than could be derived from the contemplation of agreeable ideas; and he would either be satisfied with it and go no farther, or carry it with him into the perusal of the book, the beauties of which would fail to produce the same effect as if they had found his mind unoccupied. But these poems, nevertheless, display talents of the first order. Logan says of them that, "if images of nature that are beautiful and new; if sentiments warm from the heart, interesting and pathetic; if a style chaste with ornament, and elegant with simplicity; if these, and many other beauties of nature and of art, are allowed to constitute true poetic merit, they will stand high in the judgment of men of taste." There is no part of this eulogy overstrained; but perhaps the most remarkable points in the compositions of Bruce,

considering his extreme youth, are the grace of his expression and melody of his verses. Flashes of brilliant thought we may look for in opening genius, but we rarely meet with a sustained polish. The reader who glances but casually into these poems will be surprised to find how many of those familiar phrases recommended to universal use by their beauty of thought and felicitous diction which every one quotes, while no one knows whence they are taken—we owe to Michael Bruce. As to his larger merits the reader may judge from the union of majesty with tenderness which characterizes the elegy already quoted. The poem of *Lochleven* affords many passages worthy of higher names. We know not in the compass of English poetry a more beautiful image than is presented in the following lines:—

"Behold the village rise
In rural pride, 'mong intermingled trees!
Above whose aged tops the joyful swains,
At eventide descending from the hill,
With eye enamour'd mark the many wreaths
Of pillar'd smoke, high curling to the clouds."

BRUCE, ROBERT, Earl of Carrick, afterwards King of Scots, and the most heroic as well as the most patriotic monarch which Scotland ever produced, was born on the 21st of March, 1274. He was the grandson of Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, who in 1291 contested the right to the crown with John Baliol. The events which followed upon the decision of that momentous question are elsewhere detailed to the reader (in the preceding life of John Baliol, and the subsequent one of William Wallace); it is therefore unnecessary to advert to them in this place, unless in so far as they have reference to the family of Bruce, and in particular to the illustrious individual now under notice.

Upon the decision of Edward I. in favour of Baliol, the grandfather of King Robert, being possessed of extensive estates in the north of England, resigned the lordship of Annandale to his eldest son, on purpose, it may be supposed, to evade the humiliating necessity of doing homage to his successful rival. No other particular regarding him is known: he died at the family residence of Lochmaben, not long after, at the advanced age of eighty-five.

Robert Bruce, the son of the competitor and father of King Robert, became possessed, by this last event, of the English as well as of the Scottish estates belonging to his family. He had also acquired, in right of his wife, the heiress of Carrick, the earldom of that name,¹ and, in every respect, might justly be

considered one of the most powerful barons in the kingdom. Either from disinclination, or, as some have suspected, from motives of policy, Robert Bruce, the second of the name, early avoided taking any share in the affairs of Scotland. When his son was yet a minor, he made resignation to him of the earldom of Carrick, and shortly thereafter, retiring into England, left the administration of his ancient patrimony of Annandale in the same hands. During the ill-concerted and disastrous revolt of Baliol in 1296, the Bruces maintained their allegiance to the English king. The lordship of Annandale was, in consequence, hastily declared forfeited, and the rich inheritance bestowed by Baliol upon John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who immediately seized upon and occupied the castle of Lochmaben; an injury which, there is reason to believe, the young Earl of Carrick, long after, but too well remembered, and fatally repaid.

It is asserted that Edward, in order to gain securely the fidelity and assistance of the lord of Annandale and his son, had promised to bestow upon the former the kingdom of which Baliol was now to be dispossessed. It is not probable that the English monarch ever seriously entertained such an intention, and still less likely, if he did, that in the flush of successful conquest he should be capable of putting it in execution. After the decisive battle of Dunbar, Bruce reminded Edward of his promise: "Have I no other business," was the contemptuous reply, "but to conquer kingdoms for you?" The elder Bruce once more retired to his estate in England, where he passed the remainder of his days; and the Earl of Carrick was commissioned to receive in the name of the English king the homage of his own and his father's vassals. So unpromising were, in their commencement, the fortunes of him upon whom the fortunes of Scotland were finally to depend.

In the Scots parliament which Edward assembled at Berwick for the settlement of his new conquest, he received the homage of great numbers of the clergy and laity, and among the rest of the Earl of Carrick, who probably dared not incur even the suspicion of the English king. His large estates extending between the firths of Clyde and Solway, and bordering upon England; the number of his connections and dependants, rendered still more formidable by the discomfiture and depression of the rival family; to say nothing of the personal talents of the young earl himself, must have rendered him liable to the jealous scrutiny of so politic a sovereign as Edward. On the other hand, the residence of the elder Bruce in England, and the great property possessed by the family in that kingdom, were an actual guarantee in the hands of Edward of the Bruces' loyalty; nor is it unlikely that he would be swayed by a wise policy in attaching to himself that party in the state from whom he had most to fear. Forbearance on the one side, and submissiveness on the other, were probably dictated to each by opposite though equally strong convictions of expediency.

During the noble stand of Wallace against the national defection, the Earl of Carrick, though he remained inactive, was not overlooked by the jealous eye of the English government. The Bishop of Carlisle and other barons, to whom the peace of the western districts was committed, became suspicious of his fidelity, and summoned him to appear before them, when he made oath on the sacred host and the sword of St. Thomas, to be faithful and vigilant in the service of Edward. To evince his sincerity, he immediately after laid waste the lands of Sir William Douglas, carrying the wife and family of that knight prisoners into Annandale. Probably

¹ The circumstances attending this alliance, related by Mr. Tytler, were of a romantic and singular description. "It appears that a short time after his return from the crusade, Bruce was riding through the beautiful domains of Turnberry Castle, the property of the widowed Countess of Carrick; who, in consequence of the death of her husband, had become a ward of the crown. The noble baron; however, if we may believe an ancient historian, cannot be accused of having visited Turnberry with any design of throwing himself in the way of the heiress of Carrick; and indeed any such idea in those days of jealous wardship would have been highly dangerous. It happened, however, that the lady herself, whose ardent and impetuous temper was not much in love with the seclusion of a feudal castle, had come out to take the diversion of the chase, accompanied by her women, huntsmen, and falcons; and this gay cavalcade came suddenly upon Bruce, as he pursued his way through the forest, alone and unarmed. The knight would have spurred his horse forward, and avoided the encounter, but he found himself surrounded by the attendants, and the countess herself riding up, and with gentle violence taking hold of his horse's reins, reproached him in so sweet a tone for his want of gallantry in flying from a lady's castle, that Bruce, enamoured of her beauty, forgot the risk which he ran, and suffered himself to be led away in a kind of triumph to Turnberry. He here remained for fifteen days, and the adventure concluded, as might have been anticipated, by his privately espousing the youthful countess without having obtained the concurrence of the king, or of any of her relations."

this enterprise was merely a pretext for assembling his military retainers; for he had no sooner collected them than he abandoned the English interests, and joined the army of the Scots; alleging, in vindication of his conduct, that his late solemn oath had been extorted from him by force, and that the pope would, he doubted not, absolve him from its observance. Bruce did not remain long faithful to his new allies. A few months after, at the capitulation of Irvine, he made his peace with Edward, giving what sureties were required for his future loyalty.

The signal success achieved by the Scots at Stirling, induced Bruce once more to join the national cause; but the Comyns, now the principal rivals of his family for the vacant throne, being at the same time opposed to Edward, he seems to have prudently avoided taking any active share in the contest. Refusing to join the army, he shut himself up in Ayr castle, by this means ostensibly preserving the communication open between Galloway and the western Highlands. On the approach of Edward into the west, after the battle of Falkirk, the earl, after destroying the fortress, found it necessary to retire. Displeased as the English king had reason to be with the vacillating conduct of Bruce at this juncture, he did not chastise it otherwise than by taking temporary possession of Lochmaben castle, the fortified patrimonial inheritance of the family. Among the confiscations of property which followed, Annandale and Carrick remained unalienated, a favour which the younger Bruce probably owed to the fidelity and services of his father in the English cause.

In the year 1299, not long after the fatal issue of the battle of Falkirk, we find the Earl of Carrick associated with John Comyn, the younger of Badenoch, in the regency of Scotland. The motives of Bruce in thus leaguering himself with a rival, with whom he never hitherto had acted in concert, have been variously represented, and the fact itself has even been called in question. The consciousness of having lost the confidence of the English king, and a desire, mutually entertained, to destroy the authority of Wallace, which but too well succeeded, could not but influence powerfully the conduct of both parties. This object accomplished, Bruce seems to have once more resumed his inactive course of policy, relinquishing to the, perhaps, less wary Comyn, the direction of the hazardous power which he seemed so willing to yield. In the following year Edward again invaded Scotland, laid waste the districts of Annandale and Carrick, and once more possessed himself of the castle of Lochmaben. Bruce, though on this occasion he was almost the only sufferer, cautiously avoided, by any act of retaliation or effective co-operation with Comyn, to widen irremediably the breach with Edward; and we find, that prior to the advantage gained by his coadjutor at Rosslyn, he had returned once more to the interests of the English party. The victorious campaign of Edward, which, in 1304, ended in a more complete subjugation of Scotland than he had hitherto been able to effect, justified the prudent foresight, though it tarnished the patriotic fame, of the Earl of Carrick. His lukewarmness in the cause of the regency, and timely defalcation from it, procured his pardon upon easy terms, and seemed to restore to him, in a great measure, the confidence of Edward, with which he had so repeatedly dared to trifle. His father, the lord of Annandale dying at this critical time, the young Bruce was allowed to inherit the whole extensive estates of his family in both kingdoms; and so unequivocally, indeed, had he recovered the favour of the English monarch, that he was held worthy of

advising and aiding in the settlement of Scotland as a province under the rule of England. Comyn, who had acted throughout with sincerity and constancy in the trust reposed in him, and whose submission had been a matter of necessity, was subjected to a heavy fine, and fell, in proportion to his rival's elevation, in the confidence and estimation of the king.

The versatility of Bruce's conduct during these various changes and reverses, has been variously commented upon by historians, as they have been led to consider it in a moral or political point of view; and, indeed, in whatever way it may be explained, it forms a singular contrast to the honourable, bold, and undeviating career of his after-life. In extenuation of such obvious derelictions from principle and consistency, we must take into account the effects of peculiar circumstances upon a mind that has been irresistibly devoted to the attainment of some great and engrossing object. That natural irresoluteness, too, by which the boldest spirit may be beset, while meditating the decisive plunge into a hazardous enterprise, may cause a seeming vacillation of purpose, arising more from a deep sense of the importance of the venture, than from fear of the consequences. That Bruce should early entertain a persuasion that his family were justly entitled to the throne was every way natural, and we have already noticed, that hopes of their actually attaining to it were held out by Edward himself to the lord of Annandale. Nurtured and strengthened in such feeling, the young aspirant to royalty could not be expected to entertain attachment to the house of Baliol; and must have regarded with still greater aversion the sovereignty usurped by England over the rights and pretensions of all his race. During the struggle, therefore, of those contending interests—the independence of Scotland under Baliol, or its subjugation under Edward—he necessarily remained more in the situation of a neutral, than an active partisan; the success of either party involving in an almost indifferent degree the high claims, and, it might be, the existing fortunes of his house.

Taking these considerations into account, there is little difficulty in reconciling to itself the line of conduct which Bruce had hitherto pursued. By joining heartily with neither party, he prudently avoided committing the fortunes of his family to the hazard of utter destruction, and his right and influence could give, upon any emergency, a necessary and required preponderance to either side. He must have foreseen, too, with secret satisfaction, the consequences which would result to his own advantage from a contest in which the strength and resources of his rivals were mutually wasted, whilst his own energies remained entire, and ready on any favourable opportunity to be called decisively into action. That these were not exerted sooner, the existence of his father down to this period, and his submission to the English government, may suggest a sufficient reason; and his own accession to the regency, in the name of the deposed Baliol, was a circumstance which could not but affect unfavourably, during its continuance, the assertion of his pretensions.

Meantime, while Bruce outwardly maintained the semblance of loyalty to Edward, he was not idle in secretly advancing the objects of his own ambition; and when actually engaged in assisting Edward in the settlement of the Scottish government, he entered into a secret bond of association with Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, whereby the parties became bound to aid each other against all persons whatever, and not to undertake any business of moment unless by mutual advice. No measure on the part of Bruce could be more politic than that of enlisting the

church in his cause, and the reader may afterwards have occasion to remark that he owed his success more to the firm adherence of churchmen than to all the efforts of the nobility. Lamberton and his colleagues were more alarmed at the prospect of being subjected to the spiritual supremacy of York or Canterbury, than concerned for the temporal subjugation of their country; and thus, in the minds of the national clergy, the independency of the church became intimately associated with the more general cause of popular freedom. In addition to the spiritual power of Lamberton, the aid which he could furnish by calling out the military retainers upon the church lands was far from inconsiderable. Though we are not informed of any other similar contract to the above having been entered into between Bruce and his partisans, there can be little doubt that this was not the only one, and that he neglected no expedient to promote his enterprise. Notwithstanding, however, all the caution displayed in these preparatory measures, the better genius of Bruce seems to have deserted him when its guidance was most required.

Before entering upon this important event, it will be necessary to state the relative position of the two great parties in the kingdom as opposed to each other. John Baliol, supposing his title to have been well founded, had repeatedly renounced all pretensions to the crown of Scotland, and had for several years remained a voluntary exile in France. He was to be considered, therefore, as having not only formally, but virtually, forfeited all claim to the kingdom. His son Edward was at that time a minor and a captive. John Comyn, commonly called the Red Comyn, was the son of Marjory, the sister of Baliol, and, setting Baliol aside, was the heir of the pretensions of their common ancestor. As regent of Scotland and leader of her armies, Comyn had maintained for many years the unequal contest with Edward; and he had been the last to lay down his arms and accept conditions of peace. Though the terms of his submission had been rigorous, he was yet left in possession of large estates, a numerous vassalage, and, what in that warlike age was of consequence, an approved character for courage and conduct in the field.

Plausible as were Comyn's claims to the crown, and powerfully as these might have been supported against England, there was little likelihood, that in a competition with Bruce, they could ever finally have prevailed. That family, according to the ancient usage of the kingdom, ought to have been preferred originally to that of Baliol; and this fact, generally known and acknowledged as it could not fail to be, would, had they chosen to take advantage of it, have rendered their cause, at any time, a popular one. The award of Edward, from the consequences that followed it, had become odious to the nation; and the pusillanimity and misfortunes of the abdicated king would leave, however undeservedly, their stigma upon his race. It was a curious enough illustration of the deep-rooted existence of such a feeling, that, nearly a century afterwards, a King of Scotland who happened to possess the same unfortunate name of John, saw fit upon his coronation to change it for another, less ominous of evil in the recollections of his subjects. We have seen that Bruce at this crisis was possessed of those advantages unimpared, of which the other, in the late struggle, had been, in a great measure, deprived; and there is reason to believe that Comyn, whose conduct had been consistent and honourable, felt himself injured and indignant at a preference which he might suppose his rival had unworthily earned.

Thus, under impressions of wrong, and filled with jealous apprehensions, the Red Comyn might be presumed willing, upon any inviting occasion, to treat Bruce as an enemy whom it was his interest to circumvent or destroy.

The league into which Bruce had entered with Lamberton, and perhaps other transactions of a similar nature, were not so secretly managed, as to be unsuspected; and this is said to have led to an important conference between these rivals on the subject of their mutual pretensions. At this meeting, Bruce, after describing the miserable effects of the enmity between their different families, by which they themselves were not only deprived of station, but their country of freedom, proposed, as the best means of remedy, that they should henceforward enter into a good understanding with each other. "Support my title to the crown," he is represented to have said, "and I will give you my lands; or, give me your lands and I will support your claim." Comyn agreed to waive his right, and accept the lands; and the conditions having been drawn up in form of indenture, were sealed by both parties, and confirmed by their mutual oaths of fidelity and secrecy.

Bruce shortly afterwards repaired to the English court, and whilst there, Comyn, probably from the design of ruining a rival whom he secretly feared and detested, revealed the conspiracy to Edward. The king, upon receiving this information, thought fit to dissemble his belief in its veracity. With a shrewdness and decision, however, peculiar to his character, he frankly questioned Bruce upon the truth of Comyn's accusation, adducing at the same time the letters and documents which he had received as evidences of the fact. The earl, much as he might feel staggered at the sudden disclosure of Comyn's treachery, had recollection enough to penetrate the immediate object of the king, and presence of mind to baffle it. Though taken so completely by surprise, he betrayed no outward signs of guilt, and succeeded by his judicious answers in re-establishing to all appearance the confidence of the crafty monarch, who had, indeed, his reasons for this seeming reliance, but who all along was too suspicious to be convinced. He had, in fact, determined upon the earl's ruin; and, having one evening drank freely, was indiscreet enough to disclose his intentions. The Earl of Gloucester, a kinsman of Bruce, chanced either to be present, or to have early notice of his friend's danger, and, anxious to save him, yet not daring to compromise his own safety, he sent to him a pair of gilded spurs and a few pieces of money, as if he had borrowed them from him the day before. Danger is an acute interpreter, and Bruce divined that the counsel thus symbolically communicated warned him to instant flight. Taking his measures, therefore, with much privacy, and accompanied by his secretary and one groom, he set out for Scotland. On approaching the western marches, they encountered a messenger on foot, whose deportment struck them as suspicious. He was searched, and proved to be an emissary sent by Comyn with letters to the King of England. The man was killed upon the spot; and Bruce, with these proofs of the perfidy of his rival, pressed forward to his castle of Lochmaben, which he is reported to have reached on the fifth day after his precipitate flight from London.

These events occurred in the month of February, 1306; at which time, according to a regulation of the new government, certain English judges were holding their courts at Dumfries. Thither Bruce immediately repaired, and finding Comyn in the town, requested a private interview with him, which

was accorded; but, either from some inward doubts on the one side, or a desire to give assurance of safety on the other, the meeting took place near the high altar in the convent of the Minorite Friars. Bruce is said to have here passionately reproached Comyn for his treachery, to which the other answered by flatly giving him the lie. The words were scarcely uttered, when the earl, giving vent to the fury which he had hitherto restrained, drew his dagger and stabbed, but not mortally, his unguarded opponent. Instantly hastening from the church, he called to his attendants for his horse. Lindsay and Kirkpatrick, by whom he had been accompanied, seeing him pale and agitated, anxiously inquired the cause. "I doubt I have slain Comyn," replied the earl. "You doubt," cried Kirkpatrick fiercely, "I'll make *sicher*;" and rushing into the sanctuary, he found Comyn still alive, but helpless and bleeding, upon the steps of the high altar. The dying victim was ruthlessly despatched on the sacred spot; and, almost at the same moment, Sir Robert Comyn, the uncle, entering the convent upon the noise and alarm of the scuffle, shared his fate. The tumult had now become general throughout the town; and the judges who held their court in a hall of the castle, not knowing what to fear, but believing their lives to be in danger, hastily barricaded the doors. Bruce, assembling his followers, surrounded the castle, and threatening to force an entrance with fire, obliged those within to surrender, and permitted them to depart in safety from Scotland.

That this fatal event fell out in the reckless passion of the moment, there can be no doubt. Goaded as he had been to desperation by the ruin impending over him, and even insulted personally by the man who had placed him in such jeopardy, Bruce dared hardly, in that age of superstition, to have committed an act of sacrilegious murder. In the imperfectly arranged state of his designs, without concert among his friends, or preparation for defence, the assassination of the first noble in the land, even without its peculiar aggravations, could not but have threatened the fortune of his cause with a brief and fatal issue. He knew, himself, that the die of his future life was now cast; and that his only alternative was to be a fugitive or a king. Without hesitation, he at once determined to assert his claim to the Scottish crown.

When Bruce thus adopted a desperate chance of extrication and future honour, he had not a single fortress at his command besides those two patrimonial ones of Lochmaben and Kildrummie; the latter situated in Aberdeenshire, at too great a distance from the scene of action to prove of service. He had prepared no system of offensive warfare, nor did it seem that, in the beginning, he should be even able to maintain himself on the defensive. Three earls only, those of Lennox, Errol, and Athole, joined his standard; Randolph, the nephew of Bruce, who afterwards became the renowned Earl of Moray; Christopher of Seton, his brother-in-law; Sir James Douglas, whose fate became afterwards so interestingly associated with that of his master; and about ten other barons then of little note, but who were destined to lay the foundations of some of the most honourable families in the kingdom, constituted, with the brothers of the royal adventurer, the almost sole power against which such fearful odds were presently to be directed—the revenge of the widely-connected house of Comyn, the overwhelming force of England, and the fulminations of the church. Without other resource than his own undaunted resolution, and the untried fidelity and courage of his little band, Bruce ascended the throne of his ancestors, at Scone,

on the 27th day of March, 1306. The coronation was performed with what state the exigency of the moment permitted. The Bishop of Glasgow supplied from his own wardrobe the robes in which Robert was arrayed on the occasion; and a slight coronet of gold was made to serve in absence of the hereditary crown, which, along with the other symbols of royalty, had been carried off by Edward into England. A banner, wrought with the arms of Baliol, was delivered by the Bishop of Glasgow to the new king, beneath which he received the homage of the earls and knights by whom he was attended. The Earls of Fife, from a remote antiquity, had possessed the privilege of crowning the kings of Scotland; but at this time, Duncan, the representative of that family, favoured the English interest. His sister, however, the Countess of Buchan, with a boldness characteristic of the days of chivalry, secretly repaired to Scone, and asserted the pretensions of her ancestors. It is not unlikely that this circumstance added to the popular interest felt for the young sovereign. The crown was a second time placed on the head of Bruce by the hands of the countess; who was afterwards doomed to suffer, through a long series of insult and oppression, for the patriotic act which has preserved her name to posterity.

Edward resided with his court at Winchester when tidings of the murder of Comyn and the revolt of Bruce reached his ears. That monarch, whose long career of successful conquest was once again to be endangered, had reached that period of life when peace and tranquillity even to the most indomitable become not only desirable but coveted blessings. The great natural strength of his constitution had, besides, ill withstood the demands which long military service and the violent cravings of ambition had made upon it. He was become of unwieldy bulk, and so infirm in his limbs as to be unable to mount on horseback. Yet the spirit which had so strongly actuated the victor on former occasions did not now desert him. He immediately despatched a message to the pope, demanding, in aid of his own temporal efforts, the assistant thunder of the holy see, a requisition with which Clement V., who had formerly been the subject of Edward, readily complied. The sentence of excommunication was denounced against Bruce and all his adherents, and their possessions placed under the dreaded ban of interdict. The garrison towns of Berwick and Carlisle were strengthened; and the Earl of Pembroke, who was appointed guardian, was ordered to proceed against the rebels in Scotland, at the head of a small army, hastily collected, for the occasion. Those were but preparatory measures. Upon Edward's arrival in London, he conferred knighthood upon his son the Prince of Wales, and nearly three hundred young men selected from families of rank throughout the kingdom; and conducted the ceremony with a pomp well calculated to rouse the martial ardour of his subjects. At a splendid banquet to which his nobility and the new-made knights were invited, the aged king is recorded to have made a solemn vow to the God of heaven, that he would execute severe vengeance upon Bruce for his daring outrage against God and his church; declaring, that when he had performed this duty, he would never more unsheath his sword against a Christian enemy; but should devote the rest of his days to waging war against the Saracens for the recovery of the Holy Land, thence never to return. Addressing his son, he made him promise, that, should he die before the accomplishment of his revenge, he should carry his body with the army, and not commit it to the

earth, until a complete victory over his enemies should be obtained.

Pembroke, the English guardian, marching his small army upon Perth, a walled and strongly fortified town, established there his head-quarters. Bruce, during the short interval since his coronation, had not been altogether unsuccessful in recruiting the numbers of his followers; nor did he think it prudent to delay engaging this portion of the English forces, greatly superior as they were, in every respect, to his own. On drawing near Perth, he sent a challenge, according to the chivalrous practice of the age, defying the English commander to battle in the open field. Pembroke returned for answer, that the day was too far spent, but that he would be ready to join battle on the morrow. Satisfied with this assurance, Robert drew off his army to the neighbouring wood of Methven, where he encamped for the night; parties were dispersed in search of provisions, and the others, throwing aside their armour, made the necessary arrangements for repose. By a very culpable neglect, or a most unwarrantable reliance on the promise of the English earl, the customary watches against surprise were either altogether omitted, or very careless in their duty. Pembroke being made aware of the negligent posture of the Scottish troops, drew out his forces from Perth, and gaining the unguarded encampment, succeeded in throwing the whole body into irremediable confusion. The Scots made but a feeble resistance, and were soon routed and dispersed. Philip de Mowbray is said to have unhorsed Bruce, whom he seized, calling aloud that he had got the new-made king; when Robert was gallantly rescued from his perilous situation by Sir Christopher Seton, his brother-in-law. Another account affirms that Robert was thrice unhorsed in the conflict, and thrice remounted by Sir Simon Frazer. So desperate, indeed, were the personal risks of the king on that disastrous night, that, for a time, being totally unsupported, he was made prisoner by John de Haliburton, a Scotsman in the English army, but who set him at liberty on discovering who he was.

To have sustained even a slight defeat at the present juncture would have proved of incalculable injury to Bruce's cause: the miserable overthrow at Methven seemed to have terminated it for ever. Several of his truest and bravest friends were made prisoners, among whom were Haye, Barclay, Frazer, Inchmartin, Sommerville, and Randolph. With about 500 men, all that he was able to muster from the broken remains of his army, Bruce penetrated into the mountainous country of Athole. In this small, but attached band, he still numbered the Earls of Athole and Errol, Sir James Douglas, Sir Neil Campbell, and his own brave brothers, Edward and Nigel. Reduced to the condition of proscribed and hunted outlaws, they endured the extremity of hardships among the barren fastnesses to which they retreated for shelter. The season, it being then the middle of summer, rendered such a life, for a time, possible; but as the weather became less favourable, and their wants increased, they were constrained to descend into the low country of Aberdeenshire. Here Robert met with his queen and many other ladies who had fled thither for safety; and who, with an affectionate fortitude, resolved, in the company of their fathers and husbands, to brave the same evils with which they found them encompassed. The respite which the royal party here enjoyed was of brief duration. Learning that a superior body of English was advancing upon them, they were forced to leave the low country and take refuge in the mountainous district of Breadalbane. To these

savage retreats they were accompanied by the queen and the other ladies, and again had the royalists to sustain, under yet more distressing circumstances, the rigorous severity of their lot. Hunting and fishing were the precarious, though almost their only means of sustaining life; and the good Sir James Douglas is particularly noticed by the minute Barbour for his success in these pursuits, and his devoted zeal in procuring every possible comfort for his forlorn and helpless companions.

While the royalists thus avoided immediate peril from one quarter, by abiding in those natural strongholds, they almost inevitably came in contact with another. The lord of Lorn, upon the borders of whose territories they lay, was nearly connected by marriage with the family of the murdered Comyn; and, as might be expected, entertained an implacable hatred towards the Scottish king. Having early intelligence of the vicinity, numbers, and destitution of the fugitive royalists, this powerful baron collected a body of nearly a thousand men well acquainted with the country, and besetting the passes, obliged the king to come to battle in a narrow defile where the horse of the party were rather a hindrance than a help. Considerable loss was sustained on the king's side, and Sir James Douglas and De la Haye were both wounded. Bruce, dreading the total destruction of his followers, ordered a retreat; and himself taking post in the rear, by desperate courage, strength, and activity, succeeded in checking the fury of the pursuers, and in extricating his party. The place of this memorable contest is still pointed out, and remembered by the name of Dalry, or the king's field.

The almost incredible displays of personal prowess and address which Robert made on this occasion, are reported to have drawn forth the admiration even of his deadly enemies. In one of those repeated assaults which he was obliged to make in order to check the assailants, he was beset, all at once, by three armed antagonists. This occurred in a pass, formed by a loch on the one side, and a precipitous bank on the other, and so narrow as scarcely to allow two horses to ride abreast. One seized the king's horse by the bridle, but by a blow, which lopped off his arm, was almost instantly disabled. Another got hold of the rider's foot within the stirrup-iron with the purpose of unhorsing him; but the king, standing up in the stirrup, and urging his steed forward, dragged the unfortunate assailant to the ground. The third person leaped up behind him in hope of pinioning his arms and making him prisoner, or of despatching him with his dagger; but turning round, and exerting his utmost strength, Robert forced him forwards upon the horse's neck and slew him; after which he killed the helpless wretch who still dragged at his side. Barbour, the ancient authority by whom this deed of desperate valour is recorded, has contrived, whether intentionally or not, to throw an air of probability over it. The laird of Macpaughton, a follower of Lorn, we are told, was bold enough, in the presence of his chief, to express a generous admiration of the conduct of the king. Being upbraided for a liberality which seemed to imply a want of consideration for the lives and honour of his own men, he replied, "that he who had won the prize of chivalry, whether friend or foe, deserved to be spoken of with respect."

The danger which the royalist party had thus for the time escaped, the near approach of winter, during which the means of support could not be procured, and their almost certain destruction should they descend into the level country, induced the king to

give up all thoughts of keeping the field in the face of so many difficulties. The queen and ladies were put under the escort of the remaining cavalry; and the charge of conducting them to the strong castle of Kildrummie, committed to Nigel, the king's second brother, and the Earl of Athole. The parting was sorrowful on both sides; and Robert here took the last leave of his brother Nigel, who not long after fell a victim to the inexorable Edward.

Robert now resolved, with his few remaining followers, amounting to about 200 men, to force a passage into Cantyre, that thence he might cross over into the north of Ireland. At the banks of Lochlomond the progress of the party was interrupted. They dared not travel round the lower end of the lake, lest they should encounter the forces of Argyle; and until they should reach the friendly country of the Earl of Lennox, they could not, for a moment, consider themselves safe from the enemies who hung upon their rear. Douglas, after a long search for some means of conveyance, was fortunate enough to discover a small boat capable of carrying three persons, but so leaky and decayed, that there would be much danger in trusting to it. In this, which was their only resource, the king and Sir James were ferried over the lake. Some accomplished the passage by swimming; and the little boat went and returned until all the others were safely transported. The royalists, forlorn as their circumstances were, here felt themselves relieved from the disquietudes which had attended their late marches; and the king, while they were refreshing themselves, is said to have recited for their entertainment the story of the siege of Egmor, from the romance of Ferembras.

It was here, while traversing the woods in search of food, that the king accidentally fell in with the Earl of Lennox, ignorant till then of the fate of his sovereign, of whom he had received no intelligence since the defeat at Methven. The meeting is said to have affected both, even to tears. By the earl's exertions the royal party were amply supplied with provisions, and were shortly after enabled to reach in safety the castle of Dunaverity in Cantyre, where they were hospitably received by Angus of Isla. Bruce remained no longer in this place than was necessary to recruit the strength and spirits of his companions. Sir Neil Campbell having provided a number of small vessels, the fugitive and now self-exiled king, accompanied by a few of his most faithful followers, passed over to the small island of Rachrin, on the north coast of Ireland, where they remained during the ensuing winter.

A miserable destiny awaited the friends and partisans whom Bruce had left in Scotland. Immediately after the rout at Methven, Edward issued a proclamation for a search after all those who had been in arms against the English government, and ordering them to be delivered up dead or alive. It was ordained that all who were at the slaughter of Comyn, or who had harboured the guilty persons or their accomplices, should be drawn and hanged; that all who were already taken, or might hereafter be taken in arms, and all who harboured them, should be hanged or beheaded; that those who had voluntarily surrendered themselves, should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and that all persons, whether of the ecclesiastical order or laymen, who had willingly espoused the cause of Bruce, or who had procured or exhorted the people of Scotland to rise in rebellion, should, upon conviction, be also imprisoned. With regard to the common people, a discretionary power of fining and ransoming them was committed to the guardian.

This ordinance was enforced with a rigour corresponding to its spirit, and the dread of Edward's vengeance became general throughout the kingdom. The castle of Kildrummie being threatened by the English forces in the north, Elizabeth, Bruce's queen, and Marjory his daughter, with the other ladies who had there taken refuge, to escape the hardships and dangers of a siege, fled to the sanctuary of St. Duthac at Tain in Ross-shire. The Earl of Ross violated the sanctuary, and making them prisoners, sent them into England. Certain knights and squires by whom they had been escorted, being taken at the same time, were put to death. The queen and her daughter, though doomed to experience a long captivity, appear to have been invariably treated with becoming respect. Isabella, Countess of Buchan, who had signaled her patriotism on the occasion of Robert's coronation, had a fate somewhat different. Unwilling to inflict a capital punishment, the English king had recourse to an ingenious expedient by which to satisfy his vengeance. She was ordered to be confined in a cage constructed in one of the towers of Berwick Castle; the cage bearing in shape the resemblance of a crown; and the countess was actually kept in this miserable durance for the remainder of her life. Mary, one of Bruce's sisters, was committed to a similar custody in one of the towers of Roxburgh Castle; and Christina, another sister, was confined in a convent. Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone, who had openly assisted Robert's cause, owed their lives solely to the inviolability of the clerical character. Lamberton and the abbot of Scone were committed to close custody in England. Wisheart having been seized in armour, was, in that uncanonical garb, carried a prisoner to the castle of Nottingham, where he is said to have been confined in irons. Edward earnestly solicited the pope to have these rebellious ecclesiastics deposed—a request with which his holiness does not seem to have complied.

The castle of Kildrummie was besieged by the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford. Being a place of considerable strength, it might have defied the English army for a length of time, had not the treachery of one of the garrison, who set fire to the magazine of grain and provisions, constrained it to surrender at discretion. Nigel Bruce, by whom the castle had been defended, was carried prisoner to Berwick; where, being tried by a special commission, he was condemned, hanged, and afterwards beheaded. This miserable fate of the king's brother excited a deep and universal detestation among the Scots towards the unrelenting cruelty of Edward. Christopher Seton, the brother-in-law of Bruce, and Alexander Seton, suffered under a similar sentence, the one at Dumfries, and the other at Newcastle. The Earl of Athole, in attempting to make his escape by sea, was discovered and conducted to London; where he underwent the complicated punishment then commonly inflicted on traitors, being hanged till only half dead, beheaded, disembowelled, "and the trunk of his body burned to ashes before his own face." *He was not drawn*, that point of punishment being remitted. Edward, we are told, although then grievously sick, endured the pains of his disease with greater patience after hearing of the capture of the Earl of Athole. Simon Frazer of Olivar Castle, the friend and companion in arms of Wallace, being also taken at this time, suffered capitally at London, and his head being placed on the point of a lance, was set near to that of his old friend and leader. Along with this brave man was

likewise executed Herbert de Norham. Among so many persons of note, others of inferior distinction did not escape; and Edward might, indeed, be said by his tyranny to have even now provoked that popular reaction which would suffice for his own defeat. To complete the measure of Robert's misfortunes, he and all his adherents were solemnly excommunicated by the pope's legate at Carlisle. The lordship of Annandale was bestowed on the Earl of Hereford, the earldom of Carrick on Henry de Percy, and his English estates were disposed of in like manner. During this period Bruce was fortunately out of the reach and knowledge of his enemies in the solitary island of Rachrin. Fordun relates that a sort of ribald proclamation was made after him through the churches of Scotland, as lost, stolen, or strayed.

The approach of spring, and a seasonable supply of money from Christina of the Isles, again roused the activity of Robert. Sir James Douglas, with the permission of his master, first passed over to Arran; where, shortly after his landing, he surprised a party belonging to Brodick Castle, in the act of conveying provisions, arms, and clothing to that garrison. Here he was in a few days joined by the king, who arrived from Rachrin with a small fleet of thirty-three galleys. Having no intelligence of the enemy, a trusty person named Cuthbert was despatched by the king to the opposite shore of Carrick, with instructions to sound the dispositions of the people; and, if the occasion seemed favourable for a descent among them, to make a signal, at a day appointed, by lighting a fire upon an eminence near the castle of Turnberry. The country, as the messenger found, was fully possessed by the English; the castle of Turnberry in the hands of Percy, and occupied by a garrison of near three hundred men; the old vassals of Bruce dispirited or indifferent, and many of them hostile. Appearances seemed altogether so unfavourable, that Cuthbert resolved to return without making the signal agreed upon. Robert watched anxiously the opposite coast of Carrick, at the point from which it should become visible; and when noon had already passed, a fire was plainly discerned on the rising ground above Turnberry. Assured that this could be no other than the concerted signal, the king gave orders for the instant embarkation of his men, who amounted to about three hundred. It is reported that, while he was walking on the beach, during the preparations for putting to sea, the woman at whose house he had lodged requested an audience of him. Pretending to a knowledge of future events, she confidently predicted that he should soon be king of Scotland, but that he must expect to encounter many difficulties and dangers in the course of the war; and, confiding in the truth of her prediction, she sent her two sons along with him.

Towards evening they put to sea; and when night closed upon them, they were enabled to direct their course across the firth by the light of the beacon, which still continued to burn on the heights of Turnberry. On landing they were met by the messenger Cuthbert, with the unwelcome intelligence that there was no hope of assistance from the people of Carrick. "Traitor," cried Bruce, "why made you then the fire?" "I made no signal," replied the man, "but observing a fire upon the hill, I feared that it might deceive you, and I hastened hither to warn you from the coast." In such a perilous dilemma, Bruce hesitated upon the course he should adopt; but, urged by the precipitate spirit of his brother Edward, and yielding at length to the dictates of his own more considerate valour, he resolved to persevere in the enterprise.

The greater part of the English troops under Percy were carelessly cantoned in the town, situated at some little distance from the castle of Turnberry. Before morning their quarters were surprised, and nearly the whole body, amounting to about two hundred men, put to the sword. Percy and his garrison heard from the castle the uproar of the night attack; but, ignorant alike of the enemy and their numbers, they dared not attempt a rescue. Bruce made prize of a rich booty, amongst which were his own war-horses and household plate. When the news of this bold and successful enterprise became known, a detachment of above 1000 men, under the command of Roger St. John, were despatched from Ayr to the relief of Turnberry; and Robert, unable to oppose such a force, thought proper to retire into the mountainous parts of Carrick.

The king's brothers, Thomas and Alexander, had been, previously to Robert's departure from Rachrin, sent over into Ireland to procure assistance; and having succeeded in collecting about 700 men, they endeavoured to effect a landing at Lochryan in Galloway, intending from thence to march into the neighbouring district of Carrick. Macdowal, a powerful chieftain of Galloway, having hastily collected his vassals, attacked and routed the invading party; the two brothers of the king and Sir Reginald Crawford, all of them wounded, were made prisoners; and Malcolm Mackail, lord of Kentir, and two Irish reguli or chieftains, were slain. Macdowal cut off the heads of the principal persons who had fallen; and along with these bloody tokens of his triumph, presented his prisoners to King Edward, then residing at Carlisle. The two brothers and their associate, supposed by some to have been a near relation of Wallace, were ordered to immediate execution. This disaster, coupled as it was with the insured enmity of the Gallovidians, and the near approach of the English, rendered for a time the cause of Bruce entirely hopeless. His partisans either fell off or were allowed to disperse themselves, while he himself often wandered alone, or but slightly accompanied, among woods and morasses, relying on his own great personal prowess, or his intimate knowledge of that wild district, in which he had been brought up, or on the fidelity of some attached vassal of his family. Almost all the incidents relating to Bruce, at this period of his fortunes, partake strongly of the romantic; and were it not that the authority from which they are derived has been found to be generally correct, some of them might well be deemed fabulous, or grossly exaggerated. The perilous circumstances in which he was placed, and his undaunted courage, furnished of themselves ample scope for the realization of marvellous adventure; and these, because marvellous or exaggerated, ought not, on that account, to be altogether or too hastily rejected. One of those adventures, said to have befallen the king at this time, is so extraordinary that we cannot omit it.

While Robert was wandering among the fastnesses of Carrick, after the defeat of his Irish auxiliaries at Lochryan, his small army so reduced as not to amount to sixty men, the Gallovidians chanced to gain such intelligence of his situation as induced them to attempt his surprisal. They raised, for this purpose, a body of more than 200 men, and provided themselves with bloodhounds to track the fugitives. Notwithstanding the privacy of their arrangements, Bruce had notice of his danger, but knew not at what time to expect their attack. Towards night he withdrew his band to a position protected by a morass on the one side, and by a rivulet on the

other, which had only one narrow ford, over which the enemy must pass. Here, leaving his followers to their rest, the king, accompanied by two attendants, returned to the ford, and after listening for some time, he could at length distinguish the distant sound of a hound's questing, or that eager yell which the animal is known to make when urged on in the pursuit of its prey. Unwilling for this cause alone to disturb the repose of his fatigued followers, Robert determined, as it was a clear moonlight night, to ascertain more exactly the reality of the danger. He soon heard the voices of men urging the hound forward, and no longer doubtful, he despatched his two attendants to warn his men of the danger. The blood-hounds, true to their instinct, led the body of Gallovidians directly to the ford where the king stood, who then boldly determined, till succour should arrive, to defend the passage of the ford, which was the more possible, as, from its narrowness, only one assailant could pass over at a time. Seeing only a solitary individual posted on the opposite side to dispute their way, the foremost of the enemy rode boldly into the water: but in attempting to land, Bruce, with a thrust of his spear, laid him dead on the spot. The same fate awaited four of his companions, whose bodies became a sort of rampart of defence against the others, who fell back in some confusion. Ashamed that so many should be baffled by one man, they returned to the attack; but were so valiantly opposed, that the post was still maintained, when the loud shout of Robert's followers advancing to his rescue, warned the Gallovidians to retire, after sustaining in this unexampled combat the loss of fourteen men. The danger to which the king had exposed himself, and the great bravery he had manifested, roused the spirits of his party, who now began, with increasing numbers, to flock to his standard. Douglas, who had been successfully employed against the English in his own district of Douglassdale, also about this time joined the king with a reinforcement from the vassals of his family.

Pembroke the guardian, at the head of a considerable body, now took the field against Robert; and was joined by John of Lorn, with 800 Highlanders, men well calculated for that irregular kind of warfare which Bruce was obliged to adopt. Lorn is said to have had along with him a blood-hound which had once belonged to the king, and was so strongly attached to its old master, and familiar with his scent, that if once it got upon his track it would never part from it. These two bodies advanced separately, Pembroke carefully keeping to the low and open country, where his cavalry could act with effect; while Lorn by a circuitous route endeavoured to gain the rear of the king's party. The Highland chieftain so well succeeded in this manoeuvre, that before Robert was aware of his danger, he found himself environed by the two hostile bodies of troops, either of which was greatly superior to his own. In this emergency the king, having appointed a place of rendezvous, divided his men into three companies, and ordered them to retreat by different routes, that they might have the better chance of escape. Lorn, arriving at the place where the Scottish army had separated, set loose the blood-hound, which, falling upon the king's scent, led the pursuers immediately on his track. The king finding himself pursued, again subdivided his remaining party into three, but without effect, for the hound still kept true to the track of its former master. The case now appearing desperate, Robert ordered the remainder of his followers to disperse themselves; and, accompanied by only one person, endeavoured

by this last means to frustrate the pursuit. In this he was of course unsuccessful; and Lorn, who now saw the hound choose that direction which only two men had taken, knew certainly that one of these must be the king; and despatched five of his swiftest men after them with orders either to slay them, or delay their flight. Robert finding these men gaining hotly upon him, faced about, and with the aid of his companion slew them all. Lorn's men were now so close upon him that the king could perceive they were led on by a blood-hound. Fortunately, he and his companion had reached the near covert of a wood, situated in a valley through which ran a brook or rivulet. Taking advantage of this circumstance, Bruce and his attendant, before turning into any of the surrounding thickets, travelled in the stream so far as was necessary to destroy the strong scent upon which the hound had proceeded. The Highland chieftain, on arriving at the rivulet, here found that the hound had lost its scent; and aware of the difficulty of a further search, was compelled to quit the chase. By another account the escape of Bruce from the blood-hound is told thus: An archer who had kept near to the king in his flight, having discovered that by means of the hound Robert's course had been invariably tracked, stole into a thicket, and from thence despatched the animal with an arrow.

Bruce reached in safety the rendezvous of his party, after having narrowly escaped from the treachery of three men, by whom, however, his faithful companion was slain. The English, under the impression that the Scottish army was totally dispersed, neglected the necessary precautions; and the king, aware of their security, succeeded in surprising a body of 200, carelessly cantoned at some little distance from the main army, and put the greater part of them to the sword. Pembroke soon after retired towards the borders of England, but was not long in gaining such information as led him to hope the surprisal of the king. Approaching with great secrecy a certain wood in Glentruel, where Robert then lay, he was on the point of accomplishing his purpose, when the Scots, happily discovering their danger, rushed forth unexpectedly upon their assailants and put them to flight. Pembroke, upon this defeat, retreated with his army to Carlisle.

Robert, encouraged by these successes, now ventured down upon the low country, and soon reduced the districts of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham to his obedience. Sir Philip Mowbray having been despatched with 1000 men to make head against this rapid progress, was attacked at advantage by Douglas with so much spirit, that, after a loss of sixty men, his force was routed, himself narrowly escaping. Pembroke again determined to take the field in person, and with a strong body of cavalry advanced into Ayrshire, and came up with the army of Bruce on Loudon Hill. The Scottish king, though his forces were still greatly inferior in number, and consisted entirely of infantry, determined to give battle to the English on the spot. He had carefully selected his ground, and by strongly intrenching the flanks of his position, was a match for the numbers and cavalry of the enemy. His force amounted in all to about 600 spearmen; that of Pembroke was not less than 3000 well mounted and armed soldiery, displaying an imposing contrast to the small but unyielding mass opposed to them. Pembroke, dividing his army into two lines or divisions, ordered the attack to be commenced; and the van, with lances couched, advanced at full gallop to the charge. The Scots sustained the shock, a desperate conflict ensued, and the English van was at length driven

back upon the rear or second division. This decided the fortune of the day. The Scots were now the assailants, and the rear of the English, panic-struck and disheartened, gave way, and finally retreated. The rout became general; Pembroke's whole army was put to flight, a considerable number being slain in the battle and pursuit, and many made prisoners. The loss on the part of the Scots is said to have been extremely small.

Three days after the battle of London Hill Bruce encountered and defeated Monthermur, and obliged him to take refuge in the castle of Ayr. He for some time blockaded this place, but retired at the approach of succours from England. These successes, though in themselves limited, proved of the utmost importance to Robert's cause, and gave it that stability which hitherto it had never attained. The death of Edward I. at this period was another event which could not but favourably affect the fortunes of Scotland, at the very moment when the whole force of England was collected for its invasion. That great monarch's resentment towards Bruce and his patriotic followers did not die with him. With his last breath he gave orders that his dead body should accompany the army into Scotland, and remain unburied until that country was totally subdued. Edward II. disregarded this injunction, and had the body of his father more becomingly disposed of in the royal sepulchre at Westminster.

Edward II., by his weak and obstinate disposition, was incapable of appreciating far less of acting up to the dying injunctions of his heroic father. His utter disregard for these was, indeed, manifested in the very first act of his reign—that of recalling his unworthy favourite Piers Gaveston from exile, who with other minions of his own cast was from that moment to take the place of all the faithful and experienced ministers of the late king, and by this measure he laid an early foundation for the disgust and alienation of his English subjects. His management in regard to Scotland was equally unpropitious. After wasting much valuable time at Dumfries and Roxburgh in receiving the homage of the Scottish barons, he advanced as far as Cumnock in Ayrshire, from whence, without striking a blow, he retreated into England. A campaign so inglorious, after all the mighty preparation spent upon it, could not but have a happy effect upon the rising fortunes of the Scottish patriots, while it disheartened all in Scotland who from whatever cause favoured the English interest.

The English king had no sooner retired than Bruce invaded Galloway, and, wherever opposed, wasted the country with fire and sword. The fate of his two brothers, who had here fallen into the hands of the chieftain Macdowal, most probably influenced the king in this act of severe retribution. The Earl of Richmond, whom Edward had newly created guardian, was sent to oppose his progress, upon which Robert retired into the north of Scotland, leaving Sir James Douglas in the south for the purpose of reducing the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh to obedience. The king, without encountering almost any resistance, overran great part of the north, seizing, in his progress, the castle of Inverness and many other fortified places, which he ordered to be entirely demolished. Returning southward, he was met by the Earl of Buchan at the head of a tumultuary body of Scots and English, whom, at the first charge, he put to flight. In the course of this expedition the king became affected with a grievous illness, which reduced his bodily and mental strength to that degree, that little hopes were entertained of his recovery. Ancient historians have attributed this

malady to the effects of the cold, famine, poor lodging, and hardships, to which he had been subjected ever since the defeat at Methven.

Buchan, encouraged by the king's illness, again assembled his numerous followers, and being joined by Mowbray, an English commander, came up with the king's forces, then strongly posted near Slaines, on the east coast of Aberdeenshire. The royalists avoided battle; and beginning to be straitened for provisions, retired in good order, first to Strathbogie, and afterwards to Inverury. By this time the violence of the king's disorder had abated, and he began by slow degrees to recover strength. Buchan, who still watched for an opportunity, advanced to Old Meldrum; and Sir David Brechin, who had joined himself to his party, came upon Inverury suddenly with a detachment of troops, cut off several of the royalists in the outskirts of the town, and retired without loss. This military bravado instantly roused the king; and, though too weak to mount on horseback without assistance, and supported by two men on each side of his saddle, he took the direction of his troops, and encountering the forces of Buchan, though much superior to his own, put them to flight. The agitation of spirits which Robert underwent on this occasion is said to have restored him to health.

About this time the castle of Aberdeen was surprised by the citizens, the garrison put to the sword, and the fortifications razed to the ground. A body of English having been collected for the purpose of chastising this bold exploit, they were spiritingly met on their march by the inhabitants, routed, and a considerable number taken prisoners, who were afterwards, says Boece, hanged upon gibbets around the town, as a terror to their companions. A person named Philip, the forester of Platane, having collected a small body of patriots, succeeded, about the same period, in taking the strong castle of Forfar by escalade. The English garrison were put to the sword, and the fortifications, by order of the king, destroyed. Many persons of note who had hitherto opposed Bruce, or who from prudential considerations had submitted to the domination of England, now openly espoused the cause of their country. Among the rest, Sir David Brechin, the king's nephew, upon the overthrow at Inverury, submitted himself to his uncle.

While Robert was thus successfully engaged in the north, his brother Edward invaded Galloway. He was opposed by Sir Ingram Umphraville and Sir John de St. John with about 1200 men. A bloody battle ensued at the Water of Cree, in which the English, after severe loss, were constrained to flee. Great slaughter was made in the pursuit, and the two commanders escaped with difficulty to the castle of Butel, on the sea-coast. Sir John retired into England, where, raising a force of 1500 men, he returned into Galloway in the hope of finding his victorious enemy unprepared. Edward Bruce, however, had notice of his movements, and with his characteristic valour or temerity, resolved to overreach the enemy in their own stratagem. Intrenching his infantry in a strong position in the line of march of the assailants, he himself, with fifty horsemen well harnessed, succeeded in gaining their rear, with the intent of falling unexpectedly upon them so soon as his intrenched camp should be assailed. Edward was favoured in this hazardous manœuvre by a mist so thick that no object could be discerned at the distance of a bowshot: but, before his design could be brought to bear, the vapours suddenly clearing away, left his small party fully discovered to the English. Retreat with any chance of safety was impossible, and to the reckless courage of their

leader no thought of retreat occurred. His fifty horsemen no sooner became visible to their astonished foes than they rushed furiously to the attack, and put them to rout. Thus successful in the field, Edward expelled the English garrisons, and reduced the whole district to the authority of his brother.

Douglas, after achieving many advantages in the south, among which the successive captures of his own castle in Douglasdale were the most remarkable, about this time surprised and made prisoners Alexander Stewart of Bonkil, and Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew. When Randolph, who, from the defeat at Methven, had adhered faithfully to the English interest, was brought before his sovereign, the king is reported to have said, "Nephew, you have been an apostate for a season; you must now be reconciled." "*You require penance of me!*" replied Randolph fiercely; "yourself rather ought to do penance. Since you challenged the King of England to war, you ought to have asserted your title in the open field, and not to have betaken yourself to cowardly ambuscades." "*That may be hereafter, and perchance ere long,*" the king calmly replied; "meanwhile, it is fitting that your proud words receive due chastisement, and that you be taught to know my right and your own duty." After this rebuke Randolph was ordered for a time into close confinement. This singular interview may have been preconceived between the parties for the purpose of cloaking under a show of restraint Randolph's true feelings in joining the cause of his royal relative. Certain it is, his confinement was of brief duration; and in all the after acts of his life he showed with how hearty a devotion he had entered on his new and more honourable field of enterprise.

Shortly after the rejunction of Douglas, Bruce carried his arms into the territory of Lorn, being now able to take vengeance on the proud chieftain who, after the defeat at Methven, had so nearly accomplished his destruction. To oppose this invasion the Lord of Lorn collected about 2000 men, whom he posted in ambuscade in a defile, having the high mountain of Ben Cruachan on the one side, and a precipice overhanging Loch Awe on the other. This pass was so narrow in some places as not to admit of two horsemen passing abreast. Robert, who had timely information of the manner in which this road was beset through which he must necessarily pass, detached one-half of his army, consisting entirely of light-armed troops and archers, under Douglas, with orders to make a circuit of the mountain, and so gain the high ground in the rear and flank of the enemy's position. He himself, with the rest of his troops, entered the pass, where they were soon attacked by the ambushment. This lasted not long; for the party of Douglas appearing on the heights immediately above them and in their rear, descended the mountain and fell upon them sword in hand, the king, at the same time, pressing upon them from the pass. The men of Lorn were defeated with great slaughter; and their chief, who had planned this unsuccessful ambush, after witnessing its miscarriage, soon after put to sea, and retired into England. Robert laid waste the whole district of Lorn; and gaining possession of Dunstaffnage, garrisoned it strongly with his own soldiers.

While Bruce and his partisans were thus successfully emancipating Scotland, and subduing the refractory spirit of some of their own nobility, everything was feeble and fluctuating in the councils of their enemies. In less than a year Edward changed or re-appointed the governors of Scotland six different times. Through the mediation of Philip, King of France, a short truce was finally agreed upon between

Edward and Robert; but infractions having been made on both sides, Bruce laid siege to the castle of Rutherglen. In February, 1310, a truce was once more agreed upon, notwithstanding which John de Segrave was appointed to the guardianship of Scotland on both sides of the Forth, and had the warlike power of the north of England placed at his disposal. It was early in the same year that the clergy of Scotland assembled in a provincial council, and issued a declaration to all the faithful, bearing that the Scottish nation, seeing the kingdom betrayed and enslaved, had assumed Robert Bruce for their king, and that the clergy had willingly done homage to him in that character.

During these negotiations hostilities were never entirely laid aside. The advantages of the warfare, however, were invariably on the side of Bruce, who was now preparing to attack Perth, at that time esteemed the capital of Scotland; and roused to activity by this danger, Edward made preparations for its immediate defence. The whole military array of England was ordered to meet the king at Berwick; but the English nobles, disgusted with his government, and detesting his favourite Gaveston, repaired unwillingly to the royal standard. Towards the end of autumn the English commenced their march, and directing their course through the forest of Selkirk to Biggar, are said to have thence penetrated as far as Renfrew. Not finding the enemy, in any body, to oppose their progress, and unable from the season of the year, aggravated as it was by a severe famine, to procure forage and provisions, the army retreated by the way of Linlithgow and the Lothians to Berwick, where Edward remained inactive for eight months. Bruce, during this invasion, cautiously avoided an open engagement, contenting himself with sending detached parties to hang upon the rear of the English.

About this time the castle of Linlithgow—a place of great importance to the English, as being midway between Stirling and Edinburgh—was surprised by a poor peasant named William Binnock. This man, having been employed to lead hay into the fort, placed a party of armed friends in ambush as near as possible to the gate; and concealing under his seeming load of hay eight armed men, advanced to the castle, himself walking carelessly by the side of the wain, while a servant led the cattle in front. When the carriage was fairly in the gateway, so that neither the gates of the castle could be closed, nor the portcullis let down, the person in front who had charge of the oxen cut the soam or withy rope by which the animals were attached to the wain, which thus instantly became stationary. Binnock, making a concerted signal, his armed friends leaped from under the hay and mastered the sentinels; and being immediately joined by the other party in ambush, the garrison, almost without resistance, were put to the sword, and the place taken.

Robert, finding his authority well established at home, and Edward almost entirely engrossed by the dissensions of his own subjects, resolved, by an invasion of England, to retaliate the miseries with which that country had so long afflicted his kingdom. Assembling a considerable army, he advanced into the bishopric of Durham, laying waste the country with fire and sword, and giving up the whole district to the reckless license of the soldiery. "Thus," says Fordun, "by the blessing of God, and by a just retribution of providence, were the perfidious English, who had despoiled and slaughtered many, in their turn subjected to punishment." Edward II. made a heavy complaint to the pope of the "horrible ravages, depredations, burnings, and murders" com-

mitted by "Robert Bruce and his accomplices" in this inroad, in which "neither age nor sex were spared, nor even the immunities of ecclesiastical liberty respected." The papal thunder had, however, already descended harmless on the Scottish king and his party; and the time had arrived when the nation eagerly hoped, and the English might well dread, the coming of that storm which should avenge the injuries inflicted on Scotland.

Soon after his return from England, Robert laid siege to Perth, a place in those days so strongly fortified, that, with a sufficient garrison, it might bid defiance to any open force. Having lain before the town for six weeks, the king raised the siege, and retired to some distance, as if he had desisted from the enterprise. He had gained intelligence, however, that the ditch which surrounded the town was fordable in one place; and having provided scaling-ladders of a sufficient length, he, with a chosen body of infantry, returned after an absence of eight days, and approached the works. The self-security of the garrison, who thought he was at a distance, and the darkness of the night, favoured his enterprise. Himself carrying a ladder, he was the foremost to enter the ditch, the water of which reached breast-high, and the second to mount the walls when the ladders were applied. A French knight, serving under the Scottish king, having witnessed such a gallant example, is reported to have exclaimed with enthusiasm, "What shall we say of our lords of France, that with dainty living, wassail, and revelry pass their time, when so worthy a knight, through his great chivalry, puts his life into so great hazard to win a wretched hamlet." Saying this, he, with the lively valour of his nation, threw himself into the fosse, and shared in the danger and glory of the enterprise. The walls were scaled, and the town taken almost without resistance. By the king's orders quarter was given to all who laid down their arms; and in accordance with the policy he had hitherto pursued, the fortifications of the place were entirely demolished.

Edward once more made advances for a truce with the Scottish king; but Robert, who well knew the importance of following up his success, rejected the proposals, and again invaded England. In this incursion the Scottish army ravaged and plundered the county of Northumberland and bishopric of Durham. The towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and great part of the city of Durham, were burned. The army, in returning, were bold enough, by a forced march, to attempt the surprisal of Berwick, where the English king then lay; but their design being discovered, they were obliged to retire. So great was the terror of these predatory visitations in the districts exposed to them, that the inhabitants of the county of Durham, and afterwards those of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, contributed each a sum of £2000 to be spared in future from such spoliations. In the same year the king assaulted and took the castles of Butel, Dumfries, and Dalswinton. The strong and important fortress of Roxburgh, also, at this time fell into his hands by the stratagem and bravery of Sir James Douglas. All of these places were, by the king's orders, destroyed, that they might on no future occasion become servicable to the enemy.

The surprisal of Edinburgh Castle by Randolph, the king's nephew, ought not, among the stirring events of this time, to be passed over. That brave knight had for some time strictly blockaded the castle; but the place being one of great natural strength, strongly fortified, and well stored with men and provisions, there seemed little hope of its capture. The garrison were also

completely upon the alert. Having had reason to suspect the fidelity of Leland, their governor, they had put him under confinement, and elected another commander. Matters stood thus when a singular disclosure, made to Randolph by a man named William Frank, suggested the possibility of taking the almost impregnable fortress by escalade. This man, in his youth, had resided in the castle as one of the garrison; and having an amorous intrigue in the city, he had been wont to descend the wall in the night by means of a rope-ladder, and through a steep and intricate path to arrive at the foot of the rock. By the same precipitous road he had always regained the castle without discovery; and so familiar had all its windings become to him, that he confidently engaged to guide a party by the same track to the bottom of the walls. Randolph resolved to undertake the enterprise. Having provided a suitable ladder, he, with thirty chosen men, put himself under the guidance of Frank, who, towards the middle of a dark night, safely conducted the party to the bottom of the precipitous ascent. After clambering with great difficulty about half-way up the rock, the adventurous party reached a broad projection or shelf, on which they rested to recover breath. While in this position, they heard above them the guard or check-watch of the garrison making their rounds, and could distinguish that they paused a little on that part of the ramparts immediately over them. One of the watch, throwing a stone from the wall, cried out, "Away, I see you well." The stone flew over the heads of the ambuscading party, who happily remained unmoved, as they really were unseen. The guard, hearing no stir to follow, passed on. Having waited till they had gone to a distance, the assailants again got up, and at the peril of their lives succeeded in clambering up the remaining part of the rock to the foot of the wall, to which they affixed their ladder. Frank, the guide, was first to mount the walls; Sir Andrew Gray was the next; Randolph himself was the third. Before the whole could reach the summit of the wall, the alarm was given, and the garrison rushed to arms. A fierce encounter took place; but the governor having been slain, the English surrendered. The fortifications of the castle were dismantled; and Leland, the former governor, having been released from his confinement, entered the Scottish service.

The Earl of Athole, who had long adhered to the English faction, and who had recently obtained as a reward for his fidelity a grant of lands in England, now joined the rising fortunes of his lawful sovereign. Through the mediation of France, conferences for a truce were renewed; but, notwithstanding of these, Robert invaded Cumberland, wasting the country to a great extent. The Cumbrians earnestly besought succour from Edward: but that prince being about to depart for France, did nothing but extol their fidelity, desiring them to defend themselves until his return. By invading Cumberland at this time, Bruce probably intended to draw the attention of the English from the more serious design which he contemplated of making a descent upon the Isle of Man. He had scarcely, therefore, returned from his predatory expedition into England, than, embarking his forces, he landed unexpectedly upon that island, overthrew the governor, took the castle of Ruffin, and possessed himself of the island. The Manx governor on this occasion is, with great probability, conjectured to have been the same Gallovidian chieftain who defeated and made prisoners at Lochryan the two brothers of the Scottish king.

On his return from France, Edward was met by commissioners sent to him by such Scots as still

remained faithful in their allegiance to England. These made bitter complaint of the miserable condition to which they had been reduced, both from the increasing power of Bruce, and from the oppression which they suffered under the government of the English ministers. Edward, deserted and despised by his nobility, who at this time not only refused to attend his army, but even to assemble in parliament upon his summons, could merely answer these complaints by promises which he was unable to perform. Meanwhile the arms of the patriots continued to prosper. Edward Bruce took and destroyed the castle of Rutherglen, and the town and castle of Dundee. He next laid siege to the castle of Stirling, then held by Philip de Mowbray, an English commander of bravery and reputation; but was here less successful. Unable, by any mode of attack known in those days, to make impression on a fortress of so great strength, Edward consented to a treaty with the governor that the place should be surrendered, if not succoured by the King of England before St. John's day in the ensuing midsummer. Bruce was much displeased with his brother for having granted such a truce, yet he consented to ratify it. The space of time agreed upon allowed ample leisure to the English king to collect his forces for the relief of the castle—the almost only remaining stronghold which he now possessed in Scotland; and Robert felt that he must either oppose him in battle with a greatly inferior army, or, by retreating in such circumstances, lessen the great fame and advantages which he had acquired.

The English king having effected a temporary reconciliation with his refractory nobility, lost no time in making preparations, not only to relieve the castle of Stirling, but to recover the revolted kingdom to his authority. He summoned the whole power of the English barons to meet him in arms at Berwick on the 11th of June; invited to his aid Eth O'Connor, chief of the native Irish of Connaught, and twenty-six other Irish chieftains; summoned his English subjects in Ireland to attend his standard, and put both them and the Irish auxiliaries under the command of the Earl of Ulster. "So vast," says Barbour, "was the army which was now collected, that nothing nearly so numerous had ever before been arrayed by England, and no force that Scotland could produce might possibly have been able to withstand it in the open field." A considerable number of ships were also ordered for the invasion of Scotland by sea, and for transporting provisions and warlike stores for the use of the army.

The Scottish king, meanwhile, used every effort to meet the approaching contest, and appointed a general rendezvous of his forces at the Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling. His fighting men somewhat exceeded 30,000 in number, besides about 15,000 unarmed and undisciplined followers of the camp, according to the mode in those times. Two days before the battle he took up his position in a field not far from Stirling, then known by the name of New Park, which had the castle on the left, and the brook of Bannock on the right. The banks of the rivulet were steep and rugged, and the ground between it and Stirling, being part of a park or chase, was partly open, and partly broken by copse-wood and marshy ground. The place was naturally well adapted for opposing the attacks of cavalry, and to strengthen it yet more those places whereby horsemen might have access were covered with concealed pitfalls, so numerous and close together, that, according to one ancient authority, they might be likened to a honey-comb. They were a foot in width, and between two and three feet deep, many rows being

placed one behind the other, the whole being slightly covered with sods and brushwood, so as not to be obvious to an impetuous enemy. The king divided his regular forces into four divisions. Three of these occupied the intended line of battle, from the brook of Bannock, which covered his right flank, to the village of St. Ninians, where their left must have remained somewhat exposed to the garrison of Stirling in their rear; Bruce, perhaps, trusting in this disposition partly to the honour of Mowbray, who by the terms of the treaty was precluded from making any attack, but probably more to his real inability of giving any effectual annoyance. Edward Bruce commanded the right wing of these three divisions, which was strengthened by a strong body of cavalry under Keith, the mareschal of Scotland, to whom was committed the charge of attacking the English archers; Sir James Douglas and the young Stewart of Scotland led the central division, and Thomas Randolph, now Earl of Moray, the left. The king himself commanded the fourth or reserve division, composed of the men of Argyle, the islanders, and his own vassals of Carrick. The unarmed followers of the camp were placed in a valley at some distance in the rear, separated from the field by an eminence, since denominated, it is supposed, from this circumstance, the Gillies' (that is, the Servants') Hill. These dispositions were made upon the 22d of June, 1314; and next day, being Sunday, the alarm reached the Scottish camp of the approach of the enemy. Sir James Douglas and the mareschal were despatched with a body of cavalry to reconnoitre the English army, then in full march from Falkirk towards Stirling. They soon returned, and, in private, informed the king of the formidable state of the enemy, but gave out publicly that the English, though indeed a numerous host, seemed ill commanded and disorderly. The hurried march of Edward into Scotland might give some colour of truth to this information; but no sight, we are told by the ancient authors, could in reality be more glorious and animating than the advance of that great army, in which were concentrated the whole available chivalry, and all the martial pomp which the power and riches of the English monarch could command.

Robert was particularly anxious that no succours from the English army should reach the garrison in Stirling Castle, and enjoined Randolph, who commanded his left wing, to be vigilant against any such attempt. This precaution was not unsuccessful; for, as the English forces drew near, a body of 800 horsemen were detached under the command of Clifford, who, making a circuit by the low grounds to the east and north of St. Ninians, attempted to pass the front of the Scottish army and approach the castle. They were perceived by the king, who, coming hastily up to Randolph, exclaimed, "Thoughtless man! you have suffered the enemy to pass your post: a rose has fallen from your chaplet!" On receiving this sharp reproof, Randolph hurried with 500 spearmen to redeem his negligence, or perish in the attempt. The English cavalry, perceiving his advance, wheeled round to attack him. Randolph drew up his small party into a compact form, presenting a front of spears extending outwards on all sides, and awaited the charge. In this porcupine-like form were they assailed on every side by Clifford's cavalry, but without effect. At the first onset a considerable number of the English were unhorsed, and Sir William Daynecourt, an officer of rank, was slain. Environed, however, as he was, there seemed no chance for Randolph; and Douglas, who witnessed the jeopardy of his friend, requested permission of the king to go and succour him.

"You shall not move from your ground," said Robert; "let Randolph extricate himself as he best may; I will not for him break purpose." "In truth," replied Douglas, after a pause, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish; and, with your leave, I *must* aid him." The king unwillingly consented, and Douglas hastened to the rescue. The generous support of the good knight was not required; for he had not advanced far when he perceived the English to waver, and fall into confusion. Ordering his followers to halt, "those brave men," said he, "have repulsed the enemy; let us not diminish their glory by sharing it." The assailants had indeed begun to flag in their efforts, when Randolph, who watched well his opportunity, ordering, in his turn, a sudden and furious charge among them, put the whole body to flight, sustaining on his own side a loss so small as to seem almost incredible.

While this spirited combat was going on in one part of the field, another, of a still more extraordinary character, was destined to arrest the attention of both armies. The English, who had slowly advanced in order of battle, had at length, before evening, approached so near, that the two opposing vanguards came distinctly into view of each other. Robert was then riding leisurely along the front of the Scottish line, meanly mounted on a small palfrey, having a battle-axe in his hand, and distinguished from his knights by a circlet of gold over his helmet. Henry de Bohun, an English knight, completely armed, chanced to ride somewhat in advance of his companions, when, recognizing the Scottish king alone, and at such disadvantage, he rode furiously towards him with his spear couched, trusting to have unhorsed or slain him on the spot. Robert awaited the encounter, avoided the spear of his adversary, and rising in the stirrups, struck Bohun, as he passed, with such a blow of his battle-axe as to cleave the steel helmet of the knight, and break the handle of the axe into two. The Scots, animated by this exploit of their leader, advanced upon the English vanguard, who immediately fell back in some confusion upon their main body. When the Scottish army had again recovered order, some of its leaders kindly rebuked Robert for his imprudence. The king, conscious of the justice of their remarks, said that he was sorry for the loss of his good battle-axe. These two incidents falling out so opportunely upon the eve of battle greatly animated the courage of the patriot army, while, in a like degree, they abashed and dispirited the enemy.

On Monday the 24th of June, at break of day, the two armies mustered in order of battle. The van of the English, consisting of archers and lancemen, was commanded by the Earl of Gloucester, nephew of King Edward, and the Earl of Hereford, constable of England. The main body, comprising nine great divisions, was led by the king in person, attended by the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Giles d'Argentine, a knight of Rhodes, and a chosen body of 500 well-armed horse as his body-guards. The nature of the ground did not permit the extension of this vast force, the van division alone occupying the whole front of battle, so that to the Scots they appeared as composing one great compact column. The Scots drew up in the order which we have already described. Maurice, abbot of Inchaffrey, placing himself on an eminence in view of the whole Scottish army, celebrated high mass; then passing along the line barefooted, and bearing a crucifix in his hand, he exhorted the Scots in few and forcible words to combat for their rights and their liberty, upon which the whole army knelt down and received his benediction. When King Edward observed the small and unpre-

tending army of his enemies, he seemed surprised, and turning himself to Sir Ingram Umphraville, exclaimed, "What! will yon Scotsmen fight?" "Yea, sickly," replied the knight, who even went the length of advising the king that, instead of making an open attack under so great disadvantages of position, he should feign a retreat, pledging himself, from his own experience, that by such means only could he break the firm array of the Scots and overwhelm them. The king disdained this counsel; and chancing then to observe the whole body of the Scots kneel themselves to the ground—"See," said he, "yon folk kneel to ask mercy." "You say truly," Sir Ingram replied; "they ask mercy, but it is not of you, but of God. Yon men will win the field or die." "Be it so then," said the king, and immediately gave order to sound the charge.

At the signal of attack, the van of the English galloped on to charge the right wing of the Scots, commanded by Edward, the king's brother, and were received with unshaken firmness. This advance allowed part of the main body of the English to come up, who, moving obliquely to the right of their own van, were soon engaged with the centre and left flank of the Scottish army. The conflict thus soon became general along the whole Scottish line. Repeated and desperate attempts were made by the English cavalry to break the firm, or as they seemed immovable, phalanxes of the enemy, but with no effect. Straited and harassed by the nature of the ground, they with difficulty maintained order; and but that they were pressed on by the mass in their rear, the front lines of the English would have been repulsed. Bruce perceiving that his troops were grievously annoyed by the English archers, detached a small but chosen band of cavalry under Sir Robert Keith, who, making a circuit by the right extremity of the Scottish line, fell furiously upon the unprotected archers in flank, and put them to flight. This body of men, whose importance in an English army was so often exemplified, were so effectually scattered, as to be of no after use in the battle. Robert with his body of reserve now joined battle; and though the fury on both sides was not relaxed, the English forces were every moment falling more and more into disorder. Matters were in this critical state, when a singular accident or device, for it never has been ascertained which, decided the fortune of the day. As before stated, the Scottish camp was attended by about fifteen thousand followers; and these, along with the camp baggage, were stationed by Bruce to the rear of a little eminence called Gillies' Hill. These men, either instructed for the purpose, or, what seems more likely, perceiving that the English army began to give way, resolved with what weapons chance afforded, to fall down into the rear of their countrymen, so that they might share in the honour and plunder of the victory. They drew up into a sort of martial order, some mounted on the baggage horses and others on foot, having sheets fastened upon tent-poles and spears, instead of banners. The sudden spectacle of what seemed to the English a new army, completed their confusion; the Scots felt their advantage, and raising a shout, pressed forward on their enemies with a fury which became irresistible. Discipline and union were lost, and the rout of the English was complete.

Pembroke, when he saw that the day was lost, seized Edward's horse by the bridle, and constrained him to leave the field. When Sir Giles d'Argentine, the brave knight of Rhodes, was informed of the king's flight, and pressed to accompany him, "It never was my wont to fly," said he, and putting spurs to his horse, he rushed into the battle and met

his death. It was a vulgar opinion, that the three greatest warriors of that age were Henry of Luxemburg emperor of Germany, Robert king of Scotland and Sir Giles d'Argentine. Sir James Douglas, with sixty horsemen, followed hard in pursuit of the English king. At the Torwood he was met by Sir Lawrence Abernethy with twenty horse hastening to the English rendezvous, but who, as soon as he understood that the Scots were victorious, joined the party of Douglas in the pursuit. Edward rode on without halting to Linlithgow; and had scarcely refreshed himself there, when the alarm that the Scots were approaching, forced him to resume his flight. Douglas and Abernethy followed so close upon his route, that many of the king's guards, who chanced to fall behind their companions, were slain. This pertinacious chase continued as far as Tranent, a distance of about forty miles from the field of battle, and was only given up when the horses could proceed no further. Edward at length reached the castle of Dunbar, where he was received by the Earl of March, and shortly afterwards conveyed by a little fishing skiff to Bamfrough, in England.

Thirty thousand of the English are estimated to have fallen upon the field of Bannockburn. Of barons and bannerets there were slain twenty-seven, and twenty-two were taken prisoners; of knights the number killed was forty-two, while sixty were made prisoners. Barbour affirms that 200 pairs of gilt spurs were taken from the heels of slain knights. According to English historians the most distinguished among those who fell were the Earl of Gloucester, Sir Giles d'Argentine, Robert Clifford, Payen Tybelot, William le Mareschal, and Edmund de Mauley, seneschal of England. Seven hundred esquires are also reckoned among the slain. The spoil of the English camp was great, and large sums must have accrued from the ransom of so many noble prisoners. If we may believe the statement of the Monk of Malmesbury, a contemporary English writer, the cost sustained by his countrymen on this occasion did not amount to less than £200,000; a sum equal in value to upwards of £3,000,000 of our present currency. The loss of the Scots is allowed on all hands to have been very inconsiderable; and the only persons of note slain were Sir William Vipont and Sir Walter Ross. The last-named was the particular friend of Edward Bruce, who, when informed of his death, passionately exclaimed, "Oh that this day's work was undone, so Ross had not died." On the day after the battle, Mowbray surrendered the castle of Stirling, according to the terms of the truce, and thenceforward entered into the service of the King of Scotland.

Such was the victory obtained by Robert at Bannockburn, than which none more important was ever fought, before or since, between the so long hostile nations of England and Scotland. It broke effectually and for ever the mastery, moral and physical, which the one had so nearly established over the other; and, while it once more confirmed the liberties of Scotland, restored that passion for independence among her people which no after reverses could subdue. "We have only," as a late historian¹ has well observed, "to fix our eyes on the present condition of Ireland in order to feel the present reality of all that we owe to the victory at Bannockburn, and to the memory of such men as Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas."

We have hitherto thought it proper to enter with considerable, and even historical, minuteness into

the details of this life; both as comprising events of much interest to the general reader, and as introducing what may be justly called the first great epoch in the modern history of Scotland. The rise, progress, and establishment of Bruce, were intimately connected with the elevation, progression, and settled estate of his people, who as they never before had attained to a national importance so decided and unquestionable, so they never afterwards fell much short in the maintaining of it. It is not our intention, however, to record with equal minuteness the remaining events of King Robert's reign; which, as they, in a great measure, refer to the ordering and consolidating of the power which he had acquired, the framing of laws, and negotiating of treaties, fall much more properly within the province of the historian to discuss, than that of the biographer.

The Earl of Hereford, who had retreated after the battle to the castle of Bothwell, was there besieged and soon brought to surrender. For this prisoner alone, the wife, sister, and daughter of Bruce were exchanged by the English, along with Wisheart Bishop of Glasgow, and the young Earl of Mar. Edward Bruce and Douglas, leaving the English no time to recover from their disastrous defeat, almost immediately invaded the eastern marches, wasted Northumberland, and laid the bishopric of Durham under contribution. Proceeding westward, they burned Appleby and other towns, and returned home loaded with spoil. "So bereaved," says an English historian, "were the English, at this time, of their wonted intrepidity, that a hundred of that nation would have fled from two or three Scotsmen." While the fortunes of Edward were in this state of depression, Bruce made advances towards the negotiating of a peace, but this war, now so ruinous on the part of the English, was yet far from a termination. Robert, however desirous he might be to attain such an object, was incapable of granting unworthy concessions; and Edward was not yet sufficiently abased by his ill-fortune in war, or borne down by factions at home, to yield that which, in his hands, had become but a nominal possession. England was again invaded within the year; and, during the winter, the Scots continued to infest and threaten the borders with predatory incursions.

In the spring of the ensuing year, 1315, while the English king vainly endeavoured to assemble an army, the Scots again broke into England, penetrated to the bishopric of Durham, and plundered the seaport town of Hartlepool. An attempt was shortly afterwards made to gain possession of Carlisle, but it was defeated by the vigorous efforts of the inhabitants. A scheme to carry Berwick by surprise also failed. This year was remarkable for an act of the estates settling the succession to the crown; and the marriage of the king's daughter, Marjory, to Walter the Stewart of Scotland, from whom afterwards descended the royal family of the Stuarts.

The Irish of Ulster, who had long been discontented with the rule of England, now implored the assistance of the Scottish king, offering, should they be relieved, to elect Edward Bruce as their sovereign. The king closed with their proposals; and his brother, on the 25th May, 1315, landed at Carrickfergus in the north of Ireland with an army of 6000 men. He was accompanied in the expedition by the Earl of Moray, Sir Philip Mowbray, Sir John Soules, Fergus of Ardsrossan, and Ramsay of Ochterhouse. With the aid of the Irish chieftains who flocked to his standard, he committed great ravages on the possessions of the English settlers in the north, and overran great part of the country. Edward Bruce met, however, with considerable difficulties in the prosecution

¹ Tytler, i. p. 320.

of his enterprise, and had several times to send for reinforcements from Scotland, notwithstanding which he was solemnly crowned King of Ireland on the 2d May, 1316. King Robert, hearing of his difficulties, magnanimously resolved, with what succours he could afford, to go to the relief of his brother in person. Intrusting, therefore, the government of the kingdom, in his absence, to the Stewart and Douglas, he embarked at Lochryan, in Galloway, and landed at Carrickfergus. The castle of that place was at the time besieged by the forces of Edward Bruce, and was soon brought to surrender after his junction with his brother. The united armies then entered, by forced marches, the province of Leinster, with intent to seize upon Dublin, on the fate of which the existence of the English government in Ireland depended; but the hostile spirit and intrepidity of the inhabitants of that city rendered this effort abortive. Thence they marched to Cullen, in Kilkenny, and continued their devastating progress as far as Limerick; but being there threatened with the greatly superior forces collected by the English under Roger, Lord Mortimer, and experiencing great extremities from want, they were forced to terminate the expedition by a retreat into the province of Ulster, in the spring of 1317.

The particular history of the two Bruce's campaigns in Ireland seems to have been imperfectly known, and is very obscurely treated of by most contemporary writers. Barbour, however, to whom the historians who treat of this period are so much indebted, has given the relation with much circumstantiality and apparent correctness. We cannot omit quoting one exploit, which this author has recorded in a manner at once lively and characteristic. The Scottish army, in its march into the province of Leinster, was marshalled into two divisions, one of which, the van, was commanded by Edward Bruce; while the rear was led by Robert in person, assisted by the Earl of Moray. The Earl of Ulster, on the alert to oppose their progress, had collected an army of 40,000 men, which he posted in an extensive forest through which the Scottish line of march led, proposing from this concealment, to attack the rear division of the enemy, after the van should have passed the defile. Edward, naturally impetuous and unguarded, hurried onward in his march, neglecting even the ordinary precautions of keeping up a communication with the rear body, or of reconnoitring the ground through which he passed. Robert advanced more slowly and with circumspection, at some distance in the rear, with his division, which amounted in all to no more than 5000 men. As he approached the ambushment of the enemy, small parties of archers appeared from among the thickets, who began to molest his soldiers in their march. Seeing their boldness, the king judged rightly that they must have support at no great distance, and immediately he issued strict commands to his men to march in exact order of battle, and on no pretence to quit their ranks. It happened that two of these archers discharged their arrows near to the person of Sir Colin Campbell, the king's nephew, who, neglecting the king's injunctions, rode off at full speed to avenge the insult. Robert, highly incensed, followed after him, and struck his nephew so violent a blow with his truncheon that he was nearly beaten from his horse. "Such breach of orders," said he, "might have brought us all into jeopardy. I wot well, we shall have work to do ere long." The numbers of the hostile archers increased as the Scots advanced; till, arriving at a large opening or glade of the forest, they descried the forces of the Earl of Ulster drawn up in four divisions ready to dispute

their passage. The king's prudent foresight was justified; and, so much confidence had the soldiers in his sagacity, that, undaunted either by the sudden appearance or overwhelming numbers of the enemy, they were the first to commence the attack. After an obstinate resistance the Scots prevailed, and the ill-assorted Anglo-Irish army was, with much slaughter, driven from the field. Edward Bruce, soon after the defeat, rejoined his brother, regretting bitterly that he should have been absent on such an emergency. "It was owing to your own folly," said the king, "for you ought to have remembered that the van always should protect the rear."

King Robert, after the retreat of his brother's force upon Carrickfergus, was necessitated by his own affairs to return to Scotland. That we may have no occasion to revert to the subject afterwards, we shall state briefly in this place the catastrophe which, in the following year, closed the career of Scottish sovereignty in Ireland. For some time the gallant but rash Edward maintained a precarious authority in Ulster. In the month of October, 1318, he lay encamped at Fagher, near Dundalk, with an army amounting to about 2000 men, exclusive of the native Irish, who, though numerous, were not much to be depended on. The Anglo-Irish approached his position under the command of Lord John Bermingham. Their force was strong in cavalry, and outnumbered the Scots by nearly ten to one. Contrary to the counsel of his officers, Edward engaged with the enemy and was slain almost at the first onset; an event which was speedily followed by the total discomfiture of his army. John Maupas, by whose hand Edward fell, was found, after the battle, stretched dead over the body of the prince. Edward of England, like all kings who are weak and obstinate, could also, when he dared, be wicked. Affecting to consider the gallant enemy who now had fallen in the light of a traitor or rebellious subject, the corpse was subjected to the ignominies consequent upon the punishment of such, being quartered and exposed to view in four different quarters of the island. The head was carried over to England, and presented to Edward by Bermingham himself, who obtained the dignity of Earl of Lowth for his services.

During the absence of King Robert in Ireland, the English made various attempts to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland, which all happily proved abortive. The Earl of Arundel, with a numerous force, invaded the forest of Jedburgh; but falling into an ambush prepared for him by Douglas, he was defeated. Edmund de Cailand, the governor of Berwick, having made an inroad into Teviotdale, was attacked by the same victorious commander, and himself and many of his followers slain. The same fate befell Robert Neville, a knight, then resident at Berwick, who had boastingly declared that he would encounter Douglas so soon as he dared to display his banner in that neighbourhood. The English also invaded Scotland with a considerable force by sea, coming to anchor off the town of Inverkeithing in the Firth of Forth. The panic caused by the unexpected appearance of this armament was great; and only 500 men under the command of the Earl of Fife, and sheriff of the county, were mustered to oppose their landing. When the English cast anchor, so much terror did they inspire, that the force drawn up against them hastily retreated. They had scarcely, however, thus committed themselves, when they were met by William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, at the head of a body of sixty horse, advancing in all haste to assist in repelling the invaders. "Whither in such haste?" said he to the disordered rout; "you deserve to have your

gilt spurs hacked off." Putting himself then at the head of the little troop, and seizing a spear, the bold ecclesiastic continued—"Who loves his king, or his country, turn with me!" The spirit of this challenge rallied the fugitives; the English, who had not yet completed their landing, were panic-struck in turn, and driven back to their ships with great loss. Five hundred, it is asserted, were killed upon the strand, and many drowned by the swamping of an overloaded boat. When King Robert was informed of this gallant exploit, he said, "Sinclair shall always after be my own bishop;" and long after was the prelate honourably remembered by the title of *the king's bishop*.

Baffled in these attempts, and under serious apprehensions for the safety of his own borders, the English king contrived, about this time, to employ in his favour the spiritual weapons of Rome; and John XXII., the then pope, issued a bull commanding a truce for two years between the two hostile kingdoms, under pain of excommunication. Two cardinals, privately instructed to denounce the pontifical censures, should they see fit, upon Bruce and "whomsoever else," were despatched to make known these commands to the two kings. The cardinals arrived in England, and in prosecution of their errand sent two messengers, the Bishop of Corbeil and Master Aumery, into Scotland with the letters and instructions intended for the Scottish king. Robert listened to the message delivered by these nuncios with attention, and heard read the open letters from the pope; but when those sealed and addressed "Robert Bruce, governor of Scotland," were produced, he firmly declined receiving them. "Among my barons," said he, "there are many of the name of Robert Bruce, who share in the government of Scotland. These letters may possibly be addressed to one of them; but they are not addressed to *me*, who am king of Scotland." The messengers attempted to apologize for this omission, by saying that "the holy church was not wont, during the dependence of a controversy, to say or do aught which might prejudice the claims of either contending party." "Since then," replied the king, "my spiritual father and my holy mother would not prejudice the cause of my adversary by bestowing on me the title of king during the dependence of the controversy, they ought not to have prejudiced my cause by withdrawing that title from me. It seems that my parents are partial to their English son, Had you," added he, with resolute but calm dignity, "presumed to present letters with such an address to any other sovereign prince, you might perhaps have been answered more harshly; but I reverence you as the messengers of the holy see." In consequence of the failure of this negotiation, the cardinals resolved to proceed with their further instructions, and proclaim the papal truce in Scotland. In an enterprise so hazardous, the Roman legates were at some loss how to proceed; but at length they fell upon a devoted monk of the name of Adam Newton, who was willing to risk himself in the service. Newton being fully charged with his commission, and intrusted with letters to some of the Scottish clergy, proceeded forthwith upon his journey. He found the Scottish king encamped with his army in a wood near Old Cambus, busily engaged in making preparations for the assault of Berwick. He was denied admission to the royal presence, but ordered, at the same time, to deliver what letters or messages he might have to the king's seneschal or clerk. These were quickly returned to him, unopened, with the brief verbal answer, "I will listen to no bulls until I am treated as King of Scotland, and have made

myself master of Berwick." The poor monk, envied, as he himself expresses it, with danger, and troubled how to preserve his papers and his own mortal life, entreated that he might have a safe-conduct to pass further into Scotland, or at least that he might return without peril to Berwick; but both requests were denied him, and he was ordered to leave the country without delay. On his road to Berwick he was encountered by four armed ruffians, who stripped him of all his papers and effects, and even of the greater part of his clothes. Thus ended this memorable transaction with the papal court, in a manner very unusual for that age; but the weakness and injustice of Edward, and the injustice and servility of Rome, were so obvious in it, that Robert, secure otherwise in the affections of his subjects, both clerical and laical, could safely deride and defy the effects of both.

While Robert, for some reason or other which has not been explained, had given over his preparations for the siege of Berwick, the treachery of one of the inhabitants, of the name of Spalding, who had been harshly treated by the governor, occurred to render the attainment of his object both easy and sure. This person wrote a letter to the Earl of March, to whom he was distantly connected by marriage, offering to betray, on a certain night, that post on the wall where he kept guard. The nobleman, not daring of himself to engage in such an enterprise, communicated the intelligence to the king. "You have done well," said Robert, "in making me your confidant; for, if you had told this to either Randolph or Douglas, you would have offended the one whom you did not trust. You shall now, however, have the aid of both." By the king's directions, the Earl of March assembled his troops at a certain place, where, on an appointed day and hour, he was joined by the forces of Randolph and Douglas. Thus cautiously assembled, the army by a night march approached the town. Having reached the appointed part of the walls, near to that place still known by the name of the Cowport, they, with the assistance of Spalding, scaled the walls, and were, in a few hours, masters of the town. The castle, after a brief siege, in which the king assisted in person, was forced to surrender. Scotland, by this event, was at length wholly regained to its ancient sovereignty; and, though the town was in an after reign retaken by the English, so pertinaciously was the old right to it maintained at the union of the two kingdoms, that, as a compromise, it was legislatively allowed to belong to neither kingdom, and it still forms a distinct and independent portion of the British dominions.

The Scottish army, after the reduction of Berwick, invaded England by Northumberland; took by siege the castles of Werk and Harbottle, and that of Miford by surprise. These events occurred in the spring of 1318. In May of the same year, the Scots penetrated into Yorkshire, burned the towns of Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and Skipton, and returned home loaded with spoil, and, says an English author, "driving their prisoners before them like flocks of sheep." Bruce was at this time solemnly excommunicated by the pope's legate in England; but so little was this sentence regarded, that, in a parliament which was assembled at Scone, the whole clergy and laity of the kingdom renewed their allegiance to the king; and by a memorable mode of expression, by which, doubtless, they meant to include the pope as well as the King of England, solemnly engaged to protect the rights and liberties of Scotland against all mortals, *however eminent they may be in power, authority, and dignity*.

By a temporary reconciliation of the factions of his kingdom, Edward was enabled, in the succeeding year, to attempt the recapture of Berwick. The place had been left by Robert under the command of the Stewart, with a strong garrison, and was plentifully stored with provisions. To prevent the approach of succours, the English drew lines of countervallation round it; and confident in their numbers, commenced a general and vigorous assault. After a long and desperate contest they were repulsed. They next made their attacks more systematically on various places, and often simultaneously, aided by engines and contrivances which are curiously and minutely described by ancient historians; but these attempts, admirably conducted as they were, according to the engineering science of that day, proved abortive. One of those engines used by the English was called a *sow*. As nearly as can be ascertained, it was a huge fabric, reaching in height above the top of the wall, and composed of beams of timber, well roofed, having stages within it. It moved upon wheels, and was calculated for the double purpose of conducting miners to the foot of the wall, and armed men for scaling it. To oppose this and other such machines, the Scots, under the direction of one John Crab, a Fleming, had provided themselves with movable engines called cranes, similar to the catapultæ of the ancients, capable of throwing large stones with great projectile force. As the sow advanced, however, the besieged were dismayed. The engineer by whom the monstrous edifice had been constructed had, meantime, become a prisoner to the Scots, who, actuated by a very unjust revenge upon the man's ingenuity and their own fears, brought him to that part of the wall against which the engine was directed, threatening him with instant death should he be slack in its destruction. Thus prompted, he caused one of the cranes formerly mentioned to be placed directly opposite the approaching machine, and prepared to work it with all his art. The first stone, launched with prodigious force, flew beyond the object aimed at; the second, discharged with diminished power, fell within the mark. There was time only for a third trial, upon the success of which all seemed to depend, as the engine was coming close to the walls. The third great stone passed in an oblique and nearly perpendicular line, high into the air, making a loud whizzing noise as it rose, and whether owing to chance or art, it fell with a dreadful crash upon the devoted machine now so nearly within reach of its destination. The terrified men within instantly rushed from beneath their cover; and the besieged upon the walls, raising a loud shout, called out to them, "that their great sow had farrowed." Grappling irons were quickly fastened upon the shattered apparatus, and it was set on fire. While all this was transacting upon the land side of Berwick, its worn-out garrison had to sustain an assault no less desperate from the estuary, where, by means of vessels having falling-bridges mid-mast high, by which to reach the top of the walls, the city was vigorously and almost successfully stormed. These and various other desperate attempts seemed in no way to exhaust the ardour of the besiegers; and they did not lessen, though they tempered, the confidence of the besieged.

King Robert, unable from the strength and fortified position of the English army, to break up the siege, at the same time saw that if the Stewart were not relieved he must soon surrender. In this emergency he resolved, by a destructive invasion of England, to make a diversion in his favour, and if possible draw off the forces of Edward. This expedi-

tion was committed to the charge of Randolph and Douglas, who, entering England by the western marches, penetrated into Yorkshire. It is asserted that they entertained some scheme of carrying off the wife of Edward from her residence near York. Disappointed in this, they wasted that rich province with fire and sword. The archbishop hastily collected a numerous but ill-assorted army, great part of which is said to have been composed of ecclesiastics, and placing himself at their head, determined to check the invaders. The Scots then lay encamped at Mitton near Boroughbridge, in the north riding of Yorkshire. The English, on coming up with that hardy, disciplined, and successful army, were charged with such fury, that, scarcely waiting to strike a blow, they gave way, and three thousand are reported to have been slain in the rout. From the number of churchmen who fell in this battle, it was afterwards popularly named *the Chapter of Mitton*. The effects which Bruce expected from this invasion of England were not miscalculated. The news of the devastations and successes of the Scots no sooner reached Berwick, than a retreat was resolved upon, and it would seem judiciously, as, had the now unopposed career of the Scots continued many days longer, the damage to England must have been immeasurably great. On retiring from before Berwick, Edward attempted, unsuccessfully, to intercept Douglas and Randolph on their return. After some brief negotiations, a truce of two years was concluded between the two nations.

The following year (1320) was remarkable for a bold and spirited manifesto from the estates of Scotland to the pope. His holiness is told, in one part of this singular document, that Robert, "like another Joshua, or a Judas Maccabeus, gladly endured toils, distresses, the extremities of want, and every peril, to rescue his people and inheritance out of the hands of the enemy. Our due and unanimous consent," say they, "has made him our chief and king. To him in defence of our liberty we are bound to adhere, as well of right as by reason of his deserts, and to him we will in all things adhere; for through him salvation has been wrought unto our people. Should he abandon our cause, or aim at reducing us and our kingdom under the dominion of the English, we will instantly strive to expel him as a public enemy, and the subverter of our rights and his own, and we will choose another king to rule and protect us; for, while there exist an hundred of us, we will never submit to England. We fight not for glory, wealth, or honour, but for that liberty which no virtuous man will survive." After describing with much animation the English king's ambition and injustice, and praying the interposition of his holiness, the manifesto proceeds:—"Should you, however, give a too credulous ear to the reports of our enemies, distrust the sincerity of our professions, and persist in favouring the English, to our destruction, we hold you guilty in the sight of the most high God, of the loss of lives, the perdition of souls, and all the other miserable consequences which may ensue from war between the two contending nations." The pope, however much he may have been incensed at this boldness, appears also to have been alarmed. In a bull which he shortly afterwards sent to Edward, he strongly recommends pacific measures, and bestows upon Bruce the ambiguous title of "Regent of the kingdom of Scotland."

The parliament which distinguished itself by this spirited and honourable measure was, in the course of its sitting, engaged in one of a more unpleasant character. This was the investigation of a conspiracy in which some of the highest men in the kingdom

were implicated. The affair is now, from the loss of records, but indistinctly understood. After a trial of the conspirators, Soulis and the Countess of Strathern were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Gilbert de Malerb and John de Logie, both knights, and Richard Brown, an esquire, were found guilty of treason, and suffered accordingly. Roger de Mowbray died before sentence; yet, according to a practice long retained in Scottish law in cases of treason, judgment was pronounced upon the dead body. The king, however, was pleased to mitigate this rigour, and the corpse was allowed the honours of sepulture. The fate of David de Brechin, the king's nephew, who suffered on this occasion, excited universal and deep compassion. His crime alone lay in the concealing of the treason, which was communicated to him under an oath of secrecy. He had neither approved of nor participated in it; yet notwithstanding these alleviations, and his near relationship to the king, he was made an example of rigorous though impartial justice. This parliament was, in reference to this transaction, long remembered popularly under the appellation of the *black parliament*.

During the inactive period of the truce, various methods were used towards effecting a peace between England and Scotland, but without effect. The pope as well as the French king offered their services for this purpose; but the exultation of Edward, from having successfully crushed the Lancastrian faction which had so long disturbed his rule, made him deaf to moderate counsels. "Give yourself," says he to the pope, "no further solicitude about a truce with the Scots. The exigencies of my affairs inclined me formerly to listen to such proposals; but now I am resolved to establish peace by force of arms." While he was engaged in these preparations, the Scots penetrated by the western marches into Lancashire, committing their wonted devastations, and returned home loaded with spoil. The King of Scots, who at this time found no occasion for a general engagement with his greatly superior enemy, fell upon a simple and effectual expedient to render such an event unlikely, if not impossible. All the cattle and provisions of the Merse, Teviotdale, and the Lothians, he ordered to be removed into inaccessible or secure places; an order which was so exactly executed, that, according to tradition, the only prey which fell into the hands of the English was one solitary bull at Tranent, which, from lameness, had been unable to travel along with the other cattle. "Is that all ye have got?" said the Earl Warenne to the spoilers as they returned to the camp; "I never saw so dear a beast." Edward advanced without opposition to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where, having in vain waited for some time for supplies from his fleet, he was necessitated, from absolute famine, to retire. In their countermarch into England, the soldiers committed whatever outrages were possible in so desolate a route. Their license even got the better of their superstition. Monks, who believed that the sanctity of their character would have protected them, were wantonly murdered, and their monasteries and abbeys plundered and burned. When this unfortunate army got once more into the plenty of their own country, it was little better with them; for, in proportion as their privations had been extreme, their indulgences were excessive; and an English historian has left it on record, that almost one-half of the great army which Edward had led into Scotland was destroyed either by hunger or intemperance.

The remains of the English army had scarcely once more been restored to order, when the Scots, who had followed closely upon their rear, entered England,

and laid siege to the castle of Norham. Edward himself then lay at the abbey of Biland in Yorkshire, the main body of his troops being encamped in a strong position in the neighbourhood, supposed to be accessible only by one narrow pass. The Scots, commanded by Robert in person, suddenly raising the siege, marched onward in the hope of finding the English unprepared, or, as some say, of seizing the person of Edward, by the aid of some of that monarch's treacherous attendants. This latter design, if at all entertained, which is not improbable, must have been found too difficult to execute. Douglas resolved to force the defile within which the English had entrenched themselves; and Randolph, leaving his own peculiar command in the army, determined to join his friend in the enterprise. The defence was obstinate; and the men of Douglas must have been obliged to retire, had not an unexpected aid come to their relief. The King of Scots, who commanded the main body of his army on the plain, perceiving the difficulty, if not impracticability, of the adventure of his two brave generals, fell upon the only means of extrication and success. Between the two armies lay a long craggy hill of very difficult access, except through the narrow pass of which we have made mention, and which the body of men under Douglas were vainly endeavouring to force. A party of Highlanders from Argyle and the Isles, admirably suited for the service, were ordered, at some little distance, to scale the eminences, and so gain command of the pass from the ground above, where they might, with signal effect, annoy the English underneath and in flank. The manœuvre was successfully executed, the pass carried, and the whole English army shortly after put to complete rout. They were pursued by the Stewart to the gates of York, and Edward himself escaped to the same place with the greatest difficulty, abandoning all his baggage and treasure, and leaving behind him even the privy seal of his kingdom. This was the last battle in which this undeserving and equally unfortunate prince engaged the Scots; and it may be curious to remark how, in its result, it bore some resemblance to the disaster and shame of the first. The Scots, after committing extensive devastations on the unprotected and dispirited country, returned home, carrying along with them many prisoners and an immense booty.

From this period to the accession of Edward III. to the throne of England in 1327, there occurred little which can properly come within our province to relate. A truce for fifteen years was with much willingness acceded to by the English king, who could never, however, be induced to relinquish his claim of sovereignty over Scotland. The pope was much pressed, particularly in an embassy conducted by Randolph, to permit the reconciliation of Robert with the church; but the King of Scots, as yet, possessed too little interest in that venal court to obtain such a concession. The pontiff, however, showed all the favour he could, consistent with such a denial; and though pressed by Edward, under various pretences, to renew the publication of his former censures, would by no means comply. The King of France was more honourable and just, though probably, at the same time, politic, and concluded, in 1326, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Scotland.

On the accession of Edward III. hostilities almost immediately re-commenced between the two kingdoms. That these originated on the side of the Scots seems generally allowed; but the motives which led to them are now only matter of conjecture. One historian assigns as the cause, that the Scots

had detected the general bad faith of the English. According to Barbour, the ships of that nation had seized upon several Scottish ships bound for the Low Countries, slain the mariners, and refused to give satisfaction. That the King of Scotland during the then weak state of the counsels of England, had determined to insist upon the full recognition of his title, seems to have been, from the decisiveness of his preparations, the true, or more important, motive of the war. The campaign which followed, though, perhaps, as curious and interesting as any which occurred during these long wars, cannot be entered upon in this place, at length sufficient to render it instructive; and it much more properly falls to be described in the lives of those two great generals, Randolph and Douglas, by whom it was conducted. The enterprise, on the part of England, was productive of enormous expense to that kingdom; and it terminated not only without advantage, but without honour. The so long desired peace between the two kingdoms was now near at hand. To attain this had been the grand and constant aim of all King Robert's policy; and the court of England seemed at length persuaded of the immediate necessity of the measure. A negotiation was therefore entered into, and brought to a happy issue in a parliament held at Northampton in April, 1328. The principal articles were the recognition of King Robert's titles; the independent sovereignty of the kingdom; and the marriage of Johanna, King Edward's sister, to David, the son and heir of the King of Scots.

Robert survived not long this consummation of his political life. He had for some time laboured under an inveterate distemper, in those days called a leprosy; a consequence of the fatigues, hardships, and sufferings which, to such an unparalleled degree, he had endured in the early part of his career. It was probably the same disease as that with which he was afflicted prior to the battle of Inverury; but though, at that time, the ardour of youth and enterprise, and a naturally powerful constitution, had triumphed over its malignity, Robert seemed now fully aware that it must prove mortal. The two last years of his life were spent in comparative seclusion, in a castle at Cardross, situated on the northern shore of the Firth of Clyde; where, from documents still extant, Robert passed these few peaceful, though embittered days of his life, in a style of munificence every way becoming his high station. Much of his time was devoted to the construction of ships; and whether he himself joined personally in such amusements or not, the expense of aquatic and fishing excursions, hawking, and other sports, appears to have formed a considerable item of his domestic disbursements. From the same authentic source it is pleasing to observe that his charities to the poor were regular and befitting.

Robert the First of Scotland died in this retirement, on the 7th day of June, 1329, in the fifty-fifth year of his age and twenty-third year of his reign. Prior to this event a remarkable and affecting scene is recorded to have taken place between the dying monarch and several of his esteemed counsellors and companions in arms. Having spoke to these, generally, upon matters connected with the ordering and well-being of his kingdom, Robert called Sir James Douglas to his couch, and addressed him in somewhat the following manner:—"Sir James, my dear and gallant friend, you know well the many troubles and severe hardships I have undergone in recovering and defending the rights of my crown and people, for you have shared in them all. When I was hardest beset of all, I made a vow, that if I ever overcame my difficulties, I would assume the

cross, and devote the remainder of my days to warring against the enemies of our Lord and Saviour. But it has pleased Providence, by this heavy malady, to take from me all hope of accomplishing what, in my heart and soul, I have earnestly desired. Therefore, my dear and faithful companion, knowing no knight more valiant, or better fitted than yourself for such a service, my earnest desire is, that when I am dead, you take my heart with you to Jerusalem, and deposit it in the holy sepulchre, that my soul may be so acquitted from the vow which my body is unable to fulfil." All present shed tears at this discourse. "My gallant and noble king," said Douglas, "I have greatly to thank you for the many and large bounties which you have bestowed upon me; but chiefly, and above all, I am thankful, that you consider me worthy to be intrusted with this precious charge of your heart, which has ever been full of prowess and goodness; and I shall most loyally perform this last service, if God grant me life and power." The king tenderly thanked him for his love and fidelity, saying, "I shall now die in peace." Immediately after Robert's decease, his heart was taken out, as he had enjoined, and the body deposited under a rich marble monument, in the choir of the Abbey church of Dunfermline.

So died that heroic, and no less patriotic monarch, to whom the people of Scotland, in succeeding ages, have looked back with a degree of national pride and affection, which it has been the lot of few men in any age or country to inspire. From a state of profligate degeneracy and lawless barbarity, originating in, and aggravated by, a foreign dominion and oppression, he raised the poor kingdom of Scotland to a greater degree of power and security than it had ever before attained; and by a wise system of laws and regulations, forming, in fact, the constitution of the popular rights and liberties, secured to posterity the benefit of all the great blessings which his arms and policy had achieved.

BRUCE, ROBERT, an eminent divine of the sixteenth century, a collateral relation of the sovereign who bore the same name, and ancestor, at the sixth remove, of the illustrious Abyssinian traveller, was born about the year 1554, being the second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth in Stirlingshire, by Janet, daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingston, and Agnes, daughter of the second Earl of Morton. We learn from Birrel's diary, a curious chronicle of the sixteenth century, that Sir Alexander, the father of this pious divine, was one of those powerful Scottish barons who used to be always attended by a retinue of armed servants, and did not scruple, even in the streets of the capital, to attack any equally powerful baron with whom they were at feud, and whom they might chance to meet. Birrel tells us, for instance, that on "the 24th of November, 1567, at two in the afternoon, the laird of Airth and the laird of Weems [ancestor of the Earl of Wemyss] mett upon the heigh gait of Edinburgh [the High Street], and they and their followers faught a *very bloody skirmish*, wher ther wes maney hurte on both sydes by shote of pistole." The father of the subject of this memoir was descended from a cadet of the Bruces of Clackmannan, who, in the reign of James I. of Scotland, had married the eldest daughter of William de Airth, and succeeded to the inheritance. The Bruces of Clackmannan, from whom, we believe, all the Bruces of Stirlingshire, Clackmannanshire, Kinross, &c. (including the Earl of Elgin), are descended, sprung from a younger son of Robert de Bruce, the competitor with Baliol for the Scottish throne, and therefore uncle to King

Robert. The reader may perhaps remember the proud saying of the last lady of Clackmannan, who, on being complimented by Robert Burns as belonging to the family of the Scottish hero, informed the poet, that King Robert belonged to her family: it will be seen from our present statement that the old lady made a slight mistake.

While the eldest son of Sir Alexander Bruce was designed to inherit the property of Airth, a comparatively small appanage, consisting of the lands of Kinnaird, was appropriated to Robert; but to eke out his provision for life, he was devoted, like many other cadets of Scottish families, to the profession of the law. With a view to qualify him for the bar he was sent to Paris, where he studied the principles of Roman jurisprudence under the most approved masters. Afterwards returning to his native country, he completed his studies at Edinburgh, and began to conduct his father's business before the Court of Session. That court was then, like the other parts of government, corrupt and disordered; the judges were court partisans; and justice was too often dispensed upon the principles of an auction. Young Bruce, whose mind was already tinctured with an ardent sentiment of religion, shrunk appalled from a course of life which involved such moral enormities, and, without regarding the prospect of speedily becoming a judge, which his father, according to the iniquitous practice of the time, had secured for him *by patent*! he determined on devoting himself to the church. His parents, to whom the moral *status* of a clergyman in those days was as nothing compared with the nominal rank of a judge, combated this resolution by all the means in their power, not excepting the threatened withdrawal of his inheritance. But Bruce, who felt what he considered a spiritual call towards his new profession, resigned his pretensions to the estate without a sigh, and, throwing off the embroidered scarlet dress which he had worn as a courtier, exchanged his residence at Edinburgh for the academical solitude of St. Andrews, where he commenced the study of theology.

At this period Andrew Melville, the divinity professor of St. Andrews, was undergoing banishment on account of his opposition to the court; but being permitted to resume his duties in 1586, Bruce enjoyed the advantage of his prelections for the ensuing winter, and appears to have become deeply imbued with his peculiar spirit. In the summer of 1587 he was brought to Edinburgh by Melville, and recommended to the General Assembly as a fit successor to the deceased Mr. Lawson, who, in his turn, had been the successor of Knox. This charge, however, Bruce scrupled to undertake, lest he should be found unfit for its important duties; he would only consent to preach till the next synod, by way of trying his abilities. It appears that he filled the pulpit for some months, though not an ordained clergyman; which certainly conveys a strange impression of the rules of the church at that period. He was even persuaded, on an emergency, to undertake the task of dispensing the communion—which must be acknowledged as a still more remarkable breach of ecclesiastical rule. He was soon after called by the unanimous voice of the people to become their pastor; but partly perhaps from a conscientious aversion to ordination, and partly from a respect to his former exertions, he would never submit to any ceremonial, such as is considered necessary by all Christian churches in giving commission to a new member. He judged the call of the people and the approbation of the ministry to be sufficient warrant for his undertaking this sacred profession.

So rapidly did the reputation of Bruce advance

among his brethren, that, in six months after this period, at an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly, which was called to consider the means of defence against the Spanish Armada, he was chosen *moderator*. A charge was preferred to this court against a preacher named Gibson, who had uttered disrespectful language in his pulpit regarding King James. The accused party was charged to appear, and, failing to do so, was suspended for contumacy. There can be no doubt that the church was most reluctant to proceed to such an extremity with one of its members on a court charge; and its readiness to do so can only be accounted for, as necessitated in some measure, by the avowed constitution of the church itself, which repeatedly set forth that it did not claim an exemption for its members from ordinary law, but only desired that an impeached individual should *first* be tried by his brethren. Accordingly we find the conscience of the moderator immediately accusing him in a strange way for having yielded a brother to lay vengeance; for, on that night, he thought he heard a voice saying to him, in the Latin language, "Why hast thou been present at the condemnation of my servant?" When the destruction of the Spanish Armada was known in Scotland, Bruce preached two thanksgiving sermons, which were published in 1591, and display a strength of sentiment and language fully sufficient to vindicate the contemporary reputation of the author to posterity.

Master Robert Bruce,¹ as he was styled in compliance with the common fashion of the time, figured conspicuously in the turbulent proceedings which, for some years after this period, characterized the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. By King James he seems to have been regarded with a mixture of respect, jealousy, and fear, the result of his powerful abilities, his uncompromising hostility to undue regal power, and the freedom with which he censured the follies and vices of the court. It was by no means in contradiction to these feelings that, when James sailed for Denmark in 1589 to bring home his queen, he raised Master Robert to the privy council, and invested him with a non-commissioned power of supervision over the behaviour of the people during his absence; telling him, at the same time, that he had more confidence in him and the other ministers of Edinburgh, than in the whole of his nobles. The king knew well enough that if he did not secure the exertions of the clergy on the side of the government during his absence they would certainly act against it. As might have been expected from the influence of the clergy, the usual disorders of the realm ceased entirely during the supremacy of this system of theocracy; and the chief honour of course fell upon Bruce. The turbulent Earl of Bothwell, who was the nominal head of the government, proposed, during James's absence, to make a public repentance for a life of juvenile profligacy. The strange scene, which exhibited the first man in the kingdom humbled for sin before an ordinary Christian congregation, took place on the 9th of November in the High Church. On this occasion Bruce preached a sermon from 2 Ti. ii. 22-26, which was printed among others in 1591, and abounds in good sense, and in pointed and elegant language. When the sermon was ended the Earl of Bothwell upon his knees confessed his dissolute and licentious life, and with tears in his eyes uttered the following words—"I wald to God, that I might mak sic a repentance as mine

¹ The affix *Master* appears to have been first used in Scotland as part of the style of the clergy. Throughout the whole of the seventeenth century it is not observed to have been applied to any other class of men.

heart craveth; and I desire you all to pray for it." But it was the repentance of Esau, and soon effaced by greater enormities.

On the return of King James with his queen, in May, 1590, Bruce received the cordial thanks of his majesty for his zeal in composing differences during his absence, and his care in tutoring the people to behave decently before the queen and her Danish attendants. He was also honoured with the duty of placing the crown upon the queen's head at her coronation; which was considered a great triumph on the part of the Presbyterian church over the titular bishops. In the ensuing June Bruce was himself married to Margaret, daughter of Douglas of Parkhead, a considerable baron, who some years after rendered himself conspicuous by slaying James Stuart, Earl of Arran, who had been the favourite of King James, and the arch-enemy of the Presbyterian polity. The parents of Bruce appear to have been now reconciled to him, for, on the occasion of his marriage, they gave him back his inheritance of Kinnaird.

The Protestant Church of Scotland had been so highly exasperated against the Catholics at the Reformation, and was now so imminently threatened by them, that its conduct in regard to that body at this period bears very much the aspect of persecution. Three Catholic earls, Huntly, Angus, and Errol, had entered into the views which Spain for some years entertained against both divisions of Britain; and they were now justly liable to the extreme vengeance of their sovereign for treason. James, however, never could be brought to put the laws fully in force against them, from a fear lest the Catholic party in general might thereby be provoked to oppose his succession to Elizabeth. The backwardness of James, and the forwardness of the clergy, in this cause, naturally brought them into violent collision, and as Bruce, next to Melville, was now the leader of the clergy, he became exceedingly odious to his sovereign. The following anecdote, related by an Episcopalian pamphleteer of a succeeding age, will illustrate their relative positions better than anything else. "It is to this day remembered," says Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, in *The Burden of Issachar*, printed 1646, "that when Master Robert Bruce came from his visitation in the east, returning to Edinburgh, and entering by the Canongate, King James, looking out at his window in the palace of Holyrood House, with indignation (which extorted from him an oath), said, 'Master Robert Bruce, I am sure, intends to be king, and declare himself heir to King Robert de Bruce.' At another time, wishing to recall the three banished lords, Angus, Huntly, and Errol, James attempted to gain the consent of Master Robert, who possessed more power in Edinburgh, through his command of consciences, than the sovereign himself. Being ushered into the king's bed-chamber, James opened unto him his views upon the English crown, and his fears lest the Papists in Scotland, of whom these lords were the chief, should contrive to join with their brethren in England, and raise obstacles to his succession. He continued, 'Do you not think it fit, Master Robert, that I give them a pardon, restore them to their honour and lands, and by doing so gain them, that thus I may save the effusion of Christian blood?' To this demand, so piously made, the answer was, 'Sir, you may pardon Angus and Errol, and recall them; but it is not fit, nor will you ever obtain my consent, to pardon or recall Huntly.' To this the most gracious king sweetly replied, 'Master Robert, it were better for me to pardon and recall him without the other two, than the other two without him: first, because you

know he hath a greater command, and is more powerful than the other two; secondly, you know I am more assured of his affection to me, for he hath married my near and dear kinswoman the Duke of Lennox his sister.' His rejoinder was, 'Sir, I cannot agree to it.' The king desiring him to consider it, dismissed him; but when sent for once more, Mr. Robert still continued inexorable: 'I agree with all my heart,' said he, 'that you recall Angus and Errol; but for Huntly it cannot be.' The king resumed, and repeated his reasons before mentioned, and added some more; but he obstinately opposed and contradicted it. . . . King James desired his reasons; he gave none, but spoke majestically. Then the king told him downright, 'Master Robert, I have told you my purpose; you see how nearly it concerneth me; I have given you my reasons for my resolutions; you give me your opinion, but you strengthen it not with reasons. Therefore, I will hold my resolution, and do as I first spoke to you.' To which, with Christian and subject-like reverence, Bruce returned this reply, 'Well, sir, you may do as you list; but choose you, you shall not have me and the Earl of Huntly both for you.'" Though this tale is told by an enemy, it bears too many characteristic marks to be altogether false; and certainly it presents a most expressive picture of the comparative importance of the leader of the Scottish church and the leader of the Scottish state. Maxwell insinuates interested and unworthy motives for Bruce's conduct on this occasion; but the whole tenor of the man's life disproves their reality. There can be no doubt that he was actuated solely by a fear for the effect which Huntly's great territorial influence might have upon the Scottish church. To show that his conduct on this occasion was by no means of an uncommon kind, we may relate another anecdote. On the 6th of June, 1592, the king came to the Little Kirk, to hear Bruce's sermon. In his discourse Bruce moved the question, "What could the great disobedience of the land mean now, while the king was present? seeing some reverence was borne to his shadow while absent." To this he himself answered, that it was the *universal contempt of his subjects*. He, therefore, exhorted the king "to call to God, before he either ate or drank, that the Lord would give him a resolution to execute justice on malefactors, although it should be with the hazard of his life: which, if he would enterprise courageously, the Lord would raise enough to assist, and all his impediments would vanish away. Otherwise," said he, in conclusion, "you will not be suffered to enjoy your crown alone, but every man will have one." When we find the king obliged to submit to such rebukes as this before his subjects, can we wonder at his finding it a difficult task to exact obedience from those subjects either to himself or the laws?

The extraordinary power of the Scottish church came at length to a period. During a violent contention between the church and court in 1596, the partisans of the former were betrayed by their zeal into a kind of riot, which was construed by the king into an attack upon his person. The reaction occasioned by this event, and the increased power which he now possessed in virtue of his near approach to the English throne, enabled him to take full advantage of their imprudence in imposing certain restrictions upon the church of an Episcopal tendency. Bruce, who preached the sermon which preceded the riot, found it necessary, though not otherwise concerned, to flee to England. He did not procure permission to return for some months, and even then he was not allowed to resume his functions as a parish minister. For some time he officiated privately in

the houses of his friends. Nor was it till after a long course of disagreeable contentions with the court that he was received back into one of the parochial pulpits of Edinburgh.

This was but the beginning of a series of troubles which descended upon the latter half of Bruce's life. In August, 1600, the king met with the strange adventure known by the name of the Gowrie conspiracy. When he afterwards requested the ministers of Edinburgh to give an account of this affair to their congregations, and offer up thanks for his deliverance, Bruce happened to be one of a considerable party who could not bring themselves to believe that James had been conspired against by the two young Ruthvens, but rather were of opinion that the whole affair was a conspiracy of his own to rid himself of two men whom he had reason to hate. To King James, who wished to impress the nation with a sense of his wonderful deliverance, this scepticism was exceedingly annoying, for more reasons than one; and accordingly it was not surprising that he should have been disposed to take the sharpest measures with a recusant of so much popular influence as Bruce. "Ye have heard me, ye have heard my minister, ye have heard my council, ye have heard the Earl of Mar," exclaimed the enraged monarch; yet all would not do. The chancellor then pronounced a sentence dictated by the council, prohibiting Bruce and three of his brethren to preach in the kingdom under pain of death.

Bruce was not the man to be daunted or driven from his purpose when the liberties of his church and the maintenance of a good conscience were concerned. He had made up his mind to withstand, at all hazards, the now undisguised machinations of his infatuated monarch to crush the Presbyterian cause. In 1596, when the privy council was prosecuting David Black, minister of St. Andrew's, for certain expressions he had uttered in the pulpit, Bruce headed a deputation of ministers to the king, to endeavour to bring about an accommodation. He declared with solemn earnestness, on behalf of himself and his associates, "that if the matter concerned only the life of Mr. Black, or that of a dozen others, they would have thought it of comparatively trifling importance; but as it was the liberty of the gospel, and the spiritual sovereignty of the Lord Jesus, that was assailed, they could not submit, but must oppose all such proceedings, to the extreme hazard of their lives." This declaration moved the king at the time, and wrung tears from his eyes; but the relents of his better nature were soon overcome by his courtiers. He was but too anxious to get so formidable an opponent as Bruce out of the way, and the present occasion afforded him a favourable opportunity. Bruce, after spending some time as a prisoner in Airth, his paternal seat, embarked at Queensferry on the 5th of November, 1600, for Dieppe, in Normandy, which he reached in five days. Next year he was allowed to return to his native country, although not to reside in Edinburgh. He had two interviews with James, one of them at the very moment when his majesty mounted horse on his journey to England. But the minions of the court and friends of the Episcopal religion contrived to prevent his offers of submission from having their due weight. He was formally deposed in 1605, and sent to Inverness, which was then a frequent place of banishment for obnoxious clergymen. There he remained for eight years, only exercising his gifts in a private way, but still with the best effect upon the rude people who heard him. In 1613 his son procured permission for his return to Kinnaird, upon the condition that he would confine himself to that place. There, however, he soon

found himself very painfully situated on account of the comparatively dissolute manners of the neighbouring clergy, who are said to have persecuted him in return for the freedom he used in censuring their behaviour. He obtained leave from the privy council to retire to a more sequestered house at Monkland, near Bothwell, where, however, he soon attracted the notice of the Bishop of Glasgow on account of the crowds which flocked to hear him. He was obliged to return to Kinnaird. In 1621 the Scottish parliament was about to pass the famed articles of Perth, in order to bring back something like uniformity with England in the national system of worship. Bruce could not restrain his curiosity to witness this awful infliction upon the church; he took advantage of some pressing piece of private business to come to Edinburgh. The bishops watched the motions of their powerful enemy with vigilance, and he was soon observed. They entered a petition and complaint before the council, and he was committed to Edinburgh Castle for several months, after which he was again banished to Inverness. Some of the lords of the council who were his friends wrote to court, in order to have the place of confinement fixed at his family seat; but James had heard of the effect of his preachings at that place, and returned for answer—"It is not for the love of him that ye have written, but to entertain a schism in the kirk; we will have no more popish pilgrimages to Kinnaird (in allusion to the frequent intercourse between Bruce and the pious people of the surrounding country); he shall go to Inverness." The king never forgave his scepticism of the Gowrie conspiracy, although this was the occasion rather than the cause of the persecution which tracked him in his latter years. He remained at Inverness till the death of James, in 1625, when he obtained permission once more to reside at his own house. He was even allowed, for some time after this, to preach in several of the parish churches around Edinburgh, whither large crowds flocked to hear him. At length, in 1629, Charles wrote to the council, requesting that he might again be confined to Kinnaird, or the space of two miles around it. The church of Larbert having been neglected by the bishops, and left in ruins without either minister or stipend, he had repaired it at his own expense; and now finding it within the limits of his confinement, he preached there every Sunday to a numerous and eager audience. At one of his sermons, either in that church or in the neighbourhood, he gained a proselyte who vindicated his cause, and that of Presbyterians in general, a few years after. This was the celebrated Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, in Fife, whom he was the means of converting, by preaching from the first verse of the tenth chapter of St. John's Gospel.

Bruce had now lived to see the Scottish Presbyterian church altered for an imperfect Episcopacy, and as he prepared for the fate which threescore and ten years had long marked out for him, he must have felt convinced that what remained of his favourite system could not long survive him. The revival of the Presbyterian polity, in all its pristine glory, was reserved in its proper time for his pupil Henderson. Exhausted with the infirmities of age, he was for some time almost confined to his chamber; yet, as he laboured under no active disease, his end advanced slowly. On the 13th of August, 1631, having breakfasted with his family in the usual manner, he felt death approaching, and warned his children that his Master called him. With these words he desired a Bible to be brought, and finding that his sight was gone, he requested his daughter to place his hand on the two last verses of chap. viii. of the

Romans. These were highly expressive of his life, his resolution, and his hopes. When his hand was fixed on the words, he remained for a few moments satisfied and silent. He had only strength to add, "Now God be with you, my children; I have breakfasted with you, and shall sup to-night with the Lord Jesus Christ." He then closed his eyes and peacefully expired.

Such was the end of the long and varied life of Robert Bruce. His bold and comprehensive mind, his stern independence, and stainless integrity, are qualities which, under every disadvantage, procure the respect of mankind, and indicate superior character. Less violent than Melville, more enlightened than Knox, he viewed with a brighter and milder eye the united interests of the church and nation. Had he chosen to accommodate himself to the temporizing spirit of the age, he might have stood high in royal favour, and become, in point of political influence, the first man of the age. But the true greatness of his character as a Christian minister and a patriot, which shone brightest in adversity, would never have appeared; nor would the services have been rendered to his church and country which contributed to secure to them those blessings of national freedom and liberty of conscience which have descended to our own times, and which it should be our study to preserve and transmit to future generations. James VI. found in men like Bruce, and in the church of which he was an ornament, formidable obstacles to the civil and spiritual despotism which he had destined for his Scottish subjects; hence his fear of both was equal to his dislike. Impartial history indorses not the later but the earlier judgment of the king, who was so sensible of the valuable services of the church in preserving public tranquillity during his absence in Denmark on the occasion of his marriage, that in his letters to Bruce he declared that he was "worth the quarter of his kingdom."

The person of Robert Bruce was tall and dignified. His countenance was majestic, and his appearance in the pulpit grave, and expressive of much authority. His manner of delivery was, in the words of a Presbyterian historian, "*an earthquake to his hearers, and he rarely preached but to a weeping auditory.*" It is told, as an instance of the effect of his sermons, that a poor Highlander one day came to him after he had concluded, and offered to him his whole wealth (two cows), on condition that he would make God his friend. Accustomed to continual prayer and intense meditation on religious subjects, his ardent imagination at times appears to have lost itself in visions of the divine favour; a specious but natural illusion, by which the most virtuous minds have been deceived and supported when reason and philosophy have been summoned in vain. His knowledge of the Scriptures was extensive, and accurate beyond the attainment of his age. His skill in the languages, and the sciences of those times, not to mention his acquaintance with the laws and constitution of the kingdom, a branch of knowledge possessed by few of his brethren, was equal, if not superior, to that of any of the Scottish reformers. His sermons, of which sixteen were printed in his lifetime, display a boldness of expression, regularity of style, and force of argument, seldom to be found in the Scottish writers of the sixteenth century. A translation of their rich idiomatic Scottish into the English tongue was printed in 1617, and is that which is now most common in Scotland.

This great man was buried within the church of Larbert, in which he had often preached during the

latter part of his life. People assembled from all quarters to attend his funeral; and, according to Calderwood, between four and five thousand persons followed his corpse to the grave. It is impossible to conclude this narrative of his life, without remarking how much of his person and character revived in the Abyssinian Bruce, his descendant in the sixth degree, whose person was also majestic, and whose mind, while diminished a little in utility by hasty passion and a want of accommodation to circumstances, was also of the most powerful cast, and calculated to produce a great impression upon those around it.

BRUNTON, MRS. MARY, an eminent moral novelist of the present century, was born in the island of Barra, in Orkney, November 1, 1778. Her father was Colonel Thomas Balfour of Elwick, a cadet of one of the most respectable families in the county of Orkney. Her mother was Frances Ligonier, only daughter of Colonel Ligonier of the 13th dragoons, and niece of the Earl of Ligonier, under whose care she was educated. Previous to her sixteenth year, Mary Balfour had received some instructions in music, and in French and Italian, from her mother, and her education was completed by a short residence at a boarding-school in Edinburgh. At the early age mentioned, she had to undertake the charge of her father's household, from which she was removed in her twentieth year, to be the wife of the Rev. Alex. Brunton, minister of the parish of Bolton in East Lothian. In the retirement and moderate elegance of a Scottish manse, Mrs. Brunton was only at first conspicuous for her attention to her household duties. Afterwards, however, the tastes of her husband led her gradually into habits of study, and she went, with his direction and assistance, through a course of reading in history, philosophy, criticism, and the belles lettres. The promotion of her husband to a ministerial charge at Edinburgh, which took place six years after her marriage, was favourable to the expansion and improvement of her intellect, by introducing her into a circle of society more enlightened than any in which she had hitherto moved. The native powers of her mind were slowly developed; she ripened from the simple housewife into the clear-minded and intelligent *savante*. Yet for many years she was only known as a well-informed but perfectly unpretending female. So far from displaying any disposition to active literature, she felt the composition of a letter to be burdensome. A trivial circumstance is said to have operated, with several other causes, in inducing her to attempt a regular work. She had often urged her husband to undertake some literary production, and once she appealed to an intimate friend, who was present, whether he would not publish it. This third party expressed a ready consent, but said he would at least as willingly publish a book of her own writing. This seemed at the time to strike her with a sense of her powers hitherto not entertained, and she asked more than once whether he was in earnest. She then appears to have commenced her novel entitled *Self-Control*, of which she had finished a considerable part of the first volume before making even her husband privy to her design. In 1811 the work was published at Edinburgh, in two volumes, and the impression which it made upon the public was immediate and decisive. It was acknowledged that there were faults of a radical and most unfortunate kind—such as the perpetual danger to which the honour of the heroine was exposed (an intolerable subject of fictitious writing), but every one appreciated the beauty and correctness of the style, and the acuteness of observation and loftiness of senti-

ment which pervaded the whole. The modesty of Mrs. Brunton, which was almost fantastic, induced her to give this composition to the world without her name. Four years afterwards she published a second novel in three volumes, entitled *Discipline*, which was only admired in a degree inferior to the first. She afterwards commenced a third tale under the title *Emmeline*, which she did not live to finish.

Mrs. Brunton had been married twenty years without being blessed with any offspring. In the summer of 1818, when a prospect of that blessing occurred, she became impressed with a belief that she should not survive. With a tranquillity, therefore, which could only be the result of great strength of mind, joined to the purest sentiments of religion and virtue, she made every preparation for death, exactly as if she had been about to leave her home upon a journey. The clothes in which she was to be laid in the grave were selected by herself; she herself had chosen and labelled some tokens of remembrance for her more intimate friends; and she even prepared, with her own hand, a list of the individuals to whom she wished intimations of her death to be sent. Yet these anticipations, though so deeply fixed, neither shook her fortitude nor diminished her cheerfulness. They neither altered her wish to live, nor the ardour with which she prepared to meet the duties of returning health, if returning health were to be her portion.

To the inexpressible grief of her husband and friends, and, it may be said, of the literary world at large, the unfortunate lady's anticipations proved true. On the 7th of December she gave birth to a still-born son, and for some days recovered with a rapidity beyond the hopes of her medical attendants. A fever, however, took place, and, advancing with fatal violence, terminated her valuable life on the 19th, in the 41st year of her age.

The whole mind and character of Mrs. Brunton was "one pure and perfect chrysolite" of excellence. We are so agreeably anticipated in an estimate of her worth by an obituary tribute paid to her memory by Mrs. Joanna Baillie, that we shall make no scruple for laying it before the reader:—

"No more shall bed-ridden pauper watch
The gentle rising of the larch,
And as she enters shift his place,
To hear her voice and see her face.
The helpless vagrant, oft relieved,
From her hath his last dole received.
The circle, social and enlightened,
Whose evening hours her converse brightened,
Have seen her quit the friendly door,
Whose threshold she shall cross no more.
And he, by holy ties endeared,
Whose life her love so sweetly cheer'd,
Of her cold clay, the mind's void cell,
Hath ta'en a speechless last farewell.
Yea, those who never saw her face,
Now did on blue horizon trace
One mountain of her native land,
Nor turn that leaf with eager hand,
On which appears the unfinished page,
Of her whose works did oft engage
Untir'd attention, interest deep,
While searching, healthful thoughts would creep
To the heart's core, like balmy air,
To leave a kindly feeling there,—
And gaze, till stain of fallen tears
Upon the snowy blank appears.
Now all who did her friendship claim
With altered voice pronounce her name,
And quickly turn, with wistful ear,
Her praise from stranger's lip to hear,
And hoard, as saintly relics gain'd,
Aught that to her hath e'er pertain'd."

The last beautiful allusion is to the unfinished tale of *Emmeline*, which was published by her husband, Dr. Brunton (late professor of oriental languages in the university of Edinburgh), along with a brief, but most elegant and touching memoir of her life.

BRYCE, The Rev. ALEXANDER, an eminent geometrician, was born in the year 1713, at Borland in the parish of Kincardine, and received the first rudiments of learning at the school of Downe, Perthshire. He studied afterwards at the university of Edinburgh, where his proficiency in mathematics and practical astronomy early attracted the notice, and secured for him the patronage, of Professor Maclaurin. At the particular request of that celebrated man, he went to Caithness, in May, 1740, as tutor to a gentleman's son, but chiefly to construct a map of the northern coast; the number of shipwrecks rendering this, at the time, an object of considerable national importance. During a residence of three years, and in defiance of many threats from the peasantry (which made it necessary for him to go always armed), who did not relish so accurate an examination of their coast, from motives of disloyalty, or because they were afraid it would deprive them of two principal sources of income—smuggling and plunder from the shipwrecks—he accomplished, *at his own expense*, the geometrical survey, and furnished "A Map of the North Coast of Britain, from Raw Stoir of Assynt, to Wick, in Caithness, with the Harbours and Rocks, and an Account of the Tides in the Pentland Firth." This map was afterwards published by the Philosophical, now the Royal, Society of Edinburgh in 1744. Mr. Arrow-smith, it may be mentioned, pronounced it to be very accurate, after a minute examination, while preparing materials for his large map of Scotland.

On his return to Edinburgh, in 1743, Mr. Bryce gave very efficient aid, with his friend the Rev. Mr. Wallace of Haddo's Hole church, in verifying the necessary calculations submitted to them by Dr. Webster, previous to the institution, by act of parliament, of the fund for a provision for the widows of the Scottish clergy; the regular increase of which since, and its present flourishing state, form the best encomium of those who laboured for its establishment.

In June, 1744, he was licensed to preach by the reverend presbytery of Dunblane; and having received a presentation by James, Earl of Morton, to the church and parish of Kirknewton, within the presbytery of Edinburgh, he was ordained to serve that cure, in August, 1745. From his knowledge of the inland geography of Scotland, and line of the roads, he was enabled, this year, to furnish the quartermaster-general of the army of the Duke of Cumberland with important information regarding the march of the forces in subduing the rebellion. In the winter of 1745, and spring of 1746, he taught the mathematical classes in the university of Edinburgh, at the desire, and during the last illness, of Professor Maclaurin, who died in June following. Mr. Bryce expressed his sorrow for the loss of his friend, in verse, of which the following is a specimen:—

"Von angel guards that wait his soul,
Amaz'd at sight from earth so bright,
Find nothing new, from pole to pole,
To show him in a clearer light.
"Joyful he bears glad news¹ on high,
And tells them through celestial space;
See Newton hastens down the sky,
To meet him with a warm embrace!

¹ A few days before his friend's death, he saw him institute a calculation for ascertaining the proportion that existed between the axis of the earth and the diameter of its equator. It proceeded on data sent him by the Earl of Morton, president of the Royal Society, consisting of observations made in Peru by the French mathematicians, and communicated at London by Don Antonio, who was taken prisoner at Cape Breton. The proportion ascertained was very nearly that which Sir Isaac Newton had predicted; being as 221 : 222, and afforded particular gratification. These are the news he is supposed to bear.

"The list'ning choirs around them throng,
Their love and wonder fond to show;
On golden harps they tune the song
Of Nature's laws in worlds below.

"O Forbes, Foulkes, loved Morton, mourn;
Edina, London, Paris, sigh;
With tears bedew his costly urn,
And pray—Earth light upon him lie."

In the year 1750, having occasion to visit Stirling, and knowing that, by an act of the Scottish parliament, this borough had the keeping of the pint jug, the standard, by special statute, for weight and for liquid and dry measure in Scotland, he requested a sight of it from the magistrates. Having been referred to the council house, a *pewter pint jug* which had been kept suspended from the roof of the apartment, was taken down and given to him. After minutely examining it, he was convinced that it could not be the standard. The discovery was in vain communicated to the magistrates, who were ill able to appreciate their loss. It excited very different feelings in the mind of an antiquary and a mathematician; and resolved, if possible, to recover this valuable antique, he immediately instituted a search, which, though conducted with much patient industry during part of this and the following year, proved unavailing. In the spring of 1752 it occurred to him that this standard might have been borrowed by some of the braziers or coppersmiths, for the purpose of making legal measures for the citizens; and having learned that a person of this description, called Urquhart, had joined the rebel forces in 1745; that his furniture and shop utensils had been brought to public sale on his not returning; and that various articles which had not been sold were thrown into a garret as useless, he obtained permission to inspect them; and, to his great satisfaction, discovered, under a mass of lumber, the precious object of his long research. Thus was recovered the only legal standard of weight and measure in Scotland, after it had been offered, in ignorance, for public sale, and thrown aside unsold as trash, and long after it had been considered by its constitutional guardians as irretrievably lost.

The standard Stirling pint jug is made of brass, in the form of a hollow truncated cone, and weighs 14 pounds, 10 ounces, 1 drop, and 18 grains, Scotch Troy. The mean diameter of the mouth is 4.17 inches. The mean diameter of the bottom 5.25 inches, and the mean depth 6 inches English. On the front, near the mouth, in alto-relievo, is a shield and lion rampant, the arms of Scotland; and near the bottom another shield, and an ape, passant gardant, with the letter S below, supposed to have been intended as the arms of Stirling. The arms at present are a wolf. The ape must have been put on therefore inadvertently by the maker, or the town must have changed its arms at a period subsequent to the time when the standard was ordered to be made. The handle is fixed with two brass nails; the whole is of rude workmanship, and indicates great antiquity.

By an act of the Scottish parliament, Edinburgh had the keeping of the standard ell, Perth the reel, Lanark the pound, Linlithgow the firloft, and Stirling the *pint jug*, an arrangement made by the legislature, in the view of improving the internal commerce of the country, by checking the frauds which the traffickers of a rude age may be supposed to have often attempted, and because the commodities to which these different standards referred, were known to have been supplied in greater abundance by the districts and towns to whose care they were respectively committed. Hence it may be inferred that Lanark was then the principal market for wool,

Perth for yarn, Edinburgh for cloth, Linlithgow for grain, and Stirling for distilled and fermented liquors. The Stirling jug is mentioned in acts of parliament as being in the town before the reign of James II. in 1437; and the last mention made of it is in the reign of James VI., in an "act of parliament, 19 February, 1618, anent settling the measures and weights of Scotland." No accurate experiments appear to have been afterwards made with it for fixing the legal quantity of these measures and weights, till the following by Mr. Bryce, in 1762-3, a period of about 135 years!

Having been permitted, after recovering the standard jug, to carry it with him to Edinburgh, his first object was to ascertain precisely, by means of it, the number of cubic inches, and parts of a cubic inch, in the true Scotch pint.

For this purpose the mouth of the jug was made exactly horizontal, by applying to it a spirit level; a minute silver wire of the thickness of a hair, with a plummet attached to each end, was laid across the mouth, and water poured gently in till, with a magnifying glass, it was seen just to touch the wire: the water was then carefully weighed in a balance, the beam of which would turn with a single grain when 96 ounces were in each scale. After seventeen trials with clear spring and river water, several of which were made in presence of the magistrates of Edinburgh, the content of the jug was found to weigh, at a medium of the trials, 54 ounces, 8 drops, 20 grains, or 26,180 grains, English Troy.

His next object was to determine accurately how many of these grains were contained in a cubic inch of water. With this view, a cylindrical brass vessel was made with great accuracy, by a scale of Bird, the celebrated mathematical instrument-maker of London, to contain 100 cubic inches. This vessel was filled several times with the same water as in the trials with the jug, and its content was found to weigh 25,318 grains, English Troy. This number, divided by 100, gives $253\frac{18}{100}$ grains as the weight of a cubic inch of water: therefore, $\frac{26180}{253\frac{18}{100}} = 103\frac{404}{1000}$,

the exact number of cubic inches, and parts, of a cubic inch, in the standard Scotch pint: $51\frac{702}{1000}$ cubic inches in the chopin: $25\frac{318}{1000}$ cubic inches in the mutchkin; and so on proportionally in the other smaller Scotch measures.

Mr. Bryce next applied the standard jug to fix the legal size of the different measures for grain; which he compared with some of the English dry measures. By act of parliament, February 19, 1618, formerly mentioned, it is ordained that the *wheat and pease firloft* shall contain $21\frac{1}{2}$ pints; and the *bear and oat firloft* 31 pints of the just Stirling jug. Therefore, since there are $103\frac{404}{1000}$ cubic inches in the standard Scotch pint, there will be $2197\frac{848}{1000}$ cubic inches in the wheat and pease firloft; $549\frac{848}{1000}$ in the peck; and $137\frac{848}{1000}$ in the lippie—in the bean and oat firloft, $3205\frac{848}{1000}$ cubic inches; $801\frac{848}{1000}$ in the peck; and $200\frac{848}{1000}$ in the lippie. The excess of a boll of bear above a boll of wheat was found to be precisely 5 pecks bear measure, and 1 mutchkin, without the difference of a single gill: or, a boll of bear is more than a boll of wheat by 7 pecks $1\frac{1}{2}$ lippie, wheat measure, wanting 1 gill.

The English corn bushel contains 2178 cubic inches, which is less than the Scotch wheat firloft by $19\frac{335}{1000}$ inches, or three gills; so that 7 firlofts of wheat will make 7 English bushels and 1 lippie. The English corn bushel is less than the barley firloft by 1 peck $3\frac{1}{2}$ lippies nearly.

The legal English bushel, by which gaugers are ordered to make their returns of malt, contains

2150.42 cubic inches, which is less than the wheat firloft by 46.915 cubic inches, or 1 chopin, wanting $\frac{1}{4}$ gill; and less than the bear firloft by 1055.104 cubic inches, or 2 bear pecks, wanting 7 gills.

A Scotch barley boll contains 5 bushels, 3 pecks, 2 lippies, and a little more, according to the Winchester gallon.

A Scotch barley boll, according to the legal measure, contains 6 bushels, wanting a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ lippie.

A Scotch chaldier (16 bolls of barley) is equal to 11 quarters, 6 bushels, and 3 lippies, Winchester measure.

A Scotch chaldier of wheat is equal to 8 quarters, 2 pecks, and 1 lippie, Winchester measure.

A wheat firloft made according to the dimensions mentioned in the Scotch act of parliament, 1618, viz. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter at top and bottom, and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, Scotch measure, would be less than the true wheat firloft (or 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ pints of the standard jug) by a Scotch chopin: a chaldier of wheat measured with this firloft would fall short of the true quantity 1 firloft 2 pecks, or nearly 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

A barley firloft made according to the dimensions in the said act, viz. having the same diameter at top and bottom as the wheat firloft, and 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, Scotch measure, would be less than the true firloft (or 31 pints of the standard jug) by 5 mutchkins: and a chaldier of bear, measured with such a firloft, would fall short of the just quantity 2 firlofts, 2 pecks, and nearly 2 lippies, or 4 per cent.

These very remarkable mistakes must have proceeded from the ignorance or inaccuracy of the persons authorized by parliament to make the calculations, and to determine the exact dimensions of the firloft measure. For, suppose a firloft were made of the following dimensions, viz. 20 inches diameter, English measure, at top and bottom, and 7 inches in depth, it would contain 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ pints (the true wheat and pease firloft) and only $\frac{1}{4}$ of a gill more.

A firloft of the same diameter as above, at top and bottom, and 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, would contain 31 pints (the true bear and oat firloft) and only 2 gills more: but if, instead of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, it be made 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches in depth, it will be less than 31 pints (the true standard measure), only $\frac{1}{4}$ of a single gill.

By the greater of these firlofts were to be measured bear, oats, and malt; by the less wheat, rye, beans, pease, and salt.

According to the act of parliament in 1618, to which reference has been made, the Scotch pint contains of the clear running water of Leith three pounds and seven ounces, French troy weight, and this is ordained to be the weight of Scotland; therefore, in the Scotch pound there are 7616 troy grains; and in the Scotch ounce 476 troy grains, and so on proportionally with regard to the other Scotch weights.

In this way, by the recovery of the standard Stirling pint jug, canons of easy application resulted for determining the just quantity of the measures, liquid and dry, and also of the weights in Scotland, and therefore of great public utility, by settling disputes and preventing litigation in that part of the empire.

After having obtained the above results by means of the standard jug, Mr. Bryce superintended, at the desire of the magistrates of Edinburgh, the adjustment of the weights and measures kept by the Dean of Guild; and "for his good services to the city," was made a Burgess and Guild brother in January, 1754.

Several detached articles by Mr. Bryce were published by the Royal Society of London, particularly *An Account of a Comet observed by him in 1766*; *A New Method of Measuring the Velocity of the Wind*; *An Experiment to ascertain to what*

Quantity of Water a fall of Snow on the Earth's Surface is equal. His observations on the transits of Venus, 6th June, 1761, and 3d June, 1769, were considered by astronomers as important in solving the grand problem. In May, 1767, he was consulted by the trustees for procuring surveys of the lines proposed for the canal between the Forth and Clyde, and received their thanks for his remarks, afterwards communicated to them in writing, on Mr. Smeaton's first printed report. About this time he was introduced to Stuart Mackenzie, lord privy-seal of Scotland, who, as a lover of the arts and sciences, highly respecting his genius and acquirements, obtained for him soon after the office of one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary; and, during the remainder of his life, honoured him with his friendship and patronage.

He planned for that gentleman the elegant observatory at Belmont Castle, where also are still to be seen an instrument contrived by him for ascertaining the magnifying powers of telescopes, and a horizontal marble dial, made with great precision, to indicate the hour, the minute, and every ten seconds. In 1770, his lordship having communicated an account of a phenomenon observed by Lord Charles Cavendish, Dr. Habberden, and himself, viz. "that a less quantity of rain (by a difference which was considerable) fell into the rain-gauges placed on the top of Westminster Abbey and an adjoining house than into those placed below," and for which they found it difficult to account, Mr. Bryce sent to his lordship, on the 14th December, an ingenious solution of the fact. In 1772 he wrote *Remarks on the Barometer for Measuring Altitudes*; showing the uncertainty and limited use of the instrument as then commonly used for that purpose, and the means by which it might be rendered more perfect and greater precision attained. These remarks were sent to lord privy-seal in January, 1773. In a map of the Three Lothians, engraved by Kitchen of London, and published in 1773 by Andrew and Mostyn Armstrong, "the scales of longitude and latitude are laid down agreeably to the observations of the Rev. Mr. Bryce at Kirknewton manse." In April, 1774, in consequence of certain apparently insurmountable difficulties, he was consulted by the magistrates of Stirling on the subject of supplying the town with water: these difficulties he removed by taking accurately all the different levels; making the calculations for the size of the leaden pipes and the reservoir, and fixing the situation for its being placed. For this service he had the freedom of the town conferred on him. In 1776 he made all the requisite calculations for an epitome of the solar system on a large scale, afterwards erected by the Earl of Buchan at his seat at Kirkhill. In case of disputes about the extent of fields exchanged by neighbouring proprietors, or the line of their marches, he was generally chosen sole arbiter, and from his knowledge in land-surveying, and the confidence reposed in him, had it often in his power to render them essential service. Mr. Bryce used to send various meteorological observations and other detached notices to Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine*.

From the time of his ordination, in 1745, till his death on the 1st January, 1786, he discharged with great fidelity all the duties of his pastoral office, and excelled particularly in that species of didactic discourse known in Scotland under the name of lecture. His lectures, however, were never fully written, but spoken from notes; and he left no sermons for publication.

In early life he composed several songs, adapted to some of the most favourite Scottish airs, and his

stanzas, in *The Barks of Invermay*, have been long before the world. For about three years before his death his greatest amusement was in writing poetry, chiefly of a serious and devotional cast; which, though not composed for the public eye, is read with satisfaction by his friends, and valued by them as an additional proof of his genius, and a transcript of that enlightened piety, uprightness of mind, and unshaken trust in his Creator, which characterized him through the whole of life.

BRYDONE, PATRICK, F.R.S., the well-known author of *A Tour in Sicily and Malta*, one of the most entertaining works in the language, was the son of the parish minister of Coldingham, Berwickshire, and was born at Coldingham in 1741. Having received an excellent university education, which qualified him for the duties of a travelling preceptor, he was engaged in that capacity, first by Mr. Beckford, of Somerly in Suffolk, and afterwards Mr. Fullarton, who was known in after-life as commander of a large body of troops in India, and finally as one of the three commissioners for the government of Trinidad. His excursion with the former gentleman took place in 1767-8; the latter in 1770. In the second tour he visited Sicily and Malta, which were then almost unknown to the English. Having written an account of this journey in a series of letters to Mr. Beckford, he was induced, by a consideration of the uninformed state of the British public upon this subject, to publish his work in 1773, under the title of *A Tour through Sicily and Malta*. This work is not only a most original and amusing narrative, but it contains a great deal of scientific knowledge, especially regarding the temperature of the air, which was the object of Mr. Brydone's particular study. For the purpose of carrying on his scientific observations, he travelled with an apparatus as perfect as could then be procured, or as it was possible to carry in the luggage of a traveller. Having returned to England in 1771, he obtained a respectable appointment under government, and after the publication of his travels, which procured for him no common share of reputation and respect, was nominated a member of several learned societies, particularly of the Royal Society, London. In the *Transactions* of this learned body are several papers of Mr. Brydone, chiefly on the subject of electricity, of which he was a profound student, and a close and anxious observer. He spent the latter part of his life in retirement at Lennel House, near Coldstream, where he was visited by the most distinguished persons in literature and public life. The author of *Marmion* has introduced into that work the following episode respecting Mr. Brydone:—

"Where Lennel's convent closed their march:
There now is left but one frail arch,
Yet mourn thou not its cells;
Our time a fair exchange has made;
Hard by, in hospitable shade,
A reverend pilgrim dwells,
Well worth the whole Bernardine brood,
That e'er wore sandal, frock, or hood."

Patrick Brydone died at Lennel in 1818, at an advanced age.

BRYSON, ALEXANDER. This talented Edinburgh citizen, who, though employed in a mechanical profession, won for himself a distinguished scientific reputation, was the eldest son of Robert Bryson, who founded the well-known firm of watchmakers in the Scottish capital. Alexander was born at No. 5 South Bridge, on the 14th October, 1816. After the usual course of education at the high-school, being destined to follow his father's occupation, he

was apprenticed to a watchmaker at Musselburgh; and at the expiration of his indenture, he went to London, to perfect himself in the art of watch and clock making. He was not, however, contented with the mere mechanical details of his trade, or the superior correctness of his time-keepers—and perhaps it was the very nature of these that strengthened his original aptitude for scientific inquiry, and fitted him for the pursuits of physical science. At all events, the patience and exactitude so essential in the art of watchmaking he transferred to his scientific pursuits; and on his return to Edinburgh, where he entered into partnership with his brother, he also enrolled himself as a student at the university, and attended the classes of chemistry and natural philosophy taught by Professors Hope and Forbes. He became a regular attender of the School of Arts, in founding which his father and Mr. Leonard Horner had taken a very active part; and from a student, Alexander Bryson rose to the rank of a fellowship in the society, and finally to the president's chair. He also became president of the Royal Physical Society. Besides holding an honoured place in these scientific associations, Mr. Bryson was a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and of the Geological Society of London. His great attainments in science also procured him the esteem of some of the most distinguished scientific men of the day. With that eminent naturalist, Dr. Fleming, of Aberdeen college, and afterwards of the new college, Edinburgh, Mr. Bryson was on terms of close intimacy for many years. He joined the professor in his geological excursions, and was a strenuous defender of his opinions; and when Fleming died, the excellent memoir that appeared of him in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Edinburgh was from the pen of Bryson. He was also on terms of intimate friendship with the late Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, of whom he published an interesting memoir in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society, of which Sir Thomas was for many years the president. But the most substantial proof of the esteem in which he was held by men who could appreciate his attainments, was given by the late Mr. Nicol, the inventor of the well-known prism which bears his name. With him in early life Mr. Bryson formed a close friendship, the natural consequence of mutual sympathy in their studies and pursuits; and when Nicol died, he bequeathed to his young friend not only his fine library and collection of minerals, but also his property. By this handsome bequest Bryson was independent of his professional business, and enabled more closely to devote himself to his favourite studies in after-life.

It was perhaps in consequence of his devotedness to natural science in general, instead of restricting himself to one particular branch of it, that Bryson published no separate work: to do this, he must have been exclusively or especially a geologist, or a mineralogist, or a zoologist, instead of being all the three combined. Over these departments of science, however, his pen ranged in the form of almost thirty papers, which were published in the *Transactions* of the various societies with which he was connected. In 1862 he made a trip to Iceland, and published a short description of his journey, in which he conclusively settled the important fact, that the temperature half-way down the tube of the Great Geyser was 270° Fahr., whilst at the very bottom it was not more than 240° Fahr. In 1864 he read to the Scottish Society of Arts an account of a new method of detecting the presence and position of icebergs at sea, which was reckoned of so much importance, that the Hepburn prize was awarded to it. In the

meantime, his fellow-citizens were not insensible to his distinguished merits, and he was in 1861 elected a member of the Town Council for Newington Ward, an office which he was obliged to resign in November, 1865, on account of failing health, but during that interval he took an active part in introducing the telegraphic communications between the various police stations in the city. In 1865 the city council evinced their sense of his scientific acquirements by appointing him one of the curators for the election of professors for the university of Edinburgh, the chairs of which are subject to their appointment. In the spring of the following year, while engaged in experiments to test the applicability of the electric light in the capture of fish, for which he had obtained a patent, he contracted a severe cold, which was speedily followed by an attack of jaundice, under which he lingered through the summer and autumn, and gradually became weaker, when bronchitis supervened, under which he gradually sank. He died at Hawkhill, Edinburgh, on the 7th of December, 1866. At the next meeting of the Society of Arts, the event was thus announced by the president:—"Before commencing the business of this evening, it is my melancholy duty to refer to the loss which this society, in common with many others in Edinburgh, has sustained from the death of Mr. Alexander Bryson. Mr. Bryson was elected a fellow of this society in 1836, and he was a valuable and valued member of our body. He was also elected president some years ago. His death has been so sudden and so recent, it is not my intention to refer to or enumerate at any length, or indeed at all, the various improvements and the various acquisitions he has made in scientific pursuits; and among so many of his friends—and I see friends here with some of whom he was very familiar—it is quite unnecessary to refer to his kind heart, his frank and genial manner, and the keenness with which he entered into all the scientific pursuits which he took an interest in. The death of Mr. Alexander Bryson makes a sad blank in this scientific society. I have, therefore, to move that some record of the respect we have for his memory should be registered in our minutes, and that our extract should be sent to his family, in the hope that their affliction may to some extent be lightened by the knowledge that we, as a society, sympathize with them in their great loss."

BUCHAN, EARL OF. See **ERSKINE, DAVID S.**

BUCHAN, ELSPITH, the leader of a small sect of fanatics now extinct, was the daughter of John Simpson, who kept an inn between Banff and Portsoy. She was born in 1738, and educated in the Scottish Episcopal communion. Having been sent when a girl to Glasgow, in order to enter into service, she married Robert Buchan, a workman in the pottery belonging to her master, with whom she lived for several years, and had several children. Having changed her original profession of faith for that of her husband, who was a Burgher-seceder, her mind seems to have become perplexed with religious fancies, as is too often the case with those who alter their creed. She fell into a habit of interpreting the Scriptures literally, and began to promulgate certain strange doctrines, which she derived in this manner from holy writ. Having now removed to Irvine, she drew over to her own way of thinking, Mr. Hugh Whyte, a Relief clergyman, who consequently abdicated his charge, and became her chief apostle. The sect was joined by persons of a rank of life in which no such susceptibility was to be expected. Mr. Hunter, a writer, and several trading people in good circumstances, were among the converts.

After having indulged their absurd fancies for several years at Irvine, the mass of the people at length rose in April, 1784, and assembled in a threatening and tumultuous manner around Mr. Whyte's house, which had become the tabernacle of the new religion, and of which they broke all the windows. The Buchanans felt this insult so keenly, that they left the town to the number of forty-six persons, and, proceeding through Mauchline, Cumnock, Sanquhar, and Thornhill, did not halt till they arrived at a farmhouse, two miles south from the latter place, and thirteen from Dumfries, where they hired the outhouses for their habitation, in the hope of being permitted, in that lonely scene, to exercise their religion without further molestation. Mrs. Buchan continued to be the great mistress of the ceremonies, and Mr. Whyte to be the chief officiating priest. They possessed considerable property, which all enjoyed alike, and though several men were accompanied by their wives, all the responsibilities of the married state were given up. Some of them wrought gratuitously at their trades, for the benefit of those who employed them; but they professed only to consent to this, that they might have opportunities of bringing over others to their own views. They scrupulously abjured all worldly considerations whatsoever, wishing only to lead a quiet and holy life, till the commencement of the millennium, or the day of judgment, which they believed to be at hand. "Observing," they said, "how the young ravens are fed, and how the lilies grow, we assure ourselves that God will feed and clothe us." Mrs. Buchan, who was said to have given herself out to be the Virgin Mary, at first denied that she was so. Instead of being the mother of Christ, she said, after the flesh, she was his daughter after the spirit. The little republic existed for some time without anything occurring to mar their happiness, except the occasional rudeness of unbelieving neighbours. At length, as hope sickened, worldly feelings appear to have returned upon some of the members; and, notwithstanding all the efforts which Mrs. Buchan could make to keep her flock together, a few returned to Irvine. It would seem that as the faith of her followers declined, she greatly increased the extravagance of her pretensions, and the rigour of her discipline. It is said that when any person was suspected of an intention to leave the society, she ordered him to be locked up, and ducked every day in cold water, so that it required some little address in any one to get out of her clutches. In the year 1786 the following facts were reported by some of the seceding members on their return to the west:—"The distribution of provisions she kept in her own hand, and took special care that they should not pamper their bodies with too much food, and every one behaved to be entirely directed by her. The society being once scarce of money, she told them she had a revelation, informing her they should have a supply of cash from heaven: accordingly, she took one of the members out with her, and caused him to hold two corners of a sheet, while she held the other two. Having continued for a considerable time without any shower of money falling upon it, the man at last tired, and left Mrs. Buchan to hold the sheet herself. Mrs. Buchan, in a short time after, came in with five pounds sterling, and upbraided the man for his unbelief, which she said was the only cause that prevented it from coming sooner. Many of the members, however, easily accounted for this pretended miracle, and shrewdly suspected that the money came from her own hoard. That she had a considerable purse was not to be doubted, for she fell on many ways to rob the members of everything

they had of value. Among other things, she informed them one evening, that they were all to ascend to heaven next morning; therefore it was only necessary they should lay aside all their vanities and ornaments, ordering them, at the same time, to throw their rings, watches, &c., into the ash-hole, which many were foolish enough to do, while others more prudently hid everything of this kind that belonged to them. Next morning she took out all the people for their promised flight. After they had waited till they were tired, none found themselves any lighter than they were the day before, but remained with as firm a footing on earth as ever. She again blamed their unbelief—said that want of faith alone prevented their ascension, and complained of the hardship she was under, in being obliged, on account of their unbelief, to continue with them in this world. She at last fell upon an expedient to make them light enough to ascend: nothing less was found requisite than to fast for forty days and forty nights. The experiment was immediately put in practice, and several found themselves at death's door in a very short time. She was then obliged to allow them some spirits and water; but many resolved no longer to submit to such regimen, and went off altogether. We know not," thus concludes the statement, "if the forty days be ended; but a few experiments of this kind will leave her in the end sole proprietor of the society's funds."

What adds to the curiosity of this strange tale of fanaticism, is, that Mrs. Buchan's husband was still living in pursuit of his ordinary trade, and a faithful adherent of the Burgher-seceders. One of her children, a boy of twelve or fourteen, lived with the father; two girls of more advanced age were among her own followers. Notwithstanding her increased absurdity, and, we may add, the increased tyranny of her behaviour, she continued to have a few followers in 1791, when she approached her last scene. Among these was her first apostle, Mr. Whyte. Finding that she was about to go the way of all the earth, she called her disciples together, and exhorted them to continue steadfast and unanimous in their adherence to the doctrine which they had received from her. She told them she had one secret to communicate—a last desperate effort at imposition—that she was in reality the Virgin Mary, and mother of our Lord; that she was the same woman mentioned in the Revelations as being clothed with the sun, and who was driven into the wilderness; that she had been wandering in the world ever since our Saviour's days, and only for some time past had sojourned in Scotland: that though she might appear to die, they needed not be discouraged, for she would only sleep a little, and in a short time would visit them again, and conduct them to the New Jerusalem. After her death, which took place, May, 1791, it was a long time before her votaries would straighten or dress the corpse; nor would they coffin her, until obliged by the smell; and after that they would not bury her, but built up the coffin in a corner of the barn, always expecting that she would rise again from the dead, according to her promise. At last the neighbouring country people, shocked with these proceedings, went to a justice of peace, and got an order that she should be buried; so that the famous Mrs. Buchan was at length reduced to a level with all the dead generations of her kind.

BUCHAN, WILLIAM, M.D., a popular medical writer of great celebrity, was born in 1729, at Ancrum in Roxburghshire. His grandfather had been obliged for some time to reside with his family in Holland, on account of the religious troubles

which preceded the Revolution. His father possessed a small estate, in addition to which he rented a farm from the Duke of Roxburgh. His genius for medicine was displayed before he could have received any adequate instruction; and even when a school-boy, he was at once the physician and surgeon of the village. Nevertheless, being destined by his friends for the church, he repaired to Edinburgh, to study divinity. At the university he spent the unusual time of nine years, studying anything rather than theology. At this period of his life mathematics and botany were among his favourite pursuits. Finally, he devoted himself wholly to medicine. He enjoyed at this time the friendship of the illustrious Gregory, whose liberal maxims are believed to have had great influence over his future life. Before taking his degree, he was induced, by the invitation of a fellow-student, to settle in practice for some time in Yorkshire. While established in that district, he became a candidate for the situation of physician to the Foundling Hospital, then supported by parliament at Ackworth, and, after a fair trial of skill with ten professional men, was successful. In this situation he laid the foundation of that knowledge of the diseases of children which afterwards appeared so conspicuous in his writings. Having returned to Edinburgh to take out his degree, he became acquainted with a well-connected lady of the name of Peter, whom he soon after married. He continued to be physician to the Ackworth Foundling Hospital, till parliament, becoming convinced of the bad effects of such an institution, withdrew the annual grant of £60,000, upon which it had hitherto been supported. He then removed to Sheffield, where for some time he enjoyed extensive practice. He appears to have spent the years between 1762 and 1766 in this town. He then commenced practice at Edinburgh, and for several years was very well employed, though it was allowed that he might have enjoyed much more business, if his convivial habits had not distracted so much of his attention. He was not, however, anxious for an extensive practice. Having for a considerable time directed his attention to a digest of popular medical knowledge, he published, in 1769, his work entitled "*Domestic Medicine; or, the Family Physician*—being an attempt to render the medical art more generally useful, by showing people what is in their own power, both with respect to the prevention and cure of diseases: chiefly calculated to recommend a proper attention to regimen and simple medicines." This work, which had been much indebted; in respect of its composition, to the ingenious William Smellie, was published by Balfour, an eminent bookseller at Edinburgh, at the price of six shillings; and such was its success, that "the first edition," says the author, "of 5000 copies, was entirely sold off in a corner of Britain, before another could be got ready." The second edition appeared in 1772, "with considerable additions." The *Domestic Medicine* is constructed on a plan similar to that adopted by Tissot in his *Avis au Peuple*. It appealed to the wants and wishes of so large a class of the community, that, considering it to have been the first work of the kind published in Britain, there is no wonder that it should have attained such success. Before the death of the author, in 1805, nineteen large editions had been sold, by which the publishers were supposed to realize annually about £700, being exactly the sum which they are said to have given at first for the copyright. The learned Dupanloup of Paris, physician to the Count d'Artois (Charles X.), published an elegant translation in five volumes, with some excellent notes, which rendered the work

so popular on the Continent, that in a short time no language in Christendom, not even the Russian, wanted its translation. It would almost appear that the work met with more undivided applause on the Continent than in Britain. While many English and Scottish physicians conceived that it was as apt to generate as to cure or prevent diseases, by inspiring the minds of readers with hypochondriacal notions, those of other countries entertained no such suspicions. Among the testimonies of approbation which Dr. Buchan received from abroad, was a huge gold medallion, sent by the Empress Catherine of Russia, with a complimentary letter. The work is said to have become more popular in America and the West Indies than in the elder hemisphere. The reputation which the author thus acquired induced him to remove to London, where for many years he enjoyed a lucrative practice, though not so great as it might have been made by a more prudent man. It was his custom to resort daily to the Chapter coffee-house, near St. Paul's, where he partly spent his time in conversation with literary and eminent men, and partly in giving advice to patients, who here resorted to him in great numbers, exactly as if he had been his own house. At one time he delivered lectures on natural philosophy, which he illustrated by an excellent apparatus, the property of his deceased friend, James Ferguson. And in this capacity he is said to have manifested as respectable abilities as in his character of a physician.¹

Dr. Buchan was a man of pleasing exterior, most agreeable manners, and great practical benevolence. He cherished no species of antipathy, except one against apothecaries, whom he believed to be a set of rogues, actuated by no principle except a wish to sell their own drugs, at whatever hazard to their patients. His conversation was much courted on account of his lively spirits, and a fund of anecdote which seemed to be perfectly exhaustless. He enjoyed a good constitution, which did not give way till the 25th of February, 1805, when he died in a moment, at his own house, while walking between his sofa and his bed. The disorder was water in the chest, which had been advancing upon him for some time, but was, up to the last moment, so little alarming, that immediately before rising from the sofa he had been talking in his usual manner. The doctor left a son and daughter—the former a man of respectable gifts, and a fellow of the London Royal College of Physicians. His remains were interred in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, next to those of the celebrated Jebb.

BUCHANAN, DUGALD, a Highland poet of eminent merit, was born in the early part of the eighteenth century, in the parish of Balquhider, Perthshire. In early youth he is said to have been of a dissolute character; but little is known of him till he was found keeping a small school in a hamlet of his native country, and in possession of much local fame as a writer of devotional and pious verses. Some respectable persons, struck by his talents, interested themselves in his fate, and obtained for him the superior situation of schoolmaster and catechist at Rannoch, on the establishment of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. When he first went to reside in that remote district, the people were so rude, from the want of religious instruction,

that they hardly recognized the sacred nature of the Sabbath. They were in the habit of meeting at different places on that day to amuse themselves with foot-ball and other sports. The parish clergyman visited them once every three weeks; but, from the extent of the parish, he seems to have been unable to exercise any proper control over them. Buchanan, it is said, invited them all to come and enjoy their Sunday recreations with him, and when they arrived, began to perform divine worship, which he seasoned with a lecture on the sin of Sabbath-breaking. Though many were disgusted at first, all of them became at length convinced of their error, and Buchanan in time brought them into a state of high religious culture, the effects of which are said to be visible at this day in Rannoch. The education of this poor scholar was not of the best order; yet he was acquainted with divinity, natural philosophy, and history, and possessed a most felicitous gift of poetry, which he almost exclusively employed for sacred purposes. His writings, which are unknown to English readers, and never can be adequately translated, resemble those of Cowper. An effort was made to obtain for him a license as a preacher of the Scottish church, but without success. He was of much service to the Rev. James Stewart of Killin in translating the New Testament into Gaelic. Having accompanied that gentleman to Edinburgh, in order to aid him in superintending the press, he took the opportunity of improving himself by attendance on the classes for natural philosophy and anatomy in the college. He was at the same time introduced to David Hume, who maintained, in conversation with him, that although the Bible was an excellent book, it was surpassed in beauty and sublimity of language by many profane authors. In support of his assertion, he quoted the lines—

"The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind."

The devout bard admitted the beauty and sublimity of these lines, but said that he could furnish a passage from the New Testament still more sublime, and recited the following verses: "And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which was the book of life. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works" (Re. xx. 11-13). Buchanan was very tender-hearted, insomuch that, when he heard a pathetic tale recounted, he could not abstain from weeping. He was equally subject to shed tears when his bosom was excited with joy, gratitude, and admiration. In his conversation he was modest, mild, and unassuming, and distinguished by great affability—always the best and truest marks of a man of poetical genius. His poems and hymns, which have been repeatedly printed, are allowed to be equal to any in the Gaelic language for style, matter, and harmony of versification. The pieces entitled *La a' Bhreithanais*, and *An Claiogann*, are the most celebrated, and are read with perfect enthusiasm by all Highlanders. Though the circumstances of this ingenious poet were of the humblest description, he was most religiously cheerful and contented under his lot. He died on the 2d of July, 1768, under very painful circumstances. On returning home from a long journey he found two of his

¹ Two other works were published by the doctor:—1. *A Treatise on Gonorrhoea*; 2. *An Advice to Mothers on the Subject of their own Health, and on the means of Promoting the Health, Strength, and Beauty of their Offspring*. Each in one volume, 8vo.

children lying sick of a fever. Shortly after six more of them were seized by it, together with himself and two of his servants. While his family lay in this sad condition, his wife could prevail upon no one to engage in her service, and being herself in a peculiarly delicate condition, she was unable to do much for their comfort. The poor poet soon became delirious, and, in a few days, he and all his family were swept off, leaving only his wife to lament his fate and her own melancholy condition.¹

BUCHANAN, CLAUDIUS, D.D. Few persons have engaged with greater zeal, or met with greater success, in the business of the civilization of India, in spreading the knowledge of the Christian religion through the eastern world, and in making Europeans better acquainted with that interesting country, than the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, who was born at Cambuslang, on the 12th March, 1766. His father, Alexander Buchanan, followed the honourable profession of a schoolmaster; and if we may judge from his success in life, he appears to have been a man of some abilities, and better qualified than ordinary teachers for the discharge of the peculiar duties of his office. Before his death he was rector of the grammar-school of Falkirk. His mother's name was — Somers, daughter of Mr. Claudius Somers, who was an elder in the parish of Cambuslang. He is represented as having been one of those who received their first impressions of religion under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. McCulloch, the parish minister, and which were confirmed afterwards by the celebrated Mr. George Whitfield. A certain class of Scottish dissenters publicly declared that all such impressions were a delusion of the devil, and in the most abusive language reviled Whitfield and all who defended his cause. But be this as it may, Mr. Somers and a good many others became reformed characters; and during the course of a long life gave undeniable evidence that they were better moral men and better members of society.

In 1773 Dr. Buchanan was sent to Inverary, in the shire of Argyle, where he remained under the care of his father's relations till 1779. He was early sent to school; and besides being taught to read English, to write, and cast accounts, he was initiated into a knowledge of Latin. When only fourteen years of age he was engaged to be tutor to the two sons of Campbell of Dunstaffnage. It is by no means an uncommon case in Scotland for young men to be employed, at that tender age, as domestic tutors in remote parts of the country, and at a distance from any school. He continued in this situation for two years, and then repaired to the university of Glasgow in 1782. Here his funds permitted him to remain only for two sessions. In 1784 he went to the island of Islay, and was tutor in the family of Mr. Campbell of Knockmelly. In the following year he removed to Carradell, in Kintyre, as tutor to Mr. Campbell of Carradell. In 1786 he returned to Glasgow College, with the intention of prosecuting his studies there, preparatory to his commencing the study of divinity; for it had always been his intention to be a clergyman of the Church of Scotland. At the end of the session, however, he was struck with the strange and romantic idea of making a tour of Europe on foot. He seems to have been highly delighted with Dr. Goldsmith's poetry, and particularly with his *Traveller*. Having perused some accounts of Goldsmith's adventures, he became inspired with

a wish to attempt something of the same kind. He could not, like the poet of Auburn, play on the flute, but he was a tolerable performer on the fiddle, and he foolishly imagined that, with its assistance, he might be able to accomplish what he had so much at heart.

He accordingly left Edinburgh in the month of August, 1787. He had carefully concealed his design from his parents, lest it should be the occasion of giving them pain, for he seems to have been well aware in what light his imprudence would be viewed by others. What road he took, or how long he was on his journey between Edinburgh and Newcastle, is not known. But he arrived there, as it would seem, sufficiently disgusted with his undertaking; for, instead of directing his course to the capital by land, he embarked in a *collier* at North Shields, and sailed for the metropolis, where he arrived on the 2d of September. Here he was as much, if not more, at a loss, than ever. At last, seeing an advertisement in a paper, that a clerk was wanted, after having suffered incredibly from hunger and cold, he applied and obtained this paltry appointment. By habits of industry, and attention to business, he recommended himself to his employer, and after various incidents he at last engaged in the service of a solicitor, with whom he remained for nearly three years. This employment, though exceedingly trifling, was sufficient to supply him with food and clothes. He describes himself, at this period, as having little or no sense of religion upon his mind. He did not attend church regularly; and the Sunday was generally spent in idleness, though at no time of his life was he given to habits of dissipation. About this time he got acquainted with the Rev. John Newton of St. Mary's Woolnoth, London, the friend of Cowper, who introduced him to the celebrated Henry Thornton. This latter person, whose heart and fortune were alike bounteous, was the chief occasion of his being afterwards so successful and distinguished in life. As Mr. Buchanan had now formed the resolution of becoming a clergyman, though he could not regularly enter the Church of England, for want of a university education, Mr. Thornton offered him the chaplaincy of the Sierra Leone Company, in which association he bore a leading part. The appointment was accepted by Mr. Buchanan, but, for some unknown reason, was not acted upon. Mr. Thornton, however, generously resolved not to leave his ward destitute or unprovided. He sent him to Queen's College, Cambridge, which was then conducted by his friend Dr. Milner, Dean of Carlisle. Mr. Buchanan was admitted into this society in 1791, and in the twenty-fifth year of his age. It has been mentioned that he was two sessions at the university of Glasgow, but it may be doubted whether this was of essential service to him, so different are the regulations, customs, and habits of the two establishments. He was disposed to enter as a *sizar*, that is, a scholar of the lowest rank, the same as *servitor* at Oxford; but it was arranged that he should be admitted as a pensioner, or a scholar who pays for his commons. He distinguished himself at college by great assiduity, and though his mind does not appear to have had any particular bent to the science of quantity, he devoted some attention to the favourite pursuit of the university, the higher branches of mathematics. Having got a theme or subject to write upon in Latin, he succeeded so well as to gain the most marked commendation of his superiors; and he was appointed to declaim in Latin upon the 5th of November, which is always esteemed by the students as a singular honour—this day being one of the most solemn festivals of the year. He was also

¹ For the greater part of the information contained in this article I am indebted to *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica, an Account of all the Books which have been printed in the Gaelic Language*. By John Reid. Glasgow, 1832.

appointed, about the same time, librarian to the college, an office of which the duties were more honourable than severe; and he was the senior wrangler of his year.

His education being now complete, he was, in September, 1795, regularly ordained deacon of the Church of England by Bishop Porteous. He was immediately admitted curate to Mr. Newton, which was his first appointment. On the 30th March, 1796, he was appointed chaplain to the East India Company, through the interest of the director, Mr. Charles Grant, who continued to patronize him through life. Dr. Milner and others now recommended him a second time to the Bishop of London, from whom he received priest's orders, so that he was qualified to accept of any situation in the English establishment. In the month of May he went to Scotland, in order to take leave of his relations before setting out for India. He immediately returned to England, and left Portsmouth for Bengal, 11th August, 1796. Landing at Calcutta, he was soon sent into the interior to Barrackpore, where he resided for some time. India was to him a scene perfectly new: at this period hardly any decency was observed in the outward relations of life. There was no divine service at Barrackpore, and horse-racing was practised on Sunday. Of course it was an excellent field for the exertions of a Christian minister. Mr. Buchanan having been appointed third chaplain to the presidency in Calcutta, by Lord Mornington, preached so much to the satisfaction of his audience, that he received thanks from the governor-general in council. The plan of a collegiate institution had been for some time under the consideration of his lordship. In 1800 it was formally established by a minute in council, and vested in a provost and vice-provost, with three other officers. There were also to be established professorships in the languages spoken in India, in Hindoo and Mahometan laws, in the negotiations and laws enacted at the several presidencies for the civil government of the British territories—in political economy, commercial institutions and interests of the East India Company, and in various branches of literature and science. Some of the learned natives attached to the college were employed in teaching the students, others in making translations, and others in composing original works in the oriental tongues. This institution, which has been of immense service to British India, was called the College of Fort William. Mr. Buchanan was professor of the Greek, Latin, and English classics. The translation of the original Scriptures from the originals into modern languages had always been with him a favourite scheme. To effect a similar purpose, he proposed prizes to be competed for by the universities, and some of the public schools in the United Kingdom. These were afterwards more fully explained in a memoir by him in 1805. A translation of the Bible into the Chinese language was also patronized by him. In the course of the same year he wrote an account of the College of Fort William; and the university of Glasgow conferred upon him the degree of D.D.

In May, 1806, he undertook a journey to the coast of Malabar, and returned to Calcutta in 1807. He paid a second visit to Malabar, and powerfully assisted in procuring a version of the Scriptures into Malayalam. In March, 1808, he undertook a voyage to Europe. Second prizes of £500 each were offered by him to Oxford and Cambridge; and in pursuance of his proposals, sermons were preached at both universities.

In September, 1808, Dr. Buchanan undertook a

journey into Scotland, where he had the gratification of finding his mother in good health. He preached in the episcopal chapel at Glasgow, and mentions that the people came in crowds to hear him, "notwithstanding the *organ*." He observed a more tolerant spirit among the different orders of religion in Scotland than what formerly prevailed. On his return he preached, at Bristol, his celebrated sermon, "The Star in the East," which was the first of that series of able and well-directed efforts by which, in pursuance of a resolution formed in India, he endeavoured to cherish and extend the interest he had already excited for the promotion of Christianity in the East. In spring, 1809, he spent some days at Oxford, collating oriental versions of the Bible. He next paid a visit to Cambridge, where he deposited some valuable Biblical manuscripts, which he had collected in India. The university honoured him with the degree of D.D. About this period he preached regularly for some time in Wilbeck Chapel, London, after which he retired to Kirby Hall, in Yorkshire, the seat of his father-in-law, Henry Thompson, Esq. His health now began to decline, and as he was advised by his physicians to study less unremittingly, he formed the idea of uniting the recovery of his health, and some share of continued usefulness, by travelling to the Holy Land, and endeavouring to re-establish the gospel on its native ground. This design, however, he never executed. Various paralytic affections, which, one after another, fell upon his frame, admonished him that his day of active exertion was past. He was nevertheless able, within the course of a few years, to publish the following works: 1, *Three Jubilee Sermons*; 2, *Annual Missionary Sermon, before the Church Missionary Society, June 12, 1810*; 3, *Commencement Sermons at Cambridge*; 4, *Christian Researches in Asia*; 5, *Sketch of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India*; 6, *Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment*.

He had been twice married, but survived both of his spouses. He ultimately went to reside at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, to superintend a Syrian edition of the New Testament. Here he died, February 9, 1815, while his task was still incomplete, at the early age of forty-eight. The exertions of this amiable and exemplary man in propagating the Christian religion in India, will long keep his name in grateful remembrance, among all to whom the interests of religion are in the least endeared.

BUCHANAN, FRANCIS, M.D., author of *Travels in the Mysore, A History of Nepal, &c.*, was born at Branziet, in Stirlingshire, February 15th, 1762. He was the third son of Dr. Thomas Buchanan of Spital, who afterwards succeeded as heir of entail to the estate of Leney in Perthshire; and Elizabeth Hamilton, heiress of Bardowie, near Glasgow. As a younger brother he was, of course, destined to a profession. He chose that of his father; and after finishing the elementary parts of his classical education with considerable credit, at the grammar-school of Glasgow, he commenced his medical studies at the university, where he remained till he had received his diploma. Glasgow College has always enjoyed a high reputation for literature and ethics; but, with the exception, perhaps, of the department of anatomy, its fame as a medical school has never equalled that of Edinburgh. During the latter part of the eighteenth century especially, the capital enjoyed a reputation for medical science scarcely inferior to that of any medical school in Europe. Buchanan was anxious to secure for himself the advantage of pursuing his professional studies under the eminent

professors who, at that time, more than sustained the high reputation which Edinburgh College had already acquired. Here he remained till he received his degree in 1783. He soon after was appointed assistant-surgeon on board a man-of-war, a situation from which he was afterwards obliged to retire on account of ill-health. He now spent some years at home, in the country, his health being so bad as to disqualify him for all active exertion, till 1794, when he received an appointment as surgeon in the East India Company's service, on the Bengal establishment. The voyage to India completely restored his health, and on his arrival he was sent with Captain Symes on his mission to the court of Ava. In the course of his medical studies, Dr. Buchanan had paid particular attention to botany, and its cognate branches of natural science; and during his present visit to the Birman Empire, he had an opportunity of making some valuable collections of the plants of Pegu, Ava, and the Andaman Islands, which, together with several interesting drawings, he transmitted to the court of directors, by whom they were presented to Sir Joseph Banks. On his return from Ava, he was stationed at Luckpoo, near the mouth of the Burrampooter, where he remained two years, principally occupied in describing the fishes found in the neighbourhood.

In 1798 he was employed by the Board of Trade at Calcutta, on the recommendation of Dr. Roxburgh, superintendent of the botanical garden, to visit the district of Chatigang and its neighbourhood, forming the chief part of the ancient kingdom of Tripura. The extensive and well-watered districts of India beyond the Ganges afforded him a wide and rich field for pursuing his favourite study. The numerous specimens which he collected in this interesting country were also transmitted to Sir Joseph Banks, and added to his collection. Part of the following year Dr. Buchanan spent in describing the fishes of the Ganges, of which he afterwards published an account.

In 1800 he was employed by Marquis Wellesley, then Governor-general of India, to examine the state of the country which the Company's forces had lately conquered from Tippoo Sultan, together with the province of Malabar. The results of his inquiries in the Carnatic and Mysore he afterwards, on his return to England, in 1807, published under the patronage of the court of directors. This work, *Travels in the Mysore, &c.*, extending to three large quarto volumes, illustrated with maps and drawings, contains much valuable information concerning the agriculture, laws, customs, religious sects, history, &c., of India generally, and particularly of the interior dependencies of Madras. In criticizing the work the *Edinburgh Review* observes, "Those who will take the trouble to peruse Dr. Buchanan's book, will certainly obtain a far more accurate and correct notion of the actual condition and appearance of India, and of its existing arts, usages, and manners, than could be derived from all the other books relating to it in existence." The reviewer adds still more valuable praise—a praise not always deserved by travellers in countries comparatively little known—when he acknowledges that "everything the author has seen is described perspicuously, unaffectedly, and, beyond all question, with the strictest veracity." *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xiii. Oct. 1808.

Soon after Dr. Buchanan had finished his survey of the Mysore country, he changed the scene of his labours from the south to the north-east of Hindoostan, being appointed, in 1802, to accompany the embassy to Nepal, conducted by Captain Knox. In the course of this journey, and his subsequent resid-

ence in Nepal, he made large additions to his former collections of rare plants; which, with descriptions and numerous drawings, he transmitted to Mr. J. E. Smith. It was during this period also that he collected the greater part of the materials for his *History of Nepal*, which he published in 1818, some years after he had retired from the Company's service. On his return from Nepal he was appointed surgeon to the governor-general, and he employed such leisure time as he had for the study of natural history, in superintending the menagerie founded by the Marquis Wellesley, and in describing the animals which it contained. In 1805 Dr. Buchanan accompanied his noble patron to England; and, in the following year, was again sent to India by the court of directors for the purpose of making a statistical survey of the territory under the presidency of Fort William, which comprehends Bengal proper and several of the adjoining districts. With this laborious undertaking he was occupied for upwards of seven years, after which he returned to Calcutta; and, on the death of Dr. Roxburgh in 1814, succeeded him as superintendent of the botanical garden, having been appointed successor to that respectable botanist by the court of directors so early as 1807. But he was now exhausted with long-continued exertion: his services had been liberally rewarded by the East India Company; and he naturally wished to enjoy the close of a busy life, free from the responsibility and inquietudes of public service, in some peaceful retirement in his native land. While he was preparing for his voyage home he was deprived, by the Marquis of Hastings, of all the botanical drawings which had been made under his inspection during his last stay in India, and which he intended to have deposited with his other collections in the library of the India House. This circumstance he greatly regretted, as he feared that the drawings would thus be totally lost to the public. "To me," says Dr. Buchanan, in a paper which was published among the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, "to me, as an individual, they were of no value, as I preserve no collection, and as I have no occasion to convert them into money."

On his arrival in England in 1815, he presented to the court of directors his collection of plants and minerals, some papers on the geography of Ava, several genealogical tables, nine hundred Indian coins, gold and silver, a collection of Indian drugs, his notes on natural history, a few drawings, and about twenty curious Hindoo MSS. He then proceeded to Scotland, where he hoped to enjoy the fruits of his toil in quiet. On his arrival he found his elder brother, Colonel Hamilton, involved in pecuniary difficulties, from which he could only be partially relieved by the sale of such parts of the family estates as had not been entailed. Dr. Buchanan, who was himself next heir, Colonel Hamilton having no children, agreed to pay his brother's debts, which amounted altogether to upwards of £15,000. His brother soon after died abroad, whither he had gone in the hope of recovering his health, and Dr. Buchanan, succeeding him in his estates, adopted his mother's family name of Hamilton. He now fixed his residence at Leney, where he amused himself with adding to the natural beauties of one of the loveliest spots in Perthshire, such improvements as a cultivated taste and an ample fortune enabled him to supply. In this sweet retirement he still found pleasure in prosecuting the studies and scientific pursuits which had engrossed the busier part of his life. His garden occupied much of his attention; he introduced into his grounds many curious plants, shrubs, and flowers; he con-

tributed largely to the scientific journals of the day, particularly the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, the *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, the *Transactions of the Linnean Society of London*, the *Memoirs of the Hibernian Natural History Society*, and the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*. Also in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* are several papers taken from his statistical survey of the provinces under the presidency of Fort William, deposited in the library of the East India Company: these papers, at the instance of Dr. Buchanan, were liberally communicated to the society, accompanied with explanations by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq., one of the directors. In 1819 he published his *History of the Kingdom of Nepal*, already mentioned; and in the same year a *Genealogy of the Hindoo Gods*, which he had drawn up some years before with the assistance of an intelligent Brahmin. In 1822 appeared his *Account of the Fishes of the Ganges*, with plates.

Dr Buchanan was connected with several distinguished literary and scientific societies. He was a member of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta—a fellow of the Royal Society, the Linnean Society, and Society of Antiquaries of London—an ordinary member of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries—a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh—a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. In 1826 he was appointed a deputy-lieutenant for Perthshire, and took a warm interest in the politics of the day. His own principles were Tory, and he was not a little apt to be violent and overbearing in discussion with men of the opposite party. But although hasty in his temper and violent in his politics, Dr. Buchanan was of a generous and liberal disposition; he was extremely charitable to the poor, warm in his personal attachments, and just and honourable in his public capacity of magistrate. He married late in life, and fondness for the society of his children, joined with studious habits, left him little leisure or inclination for mixing in the gayeties of the fashionable world. He lived, however, on terms of good understanding and easy intercourse with his neighbours. His own high attainments and extensive information eminently qualified him for enjoying the conversation and appearing to advantage in the society of men of liberal education; and to such his house was always open. His intimate acquaintance with oriental manners, geography, and history, made his conversation interesting and instructive; his unobtrusive manners, his sober habits, his unostentatious and unaffected hospitality, made him an agreeable companion and a good neighbour; while the warmth and steadiness of his attachments rendered his friendship valuable. The following high estimate of his character we find in Dr. Robertson's statistical account of the parish of Callander, so early as the year 1793: "The most learned person who is known to have belonged to this parish is Dr. Francis Buchanan, at present in the East Indies. In classical and medical knowledge he has few equals, and he is well acquainted with the whole system of nature." Dr. Buchanan carried on an extensive correspondence with men of eminence in the literary and scientific world; he repeatedly received the public thanks of the court of directors, and of the governor-general in council, for his useful collections and his information on Indian affairs; and when his former patron, Marquis Wellesley, went as lord-lieutenant to Ireland he was solicited to accompany him in an official capacity—an offer which his declining health and love of domestic quiet induced him to decline. Dr. Buchanan died June 15, 1829, aged 67.

BUCHANAN, GEORGE, one of the most distinguished reformers, political and religious, of the sixteenth century, and the best Latin poet which modern Europe has produced, was born in the parish of Killearn, Stirlingshire, in February, 1506, "of a family," to use his own words, "more ancient than wealthy." His father, Thomas, was the second son of Thomas Buchanan of Drumikill, from whom he inherited the farm of Moss, on the western bank of the water of Blane, the house where, though it has been several times rebuilt, still, in honour of the subject of this memoir, preserves its original shape and dimensions, with a considerable portion of its original materials. His mother was Agnes Heriot, of the family of Tabroun in East Lothian. The Buchanans of Drumikill were highly respectable, being a branch of the family of Buchanan of Buchanan, which place they held by charter as far back as the reign of Malcolm III. Antiquity of descent, however, is no preservative against poverty, of which our poet's family had their full share, for the bankruptcy of his grandfather, the laird of Drumikill, and the death of his father while in the flower of his age, left George Buchanan, when yet a child, with four brothers and three sisters, with no provision for their future subsistence but their mother's industry. She appears, however, to have been a woman of excellent qualities; and by the prudent management of the farm, which she retained in her own hands, brought up her family in a respectable manner, and had the satisfaction of seeing them all comfortably settled. George, the third son, received the rudiments of his education in the school of his native village, which was at that time one of the most celebrated in Scotland; and having at an early period given indications of genius, his maternal uncle, James Heriot, was induced to undertake the care and expense of his education; and, in order to give him every possible advantage, sent him in 1520, when fifteen years of age, to prosecute his studies in the university of Paris. Here he studied with the greatest diligence, and impelled, as he has himself told us, partly by his inclination, and partly by the necessity of performing the exercises of his class, put forth the first blossom of a poetical genius that was afterwards to bear the rich fruits of immortality. Scarcely, however, had his bright morning dawned when it became suddenly overcast. Before he had completed his second year, his uncle died, leaving him in a foreign land, exposed to all the miseries of poverty, aggravated by bodily infirmity, occasioned most probably by the severity of his studies; for, at the same time that he was in public competing with the best students of the several nations of Europe, who, as to a common fountain, were assembled at this far-famed centre of learning, he was teaching himself Greek, in which he was latterly a great proficient. He was now obliged to return home, and for upwards of a twelvemonth was incapable of applying to any business. In 1523 he joined the auxiliaries brought over from France by Albany, then regent of Scotland; and served as a private soldier in one campaign against the English. He tells us that he took this step from a desire to learn the art of war; but perhaps necessity was as strong a prompter as military ardour. Whatever were his motives, he marched with the army commanded by the regent in person, who entered England and laid siege to the castle of Werk, in the end of October, 1523. Repulsed in all his attempts on the place, Albany soon found himself under the necessity of recrossing the Tweed; and being overtaken by a severe snow-storm in a night-march toward Lauder, lost a great part of his army; Buchanan escaped, but was confined the rest



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of the winter to his bed. In the ensuing spring, being considerably recovered, and having completed his eighteenth year, he was sent to the university of St. Andrews, to attend the prelections of John Mair, or Major, who at that time, according to his celebrated pupil, "taught logic, or, more properly, the art of sophistry," in St. Salvador's College. Buchanan's eldest brother, Patrick, was matriculated at the same time. Having continued one session at St. Andrews, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the 3d of October, 1525, being then, as appears from the college registers, a pauper or exhibitioner, he accompanied Major to France the following summer. Mackenzie says that, on account of his great merits and at the same time his great poverty, Major sent for him, in 1524, and took him into his house as a servant, in which capacity it was that Buchanan went with him to Paris, and remained with him two years; but this has been regarded by the vindicators of Buchanan as a story set forth for the purpose of fixing a charge of ingratitude upon the poet, for an epigram which he wrote upon one of Major's productions, and in which his old instructor is termed "solo cognomine major."

On returning to France, Buchanan became a student in the Scots college of Paris, and in March was incorporated a Bachelor of Arts—the degree of Master of Arts he received in April, 1528. In June the following year he was elected procurator for the German nation, one of the four classes into which the students were divided, and which included those from Scotland. The principles of the Reformation were by this time widely extended on the Continent, and everywhere excited the most eager discussion. Upon Buchanan's ardent and generous mind they made a powerful impression, and it was not in his nature to conceal it. Yet he seems to have acted with considerable caution, and was in no haste to renounce the established forms of worship, whence we conclude that the reported mortifications he is said to have met with at this time and on that account are without foundation. At the end of two years he was elected a professor in the college of St. Barbe, where he taught grammar three years; and, by his own account, his remuneration was such as to render his circumstances at least comparatively comfortable. It appears to have been in 1529 that this office was conferred upon him; he was consequently only in his twenty-third year. Soon after entering on his professorship, Buchanan attracted the notice of Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis, then residing in Paris, whither he had been sent to prosecute his studies, as the Scottish nobility at that period generally were; and at the end of three years Buchanan was engaged to devote his time entirely to the care of the young earl's education. With this nobleman he resided as a preceptor for five years; and to him, as "a youth of promising talents and excellent disposition," he inscribed his first published work, a translation of Linacre's rudiments of Latin grammar, which was printed by the learned Robert Stephens, in 1533.

In 1536 James V. made a matrimonial excursion to France, where he found the Earl of Cassillis, who had just finished his education. James having, on the 1st of January, 1537, married Magdalene, daughter of Francis I., returned to Scotland in May, bringing with him Cassillis and George Buchanan. This accounts for the future intimacy between the latter person and the king, which in the end was like to have had a tragical termination. The connection between Buchanan and the earl seems, however, not to have been immediately dissolved; for it was while residing at the house of his pupil, that

the poet composed *Somnium* or *the Dream*, apparently an imitation of a poem of Dunbar's, entitled *How Dunbar was desyred to be ane Frier*, and a bitter satire upon the impudence and hypocrisy of the Franciscans. This piece of railery excited such resentment that Buchanan had determined to retire to Paris, where he hoped to be able to resume his former situation in the college of St. Barbe. James V., however, took him under his protection, and retained him as preceptor to his natural son, James Stuart, not the prior of St. Andrews, but one of the same baptismal name who held the abbacies of Melrose and Kelso. James, who about this time was not satisfied with the conduct of the clergy, sent for Buchanan, and not aware that he had already rendered himself obnoxious to the Franciscans, commanded him to write a satire against them. Wishing to gratify the king, and yet give as little additional ground of offence to the friars as possible, Buchanan wrote his *Palinodia* in two parts, a covert satire, which he hoped might afford no ground of open complaint to those against whom it was directed. The king, himself a poet, coarse and licentious, did not at all relish this delicate kind of irony, and it wounded the ecclesiastics still more painfully than its predecessor the *Somnium*. Finding it impossible to propitiate the friars, and the king still insisting upon their vices being fully and fairly exposed, he at last gave full scope to his indignation at the impudence, ignorance, impiety, and sensuality that distinguished the whole order, almost without an individual exception, in his poem entitled *Franciscanus*, one of the most pungent satires to be found in any language. In this composition Buchanan had little occasion to exercise his fancy, facts were so abundant. He had but to embody in flowing language what was passing before all men's eyes, for the clergy, besides being robbers of the poor, lived, the far greater part of them, in the open and avowed practice of the most loathsome debauchery. Still they were the most powerful body in the state; and after the death of Magdalene, who had been bred under her aunt, the Queen of Navarre, a Protestant, and was friendly to the cause, they gained an entire ascendancy over the too facile king, who had not the grace to protect the tutor of his son from the effects of their rage, occasioned by poems that had been written at his own express command. Towards the end of the year 1538, measures were taken for the total suppression of the new opinions, and in February following, five persons were committed to the flames; nine saved their lives by burning their bills, as it was called, or in other words recanting. Among the rest George Buchanan was on this occasion seized, and, to secure ample vengeance upon him, Cardinal Beaton offered the king a sum of money for his life; a piece of supererogatory wickedness for which there was not the smallest occasion, as the prejudices of his judges would infallibly have secured his condemnation, had he been brought before any of their tribunals; but, aware of the mortal enmity of his accusers, he fled into England. By the way he happily escaped a pestilential distemper, which was at that time desolating the north of England, and, when he arrived in London, experienced the protection of an English knight, Sir John Rainsford, who both supplied his immediate necessities, and protected him from the fury of the Papists, to whom he was now everywhere obnoxious. On this occasion it was that he addressed himself to Henry VIII. and to his minister Cromwell, both of whom treated him with neglect. Several of his little pieces written at this time attest the straits to which he was reduced. England at that period had

few attractions for a Scotsman; and it must have been peculiarly galling to the lofty spirit of Buchanan, after stooping to solicit patronage among the natural enemies of his country, to find his efforts despised, and his necessities disregarded.

Meeting with so little encouragement there, he passed over to Paris, where he was well known, and had many acquaintances. But here, to his dismay, he found Cardinal Beaton resident as ambassador from the Scottish court. This circumstance rendered it extremely unsafe for him to remain; happily he was invited to Bordeaux by Andrew Govea, a Portuguese, principal of the college of Guienne, lately founded in that city, through whose interest he was appointed professor of humanity in that afterwards highly-famed seminary. Here Buchanan remained for three years, during which he completed four tragedies, besides composing a number of poems on miscellaneous subjects. He was all this while the object of the unwearied enmity of Cardinal Beaton and the Franciscans, who still threatened his life. The cardinal at one time wrote to the Bishop of Bordeaux, commanding him to secure the person of the heretical poet, which might perhaps have been done; but the letter falling into the hands of one of the poet's friends, was detained till the appearance of a pestilence in Guienne absorbed every lesser concern. The death of James V. following soon after, with the distractions consequent on that event, gave the cardinal more than enough to do at home without taking cognizance of heretics abroad. Among his pupils at Bordeaux, Buchanan numbered the celebrated Michael de Montague, who was an actor in every one of his dramas; and among his friends were not only his fellow-professors, but all the men of literature and science in the city and neighbourhood. One of the most illustrious of these was the elder Scaliger, who resided and practised as a physician at Agin; at his house Buchanan and the other professors used to spend part of their vacations. Here they were hospitably entertained, and in their society Scaliger seems not only to have forgot, as he himself acknowledges, the tortures of the gout; but, what was more extraordinary, his natural talent for contradiction. The many excellent qualities of this eminent scholar, and the grateful recollection of his conversational talents, Buchanan has preserved in an elegant Latin epigram, apparently written at the time when he was about to quit this seat of the muses, to enter upon new scenes of difficulty and danger. The younger Scaliger was but a boy when Buchanan visited at his father's house; but he inherited all his father's admiration of the Scottish poet, whom he declared to be decidedly superior to all the Latin poets of those times. After having resided three years at Bordeaux, and conferred lustre upon its university by the splendour of his talents, Buchanan removed, for reasons which we are not acquainted with, to Paris; and in 1544 we find him one of the regents in the college of Cardinal le Moire, which station he seems to have held till 1547. There he had for his associates, among other highly respectable names, the celebrated Turnebus and Muretus. By a Latin elegy addressed to his late colleagues, Tástœus and Tevius, we learn that about this period he had a severe attack of the gout, and that he had been under the medical care of Carolus Stephanus, who was a doctor of physic of the faculty of Paris, and, like several of his relations, was equally distinguished as a scholar and as a printer. In the same elegy Buchanan commemorates the kindness of his colleagues, particularly of Gelida, an amiable and learned Spaniard, less eminent for talents than Buchanan's other colleagues Turnebus and Muretus,

but as a man of true moral worth and excellence, at least equal to the former and vastly superior to the latter, who, though a man of splendid talents; was worthless in the extreme. To Muretus, Buchanan addressed a copy of verses on a tragedy written by him in his youth, entitled *Julius Cæsar*; but Muretus had not as yet put forth those monstrosities of character, that ought long ago to have buried his name in oblivion.¹

In the year 1547 Buchanan again shifted his place, and, along with his Portuguese friend Andrew Govea, passed into Portugal. Govea, with two brothers, had been sent for his education into France by John III. of Portugal, who, having now founded the university of Coimbra, recalled him to take the principal superintendence of the infant establishment. Aware, at the same time, that his whole kingdom could not furnish a sufficiency of learned men to fill the various chairs, his majesty commissioned Govea to bring a number of learned men with him for that purpose. The persons selected were George Buchanan, his elder brother Patrick, Gruchius, Geruntæus, Tevius, and Vinetus, all of whom had already distinguished themselves by the publication of learned works. Arnoldus Fabricius, John Costa, and Anthony Mendez—the two latter, natives of Portugal—completed the establishment, and all of them, Patrick Buchanan and Fabricius excepted, had under Govea been teachers in the college of Guienne. France at this period threatened to be the scene of great convulsions, and Buchanan regarded this retirement to Portugal as an exceedingly fortunate circumstance; and for a short time his expectations were fully realized. Govea, however, died in less than a twelvemonth, and, deprived of his protection, the poor professors soon found themselves exposed to the jealousy of the natives on account of being foreigners, and to the unrelenting bigotry of the priests because they were scholars. Three of their number were very soon immured in the dungeons of the Inquisition, and, after a tedious confinement, brought before that tribunal, which, unable to convict them of any crime, overwhelmed them with reproaches, and remanded them to their dungeons, without permitting them so much as to know who were their accusers. Buchanan did not escape his share of this persecution. *Franciscanus* was again revived against him, though the inquisitors knew nothing of that poem; for he had never parted with a copy, save that which he gave to his own king, James V., and he had taken care to have the whole affair properly explained to the Portuguese monarch before he set foot in his dominions. He was also charged with eating flesh in Lent, a practice quite common in Portugal at that time, and with having asserted that Augustine's opinion of the eucharist coincided with the Protestant rather than with the Romish views on the subject; and two witnesses were found to declare that he was an enemy to the Roman faith. More merciful than on many other occasions, the Inquisition, after dealing with Buchanan for upwards of a year and a half, sentenced him to be confined in a monastery for some months, that he might by the inmates be better instructed in the principles and practice of religion. Fortunately, the monks to whose care Buchanan was thus consigned were not without humanity, though he found them utterly ignorant of religion; and he consoled

¹ Of Muretus's impious book, *De Tribus Impostoribus, or the three impostors*, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, a late biographer of Buchanan has said, "It is extremely evident that such a book never existed." We are informed, however, that a copy exists in the MS. collection of the university of Glasgow.

himself by plaining, and in part executing, his unrivalled paraphrase of the Psalms of David, which placed him immeasurably above all modern Latin poets, and will transmit his name with honour and admiration to the latest posterity. That this was a task imposed upon him by his ghostly guardians, is an idle tale totally devoid of foundation. The probability is that the poor monks were incapable of appreciating his labours; but he seems to have gained their good-will, for he was restored to his liberty, and soliciting the king's permission to return to France, was requested to remain, and presented with a small sum of money for subsistence till a situation worthy of his talents should be found.

After having suffered so much from the Inquisition, Buchanan could not be very ambitious of Portuguese preferment, and the promise of the king not being likely to be hastily fulfilled, he embarked in a Greek vessel at Lisbon and sailed for England. To England, however, he certainly had no partiality; and though Edward VI. was now on the throne, and doing all he could to advance the work of reformation, and though some very advantageous offers were made to induce him to settle in that country, he proceeded direct to France, where he arrived in the beginning of 1553. It was at this time that Buchanan wrote his poem *Adventus in Galliam*, in which his contempt and resentment of the Portuguese, and the treatment he had received, together with his affection for the French nation, are strongly expressed. Perhaps it would be too much to say that the French nation was attached to Buchanan; but many individuals of it certainly were, and immediately on his arrival in Paris he was appointed to a regency in the college of Boncourt. In this station he remained till 1555, when he was engaged by the celebrated Comte de Brissac, to act as domestic tutor to his son, Timoleon de Cosse. To this nobleman he had addressed a poetical tribute after the capture of Vercelli, an event which occurred in September, 1553; and to him also he dedicated his tragedy of *Jephthes* in the summer of 1554. The Comte, who seems not to have been insensible to this species of flattery, next year called the poet into Italy, where he himself presided over the French dominions, and charged him with the education of his son. Though much of his time had been spent amidst the tumults of war, the Marshal de Brissac was a man of a liberal mind, who, living in a state of princely magnificence, cultivated an acquaintance with the most eminent scholars. During his campaigns he had often been accompanied by men of learning, and had the discernment to discover in the preceptor of his son powers of mind equal to any station in society. He therefore treated him with the utmost deference, often placing him at the council board among his principal officers, and on the most important occasions thought it no discredit to take the benefit of his superior sagacity. When committed to the tuition of Buchanan, Timoleon de Cosse was only twelve years of age, and he parted with him at the age of seventeen. He was afterwards distinguished for his bravery, for his acquaintance with military science; and his literary attainments were such as reflected honour on a young nobleman destined for the profession of arms. His short but brilliant career terminated at the siege of Mucidan, where he fell by a musket-ball, aged only twenty-six years. During the five years of his connection with this illustrious family, Buchanan's residence was alternately in France and Italy, and as his pupil was destined to the profession of arms, and had different masters to attend him, he found leisure for prosecuting his poetical studies, and

formed the design, and composed part of his philosophical poem *De Sphæra*, which he addressed to his pupil. His future avocations prevented him from completing this poem. He likewise published the first specimen of his version of the Psalms, and his translation of the *Alcestes* of Euripides, which he inscribed to Margaret, daughter of Francis I., a munificent princess, afterwards married to the Duke of Savoy. His ode on the surrender of Calais was also composed while in Brissac's family. But much of his spare time was employed in a manner still more important—in examining the grounds of his religious belief, and settling to his own satisfaction the great question (that has ever since, more or less, agitated Europe) between the Romish and the reformed churches. That he had all along inclined to the side of the reformed is indisputable; but he had never relinquished his connection with the ancient church, which he had probably thought still right in the main, though disfigured and disgraced by the figments and the follies of an ignorant and corrupt priesthood. The result of this examination, however, was a perfect conviction that many of the Romish doctrines were erroneous, that the worship was idolatrous, and the discipline utterly depraved and perverted; and, consequently, that the necessity of separation from this church was imperative upon all who had any regard to the word of God and the salvation of their own souls: and no sooner did he arrive in Scotland than he acted accordingly.

As Buchanan's connection with the Marshal de Brissac terminated in 1560, when the civil wars in France had already begun, he probably returned immediately to Scotland, though the exact period has not been ascertained. He had courted, while he resided in France, the notice of Mary, by an epithalamium on her marriage with the dauphin; and in January, 1561-2, we find Randolph, the English ambassador, writing thus from Edinburgh to his employers: "Ther is with the quene [Mary] one called George Bowhanan a Scottishe man very well learned, that was schollemaster unto Monsr. de Brissac's son, very godlye and honest." And in a subsequent letter, dated from St. Andrews, he says, "The quene readeth daylie after her dinner, instructed by a learned man, Mr. George Bowhanan, somewhat of Livy." Mary had been sent to France in the sixth year of her age, and her education had in some respects been carefully attended to. She spoke Scottish and French, as if both had been her vernacular tongue, which in some degree they might be said to be. With Italian and Spanish she was familiar, and she was so much a master of Latin as to compose and pronounce in that language, before a splendid auditory, a declamation against the opinion of those who would debar the sex from the liberal pursuits of science and literature. This oration she afterwards translated into French, but neither the translation nor the original has been published. Mary was at this time in the full bloom of youth and beauty, and to have such a pupil must have been highly gratifying to Buchanan, who, with all the leaders of the Reformation in Scotland, was at first much attached to her. This attachment he took occasion to express in a highly finished copy of Latin verses, prefixed to his translation of the Psalms, which he had just finished, and sent to the press of his friend Henry Stephens. The exact date of the first full edition of this important work is not known, no date being on the title; but a second edition was printed in 1566, in which was included the author's tragedy of *Jephthes*. On the title-page of both these impressions, Buchanan is styled *Poetarum nostri sæculi facile princeps*, and the paraphrase was re-

commended by copies of Greek verses by the printer, Henry Stephens, one of the first scholars of the age, by Franciscus Portus, and Fredricus Jamotius, and in Latin verses by Henry Stephens and Castlevetro. Mary must have been highly pleased by a compliment which carried her fame over all Europe; and, as a reward for his services, bestowed upon her preceptor and poet, in 1564, the temporalities of the abbey of Crossraguell, vacant by the death of Quintin Kennedy, brother to Buchanan's former pupil the Earl of Cassillis. These temporalities were valued at £500 Scots a year, and the poet seems to have held them till the day of his death. Mary's love of power, and her attachment to Popery, soon, however, alienated the affections of her friends; and, aware that he held her favour by a precarious tenure, Buchanan sedulously cultivated the friendship of the leaders of the Reformation, which was now become the first object of his solicitude. In the same year in which he was promoted to the temporalities of Crossraguell, he prepared for the press a collection of satires, *Frates Fraterrimi*, in which the fooleries and impurities of the Popish church were treated with the keenest irony, and assailed with the most vehement invective. He also now put the finishing hand to his *Franciscanus*, which he published, with a dedication to his friend and patron the Earl of Murray. Through the interest of this nobleman, Buchanan was nominated to be principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, in 1566. In November this year his name appears as one of the auditors of the faculty questor's accounts in the university of St. Andrews, where he had now fixed his residence. The chamber which he occupied, as principal of St. Leonard's, is now part of a private dwelling-house, and is supposed to have undergone scarcely any transformation. The following inventory of its furniture in 1544 has been preserved:—"Twa standard beds, the foreside of aik and the northside and the fuits of fir—Item ane feather bed and ane white plaid of four ells and ane covering woven o'er with images—Item another auld bed of harden filled with straw with ane covering of green—Item ane cod—Item ane inrower of buckram of five breeds part green part red to zailow—Item ane hunters counter of the middlin kind—Item ane little buird for the studzie—Item ane furn of fir and ane little letterin of aik on the side of the bed with ane image of St. Jerom—Item ane stool of elm with ane other chair of little pine—Item ane chimney weighing . . .—Item ane chandler weighing . . ." In 1566, and the two ensuing years, he was one of the four electors of the rector, and by each of the three officers who were successively chosen was nominated a pro-rector; and in the public register he is denominated by the honourable title which, in publishing his *Psalms*, Stephanus had bestowed on him. As principal of the college, he delivered occasional prelections on theology, as well as at the weekly meetings of the clergy and other learned men of the district, held for expounding the Scriptures, then styled the exercise of prophesying, and in the general assembly of the Scottish church he sat as a doctor from the year 1563 to 1567, in which last year he had the honour of being chosen moderator. This same year he published another collection, consisting of *Elegie Silve Hendecasyllabi*, to which was prefixed an epistle to his friend Peter Daniel, the learned editor of Virgil, with the commentary of Servius, in which he gives several notices respecting his avocations, and especially respecting his poetical works. "Between the occupations of a court, and the annoyance of disease, I have hardly," he remarks, "been able to steal any portion of time which I could

devote to my friends or to myself, and I have therefore been prevented from maintaining a frequent correspondence with them, and from collecting my poems which lie so widely dispersed. For my own part I was not extremely solicitous to recall them from perdition, for the subjects are generally of a trivial nature, and such as at this period of life are at once calculated to inspire me with disgust and shame. But as Pierre Montauré, and some other friends, to whom I neither can nor ought to refuse any request, demanded them with such earnestness, I have employed some of my leisure hours in collecting a portion, and placing it in a state of arrangement. With this specimen, which consists of one book of elegies, another of miscellanies, and a third of hendecasyllables, I in the meantime present you. When it shall suit your convenience, I beg you will communicate them to Montauré, Des Mesmes, and other philological friends, without whose advice I trust you will not adopt any measure relative to their publication. In a short time I propose sending a book of iambics, another of epigrams, another of odes, and perhaps some other pieces of a similar description. All these I wish to be at the disposal of my friends, as I have finally determined to rely more on their judgment than on my own. In my paraphrase of the *Psalms*, I have corrected many typographical errors, and have likewise made various alterations. I must therefore request you to advise our friend Stephanus not to publish a new edition without my knowledge. Hitherto I have not found leisure to finish the second book of my poem *De Sphæra*, and therefore I have not made a transcript of the first. As soon as the former are completed, I shall transmit them to you. Salute in my name all our friends at Orleans, and such others as it may be convenient. Farewell. Edinburgh, July the twenty-fourth, 1566." The work, of course, met with his friend's approbation, and was printed in Paris by Robert Stephens in 1567, 12mo. We have already noticed that the poem *De Sphæra* was never completed. From the above letter it appears that it was Buchanan's intention to return to it when he should have finished some others that were in a greater state of forwardness, and did not require such a full command of his time as a work of greater magnitude. Circumstances, however, soon put a period to these peaceful and pleasing pursuits.

The marriage of Mary and Darnley, the murders of Rizzio and Darnley, the union between the queen and Bothwell, the flight of the latter, Mary's surrender to the confederated lords, her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle and her escape from it, the defeat of her army at Langside, and her escape into England, are the events best known of any in Scottish history, and it is needless here to enlarge upon them. When Elizabeth thought fit to appoint commissioners, and call witnesses from Scotland for the purpose of substantiating the charges upon which Mary had been expelled from the throne, the main burden of the proof was devolved upon Buchanan, who had accepted favours from the queen indeed, but did not on that account either decline the task of becoming her accuser, or perform it with the less severity. He accordingly accompanied the Regent Murray into England upon that occasion, having composed in Latin a *Detection of Mary's Actions*, which was laid before the commissioners at Westminster, and was afterwards most industriously circulated by the English court. To the same pen has also been ascribed the *Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam*, a coarse and scurrilous invective, which was printed in England along with the *Detection*, but of which no man capable of reading Buchanan's works will

believe that he ever composed one line. "The *Detection*," says an eminent historian, "is a concise historical deduction of facts, a rapid narrative written with that chaste and classical precision of thought and language by which each sentence acquires an appropriate idea distinct from the preceding, neither anticipated, repeated, nor intermixed with others; and the style is so strictly historical that the work is incorporated in Buchanan's history almost without alteration. But the *Action against Mary* is a dull declamation and a malignant invective, written in professed imitation of the ancient orators, whom Buchanan has never imitated, without arrangement of parts, coherence, or a regular train of ideas, and without a single passage which Buchanan in his history has deigned to transcribe." The assassination of the Regent Murray soon after his return from England, threw the nation into a still deeper ferment, and Buchanan, strongly suspicious of the selfish policy of the Hamiltons, which he regarded as the principal source of the calamities that now afflicted the nation, addressed "Ane Admonition direct to the true lordis maintainirs of the kingis graces autorite," in which he earnestly adjured them to protect the young king and the children of the late regent from the perils that seemed to impend over them. The same year he composed a satirical delineation of the character of the secretary Lethington, entitled *Chameleon*, which, through the vigilance of the secretary, was prevented from being published at the time. A copy, however, was preserved among the Cotton MSS., dated 1570, and it was printed at London in 1710, in the *Miscellanea Scotica*. It has been often reprinted since. These two pieces appear to be all that he ever composed in his vernacular tongue, and they are of such excellence as to make it matter of regret that he did not turn his attention ofener to the cultivation of his native language. As the hopes of the Protestant party were entirely centred in King James, Buchanan was in 1570 selected by the lords of the privy council, and others of the nobility, assembled on occasion of the slaughter of the Regent Murray, to take the superintendence of that important matter, the education of the royal youth. On this occasion he "compeared personally in presence of the said lords of the council, nobility, and others of the estates, and at their desire, and of his own free will and proper motive, demitted and gave over his charge and place of master of the said college (St. Leonard's), in the favours of his well-beloved master, Patrick Adamson, and no otherwise."¹

Buchanan commenced his new duties with ardour; and the very respectable scholarship which his pupil exhibited in after-life shows that so far he executed his task with great success. James had been committed, during his infancy, to the charge of the Earl of Mar—a nobleman of the most unblemished integrity—and he was now in the fourth year of his age. His governor was Sir Alexander Erskine, brother to the Earl of Mar—"a gallant, well-natured gentleman, loved and honoured by all men." The preceptors associated with Buchanan were Mr. Peter Young, and the abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, both of them related to the family of Mar. Young

was a man of a mild disposition, respectable both for his talents and learning; and he discharged his office with a prudent attention to his future interests. Recollecting that his pupil was soon to be the sole dispenser of public favour, he was careful to secure his good graces, and of course was afterwards employed in several political transactions of considerable importance, obtained the honour of knighthood, and an annual pension of considerable amount. The two abbots, also, were wise and modest, according to Sir James Melville; but the lady Mar was wise and sharp, and held the king in great awe, and so did Mr. George Buchanan. "But Mr. George," Melville adds, "was a stoic philosopher, who looked not far beforehand; a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge of Latin poesy; much honoured in other countries; pleasant in conversation, rehearsing at all occasions moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing when he wanted." The austere spirit of Buchanan was not to be swayed by considerations of self-interest. Called in his old age to the discharge of this task, he seems to have performed it with an entire disregard of personal consequences. The result was, as we have said, that he certainly succeeded in beating a respectable degree of scholarship into his royal pupil, but left James's mind untinted with any respect or affection for his instructor. On the contrary, the king long remembered him with a feeling of horror, and used to say of one of his English courtiers, in the latter part of his life, that he never could help trembling at his approach, he reminded him so strongly of his pedagogue. Concerning Buchanan's treatment of his royal pupil there are preserved more anecdotes than in reference to any other period of his life; which, if we are to believe them, show that he neither spared castigation nor reproach. The master of Erskine, who was the prince's playmate, had a tame sparrow, the possession of which was coveted by James, and ineffectually entreated from the owner. James had recourse to violence in order to obtain what he desired, and the one boy pulled and the other held till the poor sparrow was killed in the struggle. The loss of his little favourite caused the master of Erskine to shed tears, and make, as is usual in such cases, a lusty outcry. This brought the matter under the notice of Buchanan, who, Mackenzie says, "gave the king a box on the ear, and told him that what he had done was like a true bird of the bloody nest of which he had come." A more pleasing anecdote is thus related by Dr. Irving:—"One of the earliest propensities which he [James] discovered, was an excessive attachment to favourites; and this weakness, which ought to have been abandoned with the other characteristics of childhood, continued to retain its ascendancy during every stage of his life. His facility in complying with every request alarmed the prophetic sagacity of Buchanan. On the authority of the poet's nephew, Chytræus has recorded a ludicrous expedient which he adopted for the purpose of correcting his pupil's conduct. He presented the young king with two papers which he requested him to sign; and James, after having slightly interrogated him concerning their contents, readily appended his signature to each, without the precaution of even a cursory perusal. One of them was a formal transference of the regal authority for the term of fifteen days. Having quitted the royal presence, one of the courtiers accosted him with his usual salutation: but to this astonished nobleman he announced himself in the new character of a sovereign; and with that happy urbanity of humour for which he was so distinguished, he began to assume the high demeanour of royalty.

¹ This is supposed to have been Mr. Patrick Adamson, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, but it does not appear from the records of the university that he ever entered upon his new functions. If we may credit Dr. Mackenzie, Adamson was at this time, or at least shortly after it, in France, whence he did not return till after the Bartholomew massacre. This nomination, therefore, was probably made in his absence; and before he could order his affairs abroad and be ready to enter upon his office, other arrangements might have become necessary.

He afterwards preserved the same deportment towards the king himself; and when James expressed his amazement at such extraordinary conduct, Buchanan admonished him of his having resigned the crown. This reply did not tend to lessen the monarch's surprise, for he now began to suspect his preceptor of mental derangement. Buchanan then produced the instrument by which he was formally invested; and, with the authority of a tutor, proceeded to remind him of the absurdity of assenting to petitions in so rash a manner."

When nominated the king's preceptor, Buchanan was also appointed director of the chancery; but this he does not appear to have long held. The same year he was made keeper of the privy-seal, in the room of John, afterwards Lord Maitland, who was deprived for his adherence to the queen. This office, both honourable and lucrative, and which entitled him to a seat in parliament, he held for several years. In April, 1578, he nominally resigned it in favour of his nephew, Thomas, son of Alexander Buchanan of Sleat; but this seems to have been done only to secure the reversion; for in the following June and July he continued to vote in parliament, and, so late as 1580, was addressed by his foreign correspondents as preceptor and counsellor to King James. In the management of public affairs Buchanan seems to have taken a lively interest, and to have been equally consulted as a politician and a scholar. Accordingly, in 1578, we find him forming one of a numerous commission, among whom was another poet and scholar, Archbishop Adamson, appointed to examine and digest the existing laws—a most desirable object—but one that from its difficulty was never carried fully into effect. He was also included in two commissions for the improvement of education. The first was to rectify an inconvenience arising from the use of different grammars in the schools. Of the committee appointed for this purpose Buchanan was president, and the other members were Messrs. Peter Young, Andrew Sympson, and James Carmichael. They met in Stirling Palace, and were entertained during the continuance of their labours at the charge of the king. Having declared all the grammars in use defective, they resolved that three of their number should compile a new one. To Sympson were assigned the rudiments; to Carmichael what is improperly termed etymology; and to Buchanan the department of prosody. Their respective tracts were committed to the press, and authorized by an order of the king and council; but they continued to be standards of instruction for a very short time, and have long been utterly forgotten. The second commission to which we have referred was appointed by the parliament of 1578 to visit the colleges, to reform such things as tended to Popery, to displace unqualified persons, and to establish such persons therein as they should judge fit for the education of youth. The university of St. Andrews was the subject of the first experiment. Having found many things to alter and redress, the commissioners prepared a scheme of reformation, which was ratified by parliament. This document, written in the Scottish tongue by George Buchanan, is still preserved. The plan of improvement is skilfully delineated, and evidently presupposes that there was no want of learned men in the nation; but it was never carried into effect.

With the regents Murray, Lennox, and Mar, Buchanan was cordially united; but Morton in the end forfeited his good-will by the plans of self-aggrandizement which he so sedulously pursued;¹ and it was

principally by his advice and that of Sir Alexander Erskine that Morton was deposed, and the reins of government put into the king's hands, though he was yet only in his twelfth year. He was of course a member of the privy-council appointed for the young monarch, but seems to have been displaced on Morton's return to power; and we are uncertain if he ever again held any political office. It is probably to this short period of political influence that we are to ascribe the following anecdote of Buchanan, related by Dr. Gilbert Stuart in his *Observations concerning the Public Law and the Constitutional History of Scotland*:—"In feudal times," that writer observes, "when the sovereign upon his advancement to the royalty was to swear fidelity to his subjects, and to pay homage to the laws, he delivered his naked sword into the hands of the high constable. 'Use this in my defence,' said he, 'while I support the interests of my people; use it to my destruction when I forsake them.' In allusion to this form, Buchanan made a naked sword to be represented on the money coined in the minority of James VI., with these words, *Pro me; si mereor, in me.*"

A list of twenty-four Scotsmen has been preserved, whom, on the king's assuming the reins of government, Elizabeth thought it necessary to attach to her interest by pensions, and among these Buchanan stands at £100 per year—no contemptible sum in those days—and the same that was assigned to some of the first nobles of the land. There is no evidence that he ever received this gratuity, or that it was offered to him. Mackenzie, however, states it as a certainty, and adds that the composition of his *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* was the grateful service he performed in return—an assertion not likely, considering that the doctrines of this book were not very consonant to the views of that high-minded princess. The *De Jure* was composed principally with a view to instruct his royal pupil in what belonged to his office.

In 1576 he prepared his *Baptistes*, and dedicated it to the young king, with a freedom of sentiment bordering upon disrespect, which is to be regretted, because, if his lessons had been conveyed in a less dictatorial manner, there would have been more likelihood of their being attended with advantage. "This trifle may seem," he says, "to have a more important reference to you, because it clearly discloses the punishment of tyrants, and the misery which awaits them even when their prosperity is at the highest. Such knowledge I consider it not only expedient but necessary that you should acquire, in order that you may early begin to hate what you ought always to shun: and I wish this work to remain as a witness to posterity that, if impelled by evil counsellors, or suffering the licentiousness of royalty to prevail over a virtuous education, you should hereafter be guilty of any improper conduct, the fault may be imputed not to your preceptors, but to you who have not obeyed their salutary admonitions." Three years after, in 1579, he published the above-mentioned compendium of political philosophy, the professed object of which is to delineate the rights of the Scottish crown. The origin of the work, which is sufficiently remote from that assigned by Mackenzie, is fully detailed in the dedication to the king, which is of so peculiar a character, that it would be unpardonable to pass it over. "Several years ago," he begins, "when our affairs were in a most turbulent

of his chanced to be taken from his servant during the civil troubles, and was bought by the regent, who had no will to part with the said horse, because he was sure-footed and easy; but because he would not part with him, from being the regent's great friend, he became his mortal enemy, and from that time forth spoke evil of him at all times and upon all occasions."

¹ Sir James Melville assigns a different, and perhaps equally powerful, reason for Buchanan's disagreement with Morton: "He became the Earl of Morton's great enemy, for that a nag

condition, I composed a dialogue on the prerogatives of the Scottish crown, in which I endeavoured to explain, from their very cradle, if I may adopt that expression, the reciprocal rights and privileges of kings and their subjects. Although the work seemed to be of some immediate utility by silencing certain individuals, who, with importunate clamours, rather inveighed against the existing state of things than examined what was conformable to the standard of reason, yet in consequence of returning tranquillity, I willingly consecrated my arms to public concord. But having lately met with this disputation among my papers, and supposed it to contain many precepts necessary for your tender age (especially as it is so conspicuously elevated in the scale of human affairs), I have deemed its publication expedient, that it may at once testify my zeal for your service, and admonish you of your duty to the community. Many circumstances tend to convince me that my present exertions will not prove fruitless, especially your age yet uncorrupted by perverse opinions, a disposition above your years spontaneously urging you to every noble pursuit; a facility in obeying not only your preceptors, but all prudent monitors—a judgment and dexterity in disquisition which prevents you from paying much regard to authority, unless it be confirmed by solid argument. I likewise perceive that by a kind of natural instinct you so abhor flattery—the nurse of tyranny, and the most grievous pest of a legitimate monarchy—that you as heartily hate the courtly solecisms and barbarisms as they are relished and affected by those who consider themselves as the arbiters of every elegance, and who, by way of seasoning their conversation, are perpetually sprinkling it with majesties, lordships, excellencies, and, if possible, with expressions still more putid. Although the bounty of nature and the instruction of your governors may at present secure you against this error, yet am I compelled to entertain some slight degree of suspicion, lest evil communication—the alluring nurse of the vices—should lend an unhappy impulse to your still tender mind, especially as I am not ignorant with what facility the external senses yield to seduction. I have therefore sent you this treatise, not only as a monitor, but even as an importunate and sometimes impudent dun, who in this turn of life may convey you beyond the rocks of adulation, and may not merely offer you advice, but confine you to the path which you have entered; and if you should chance to deviate, may reprehend you, and recall your steps. If you obey this monitor, you will insure tranquillity to yourself and to your subjects, and will transmit a brilliant reputation to the most remote posterity.” The eagerness with which this work was sought after by those of Buchanan’s own principles on the Continent is manifested by a letter from one of his correspondents. “Your dialogue *De Jure Regni*,” says this epistle, “which you transmitted to me by Zolcher, the letter-carrier of our friend Sturmius, I have received—a present which would be extremely agreeable to me if the importunate entreaties of some persons did not prevent me from enjoying it; for the moment it was delivered into my hand Dr. Wilson requested the loan of it; he yielded it to the importunity of the chancellor, from whom the treasurer procured a perusal of it, and has not yet returned it; so that, to this day, it has never been in my custody.”

Amidst multiplied labours Buchanan was now borne down with the load of years, aggravated by the encroachments of disease. His poetical studies seem now to have been entirely suspended, but his history of Scotland was unfinished, and was probably still receiving short additions or finishing touches. His life, too, at the request of his friends,

he compiled when he had reached his seventy-fourth year, and his epistolary correspondence, which was at one time very extensive, was still continued with some of the friends of his earlier days. He had been long in the habit of writing annually, by some of the Bordeaux merchants, to his old friend and colleague Vinetus, and one of these letters, written in March, 1581, the year before his death, gives a not unpleasant picture of his state of feeling. “Upon receiving accounts of you,” he says, “by the merchants who return from your courts, I am filled with delight, and seem to enjoy a kind of second youth, for I am there apprised that some remnants of the Portuguese peregrinations still exist. As I have now attained to the seventy-fifth year of my age, I sometimes call to remembrance through what toils and inquietudes I have sailed past all those objects which men commonly regard as pleasing, and have at length struck upon that rock beyond which, as the ninetieth psalm very truly avers, nothing remains but labour and sorrow. The only consolation that now awaits me, is to pause with delight on the recollection of my coeval friends, of whom you are almost the only one who still survives. Although you are not, as I presume, inferior to me in years, you are yet capable of benefiting your country by your exertion and counsel, and even of prolonging, by your learned compositions, your life to a future age. But I have long bade adieu to letters. It is now the only object of my solicitude, that I may remove with as little noise as possible from the society of my ill-assorted companions—that I who am already dead, may relinquish the fellowship of the living. In the meantime I transmit to you the youngest of my literary offspring, in order that when you discover it to be the drivelling child of age, you may be less anxious about its brothers. I understand that Henry Wardlaw, a young man of our nation, and the descendant of a good family, is prosecuting his studies in your seminary with no inconsiderable application. Although I am aware of your habitual politeness, and you are not ignorant that foreigners are peculiarly entitled to your attention, yet I am desirous he should find that our ancient familiarity recommends him to your favour.” Thuanus, who had seen this epistle in the possession of the venerable old man to whom it was addressed, says it was written with a tremulous hand, but in a generous style.

The last of Buchanan’s productions was his history of Scotland, which it is doubtful whether he lived to see ushered fairly into the world or not. By the following letter to Mr. Randolph, dated at Stirling in the month of August, 1577, it would appear that this work was then in a state of great forwardness: “Maister, I haif resavit diverse letters from you, and yit I haif ansourit to naine of thayme, of the quhylyke albiet I haif mony excusis, as age, forgetfulness, besines, and desease, yit I wyl use nane as now except my sweirness and your gentilness, and geif ye thynk nane of theise sufficient, content you with ane confession of the falt wout fear of punnition to follow on my onkindness. As for the present, I am occupiit in wryting of our historie, being assurit to content few and to displease mony tharthrow. As to the end of it, yf ye gett it not or thys winter be passit, lippen not for it, nor nane other wrytyngs from me. The rest of my occupation is wyth the gout, quhylk haldis me busy bath day and nyt. And quhair ye say ye haif not lang to lyif, I truist to God to go before you, albiet I be on fut and ye ryd the post [Randolph was post-master to the queen’s grace of England] prayin you als not to dispost my host at Newerk, Jone of Kilsterne.

Thys I pray you, partly for his awyne sake, quhame I thot ane gude fellow, and partly at request of syk as I dare not refuse, and thus I take my leif shortly at you now, and my lang leif quhen God pleasis, committing you to the protection of the Almyty." By this letter it is evident that he expected to publish his history immediately. A long delay, however, took place; for when, in September, 1581, he was visited by Andrew Melville, James Melville, and his cousin Thomas Buchanan, the work was only then printing. Of this visit, James Melville has left a most interesting account. "That September in tyme of vacans, my uncle Mr. Andro, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, and I, heiring yt Mr. George Buchanan was weak, and his histone under ye press, past ower to Edinbro annes earand to visit him and sie ye wark. When we cam to his chalmere we fand him sitting in his charre teacheing his young man that servit him in his chalmere to spel a, b, ab; e, b, eb, &c. After salutation, Mr. Andro says, 'I sie, sir, ye are not ydle.' 'Better,' quoth he, 'than stelling sheep or sitting ydle, whilk is als ill.' Yrefter he shew ws the epistle dedicatorie to the king, the quhyllk when Mr. Andro had read, he told him that it was obscure in some places, and wanted certain wordis to perfyte the sentence. Sayes he, 'I may do na mair for thinking on another matter.' 'What is that,' says Mr. Andro. 'To die,' quoth he; 'but I leave that an mony ma things to you to help.' We went from him to the printer's wark hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 buik of his chronicle, at a place quhyllk we thought verie hard for the tyme, quhyllk might be an occasion of steyeing the hail wark, anent the burial of Davie [David Rizzio]. Therefore steyeing the printer from proceeding, we cam to Mr. George again, and fand him bedfast by [contrary to] his custome, and asking him whow he did, 'Even going the way of weillfare,' sayes he. Mr. Thomas, his cousin, shaws him of the hardness of that part of his story, yt the king wald be offendit w^t it, and it might stey all the wark. 'Tell me, man,' sayes he, 'if I have told the truth.' 'Yes,' says Mr. Thomas, 'I think sa.' 'I will byd his feide and all his kin's, then,' quoth he. 'Pray, pray to God for me, and let him direct all.' Sa be the printing of his chronicle was endit, that maist learned, wyse, and godlie man endit this mortal lyff."

The printing of the history must have gone on very slowly, for though it was printed as above, up to the seventeenth book, it was not finished till nearly a year after, the dedication to the king being dated August 29, 1582, only thirty days before the death of the author, which happened on Friday the 28th of September following, when he had reached the age of seventy-six years and eight months. He died in much peace, expressing his full reliance on the blood of Christ. He was buried in the Greyfriars churchyard, a great multitude attending his funeral. A throughoutstone, with an inscription, is said to have marked his grave; but the inscription has long been invisible, and the existence of the stone itself appears to be more than doubtful. An obelisk has, by the gratitude of posterity, been reared to his memory in his native village, Killearn. His death, like that of all men who live out the full term of human life, excited less emotion than might have been expected. Andrew Melville, who had often celebrated him while alive, discharged the last debt of lettered friendship in an elegant Latin poem; Joseph Scaliger also wrote an epitaph for him in terms of liberal and appropriate praise.

Buchanan was never married, and left, of course, no children to perpetuate his memory; and though he held latterly one of the great offices of state, and

possessed other considerable sources of emolument, he acquired no great estates, and his whole property at his death consisted of £100, arrears due upon his pension of Crossraguell.

A story is told, upon the authority of the Earl of Cromarty, who had it from his grandfather Lord Inverlyte, that Buchanan, on his death-bed, finding the money he had about him insufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral, sent his servant to divide it among the poor; adding, that if the city, meaning its authorities, did not choose to bury him, they might let him lie where he was, or throw his corpse where they pleased. This anecdote has been by some rejected as apocryphal; but there is no proof of its untruth, and it certainly does not startle us on account of any incongruity with Buchanan's character, which was severe, even to moroseness. He had passed through almost every vicissitude of human life, and, stern and inflexible, perhaps he had less sympathy with human frailty than the weaknesses of most men require. He was subject to that irritability of feeling which frequently attends exalted genius, but manifested at all times a noble generosity of spirit, which made him be regarded by his friends with a warmth of affection which mere intellectual eminence, though it were that of an archangel, could never inspire. By the general voice of the civilized world he held a pre-eminence in literature that seemed to render competition hopeless; but his estimate of his own attainments was consistent with the most perfect modesty, and no man was more ready to discover and acknowledge genuine merit in others. His brilliant wit and unaffected humour rendered his society highly acceptable to persons of the most opposite tastes and dispositions.

In 1584, only two years after the publication of the history, it was condemned along with *De Jure Regni* by the parliament of Scotland, and every person possessed of copies commanded to surrender them within forty days, in order that they might be purged of the offensive and extraordinary matters which they contained.

We shall close this sketch of Buchanan's life with the concluding reflections of his learned biographer Dr. Irving. "In his numerous writings," says the doctor, "he discovers a vigorous and mature combination of talents which have seldom been found united in equal perfection. According to the common opinion, intellectual superiority is almost invariably circumscribed by one of the two grand partitions which philosophers have delineated; it is either founded on the predominancy of those capabilities which constitute what is termed the imagination, or of those which, in contradistinction, are denominated the understanding. These different powers of exertion, though certainly not incompatible with each other, are but rarely found to coalesce in equal maturity. Buchanan has, however, displayed them in the same high degree of perfection. To an imagination excursive and brilliant he unites an undeviating rectitude of judgment. His learning was at once elegant, various, and profound. Turnebus, who was associated with him in the same college, and whose decisions will not be rashly controverted, has characterized him as a man of consummate erudition. Most of the ancient writers had limited their aspiring hopes to one department of literature; and even to excel in one demands the happy perseverance of a cultivated genius. Plato despaired of securing a reputation by his poetry. The poetical attempts of Cicero, though less contemptible perhaps than they are commonly represented, would not have been sufficient to transmit an illustrious name to future ages.

Buchanan has not only attained to excellence in each species of composition, but in each species has displayed a variety of excellence. In philosophical dialogue and historical narrative, in lyric and didactic poetry, in elegy, epigram, and satire, he has never been equalled in modern, and hardly surpassed in ancient times. A few Roman poets of the purest age have excelled him in their several provinces, but none of them has evinced the same capability of universal attainment. Horace and Livy wrote in the language they had learned from their mothers, but its very acquisition was to Buchanan the result of much youthful labour. Yet he writes with the purity and elegance of an ancient Roman. Unfettered by the classical restraints which shrivel the powers of an ordinary mind, he expatiates with all the characteristic energy of strong and original sentiment; he produces new combinations of fancy, and invests them with language equally polished and appropriate. His diction uniformly displays a happy vein of elegant and masculine simplicity, and is distinguished by that propriety and perspicuity which can only be attained by a man perfectly master of his ideas and of the language in which he writes. The variety of his poetical measures is immense, and to each species he imparts its peculiar grace and harmony. The style of his prose exhibits correspondent beauties; nor is it chequered by phraseologies unsuitable in that mode of composition. His diction, whether in prose or verse, is not a tissue of centos; he imitates the ancients as the ancients imitated each other. No Latin poet of modern times has united the same originality and elegance; no historian has so completely imbibed the genius of antiquity, without being betrayed into servile and pedantic imitation. But his works may legitimately claim a higher order of merit—they have added no inconsiderable influx to the general stream of human knowledge. The wit, the pungency, the vehemence of his ecclesiastical satires, must have tended to foment the general flame of reformation; and his political speculations are evidently those of a man who had soared beyond the narrow limits of his age." All these remarks the reader will observe refer to the original Latin in which all the works of Buchanan, with the exception of the two which we have particularized, are written. The *Dialogue* has been frequently reprinted, and several times translated. Of the *History*, which was printed by Alexander Arbuthnot at Edinburgh, 1582, there have been published seventeen editions. It was translated into the Scottish language by John Reid, who, according to Calderwood's MS., was servitor to Mr. George Buchanan. A MS. of this unpublished version is in the library of the university of Glasgow. Another unpublished version is in the British Museum. In 1690, an English translation, with a portrait of the author, was printed in folio. This version has gone through five or six editions, and is to be frequently met with. It is a clumsy performance, and gives some such idea of Buchanan as a block from the quarry gives of the highly finished statue. A much better translation has recently appeared, from the pen of James Aikman, Esq., forming the first part of *Aikman's History of Scotland*. It is an honour yet awaiting some future scholar, to give to his unlettered countrymen to feel somewhat of the grace and strength that characterize the performances of George Buchanan.

BURNES, SIR ALEXANDER. This distinguished officer, whose varied talents were so available in the administration of the British government in India, and whose premature and violent death

was so deeply deplored, was born in the town of Montrose, on the 16th of May, 1805. His father, a magistrate of Forfarshire, had held the chief official situations of the burgh of Montrose, while his grandfather was brother to William Burnes, the parent of our illustrious national poet. It is well known to the readers of the life of Robert Burns, that the family name had always been spelled Burnes, and that his father was the first who dropped the letter *e* in its signature. Alexander was educated at Montrose academy, and having obtained a cadetship when he left school at the age of sixteen, he set sail for India, and arrived at Bombay on October 31, 1821. So successful had been his studies for his new sphere of active duty, that at the close of the year after that of his arrival in India, he was appointed interpreter in Hindostanee to the first extra battalion at Surat. His proficiency in the Persian tongue had also been so rapid as to secure the confidence of the judges of the Sudder Adawlut, so that he was appointed translator of the Persian documents of that court, without any solicitation of his own. His talents for civil occupation were soon so conspicuous as to secure him rapid promotion in that Indo-British government, whose very existence depends upon the superiority of intellect alone, and after having filled the offices of ensign and quartermaster of brigade, he was confirmed in the office of deputy-assistant quartermaster-general at the age of twenty-one, at which period, also, he drew up an elaborate report on the statistics of Wagur, a paper for which he received the thanks of the governor and members of the council of Bombay. In 1828 he was honoured by a similar testimony for a memoir on the eastern mouth of the Indus; and in September, 1829, he was appointed assistant to the political agent in Cutch, for the purpose of effecting a survey of the north-west border of that province. Burnes, who had been there four years previous, as ensign of the 21st Bombay Native Infantry during the disturbances of that quarter, returned in his new capacity, and discharged his task with his wonted ability and success. His account of this survey is contained in the *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society for 1834*.

The talents of Burnes as an oriental linguist and statist, having thus been tested, were summoned to higher exertion. In the growth of our Indo-British empire, it was necessary that the Indus should be thrown open to our ships, but, at the same time, without exciting the jealousy of those wild tribes who regarded the river as the pledge of their national freedom. It was accordingly resolved that this object should be covertly accomplished, by means of a political mission ostensibly directed to a different purpose. A present of five splendid horses, accompanied by a letter from the sovereign of Great Britain, were to be consigned to Runjeet Singh, the celebrated Maharajah of the Punjab; and on the way to Lahore for that purpose, Lieutenant Burnes, by whom the mission was to be conducted, was to travel by the circuitous route of Scinde. He was provided with letters to the chieftains of the province, and to conceal the real purpose of his journey, he was accompanied by a guard of wild Beeloochees, instead of a troop of British soldiers, whose appearance would have raised suspicion. Thus provided, Burnes reached the mouth of the Indus on the 28th of January, 1831. He had now a difficult diplomatic task to perform, for the Ameers of Scinde had taken the alarm, and every impediment was thrown in the way of his further progress. This, however, was nothing more than what he wished; for, during the delay of their feigned negotiations, he had made

a complete survey of the mouths of the river, and constructed a map of the lower part of its course; he also obtained their full permission to continue his journey on the Indus, instead of travelling by land, and their assent that thenceforth it should be left open to the transit of British merchandise. Proceeding along the river by water, and visiting every place of interest upon his way, he at length reached Lahore on the 18th of July. As the real part of his journey was already accomplished, all that remained was little more than a mere political visit of ceremony, graced with all the showy forms of an oriental embassy, and an amusing account of which he has given us in the third volume of his *Travels in Bokhara*. Splendid retinues, with abundance of trumpeting and cannon-firing, welcomed him into the capital of the modern Timour; and on entering the palace, he suddenly found himself locked in the embrace of a diminutive old man, who was no other than Runjeet Singh himself, eager to do him honour, and who had advanced thus far to welcome him. After sojourning till the middle of August at the court of Runjeet Singh, Burnes left Lahore, crossed the Sutledge, and proceeded to Loodiana, where he became acquainted with Shah Zeman and Shah Soojah, who had formerly been kings of Cabool, but were now disrowned, and living under British protection. At Simla, he met Lord William Bentinck, the governor-general, who forthwith proceeded to avail himself of Burnes' mission, by negotiations for opening the navigation of the Indus.

After this successful expedition, Burnes proposed to undertake an exploratory journey into Central Asia, and the Indian government having sanctioned the proposal, he commenced this new and adventurous journey in January, 1832. As yet, much of the interior of our vast Indian empire was but little known, and even the charts of many districts that had been penetrated by British travellers were still incorrect or defective. One important advantage of this journey of Burnes was an addition to the map of Arrowsmith, the most valuable of our Indian charts, to which he supplied some of its best improvements. As it was necessary to pass through Scinde in his route, he had previously obtained permission to that effect from his powerful friend the maharajah. He therefore once more entered Lahore, at which he arrived on the 17th of January, and was cordially welcomed by Runjeet Singh; and after a stay there till the 11th of February, he crossed the Ravee, and having halted one night in a house beside the monument of Jehangur, he prepared for the dangerous part of his journey. It was necessary for this purpose that he should be completely disguised, and therefore he assumed the dress and habits, and as much as possible the appearance, of an Afghan. He had for the companion of his journey, Mr. James Gerard, surgeon of the Bengal army, who clothed himself with a similar costume; and, after leaving behind them every article of their luggage that might indicate their country or purpose, the travellers commenced their pilgrimage of peril, escorted by a body of troops provided by the maharajah. They were thus accompanied to the frontier of Runjeet's dominions, a short distance on the further side of the Attock, where they met the Afghans, by whom they were escorted to Acora. They afterwards successively reached Peshawur, Jellalabad, and Cabool; scaled the lofty passes of Oonna and Hageegak, on the latter of which, 12,400 feet in height at its highest point, the frost was so intense that the snow bore the weight of their horses, and the thermometer fell to 4° of Fahrenheit. On attempting subsequently to surmount the pass of Kalao, which is a thousand feet

higher, they found it so blocked up with snow as to be impassable, and were compelled to choose another route, by which they reached Ghoolgoola, that city, or rather valley of ruins, famed for its two colossal statues, the largest of which is 120 feet in height, and for the hills that inclose the valley, which are absolutely honey-combed with excavations. They then crossed the pass of Acrobat; and descending from the mountains of the Indian Caucasus, they entered the vast plains of Tartary. At Khooloom, the frontier town of Morad Beg, chief of Khoondooz, the bold travellers were met by a startling message from that potentate, requiring Burnes to wait upon him at Kaumabad, a village about fifty miles off. Obedience was unavoidable; and therefore, leaving Mr. Gerard at Khooloom, Burnes repaired to Kaumabad, and presented himself before the chief in tattered and threadbare garments, under the character of a poor Armenian watchmaker travelling from Lucknow to Bokhara. A moment's timidity on his part, or suspicion on that of the Asiatic lord, might have cost the traveller his life; but, fortunately, his statement was believed, so that he received a safe-conduct to continue his journey, and he left Kaumabad in the company of a small caravan of nine or ten tea-merchants.

This danger being thus happily got over, Burnes rejoined Mr. Gerard at Khooloom. Their route was continued, and they arrived at Balkh, that wondrous city of history and romance, with which our childhood and youth were made so familiar. Now a heap of ruins in the midst of a glory that has passed away, but still covering an extent of twenty miles with its fragments; it is a fitting monument of the many empires to which it has belonged; for here the Greek, Persian, Arabian, Tartar, and Afghan have successively ruled. Strange, therefore, have been the changes it has witnessed since the time that it was the Bactra of Alexander the Great! After halting for three days in this interesting compend of ancient and modern history, Burnes and Gerard entered the desert on the 14th of June, and, two days after, they reached the banks of the Oxus, that most important of Asiatic rivers, which bounded the conquests of Cyrus, and all but terminated those of Alexander. At that part which our travellers crossed, the river was about 800 yards wide, and twenty feet deep, where the transit was made in boats neither impelled by sail nor oar, but drawn by a couple of stout horses that swam across. Continuing their course, they reached on the 27th of June the city of Bokhara, the capital of the country of that name; a city whose remaining colleges still justify its ancient renown for learning and civilization, and the high encomiums which eastern poets heaped upon it. After waiting in the neighbourhood of the city of Kara-kool till the 16th of August, Burnes and Gerard resumed their journey in the company of a caravan consisting of 150 persons and eighty camels, the former travelling in very simple fashion, some on horses, some on asses, and several in panniers slung across the backs of camels. With this escort our travellers passed the great desert by Merve, and on the 17th of September reached the strong fortress of Koochan, where they parted, Gerard intending to proceed to Herat and Candahar, and afterwards return to Cabool. Burnes continued his journey in the company of 300 persons, chiefly Khoonds, Persians, and Turcomans—three of the eleven races with which the province of Bokhara is peopled—until he had passed Boojnoord, when he continued his journey alone to the town of Astrabad. He then crossed an arm of the Caspian, and proceeded to Teheran, the modern capital of Persia, where he had the honour



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of being presented to the shah. Such is a brief outline of one of the perilous and laborious journeys in which a chivalrous love of science enables the modern traveller to dare and endure the utmost that knight-errantry has recorded of its ancient votaries.

The object of this expedition having been successfully attained, Burnes was eager to return by the shortest and safest route to head-quarters, and report his proceedings. He therefore embarked at Bushire for Bombay, which he reached on the 18th of January, after a year's absence. The information he had gathered during this adventurous journey, and which he hastened to lay before the government, was so valuable in the statistical and geographical history of these countries with which India is so closely connected, that he received the especial thanks of the governor-general, and was honoured besides with the commission of carrying his own despatches to England. He accordingly set sail for London, where his services were so highly appreciated, that he not only met with the most flattering reception at the India House, but was honoured with the especial thanks of his sovereign. Fresh distinctions crowded upon him as soon as the results of his labours were known to the public. The narrative of his journey was immediately translated into French and German; he was elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the Royal Geographical Society; and presented with the gold medal, and royal premium of fifty guineas, for *The Navigation of the Indus, and a Journey by Balkh and Bokhara across Central Asia*. Nor were these acknowledgments of his services in behalf of science, literature, and humanity, confined to his own country; for, on paying a short visit to Paris, he was welcomed with general enthusiasm as one of the most talented and adventurous of modern travellers, and presented with the silver medal of the French Geographical Society.

The stay of Burnes at home after so long a residence in India, was only for eighteen months, after which he left England on April 5, 1835, and proceeding by the south of France, Egypt, and the Red Sea, he reached Bombay on the 1st of June, and joined Colonel Pottinger, the British resident at Cutch, as his assistant. Only a few months after, he was sent upon a mission to Hyderabad, to prevent the necessity of a war with Scinde, in which he was successful. While thus occupied in that country, a more important duty was intrusted to him; this was, to negotiate a commercial treaty with Dost Mohammed, sovereign of Afghanistan, and also with the Indian chiefs of the western provinces. He reached Cabool on the 20th of September, 1837. Here, however, he found that his mission was useless, from the danger that menaced our Indian empire through the movements and intrigues of Persia and Russia, and the likelihood of their uniting with the Afghans, while Dost Mohammed, instigated by the Russian agent at his court, gave Burnes an order of dismissal. On his return to head-quarters, it was resolved by our Indian government to replace their pensionary, Shah Soojah, upon the throne of Cabool, as a more peaceable or compliant ally than Dost Mohammed; and Burnes was sent to the army to make arrangements in the commissariat department, preparatory to the invasion of Afghanistan. While thus occupied, he was gratified to learn that his valuable services had not been forgotten at home, for at Shikarpoor he received a copy of the *London Gazette*, announcing his promotion to the honour of knighthood and the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Before the commencement of military operations, Sir Alexander Burnes was sent on a political mission

from Scinde to Beeloochistan, that failed, upon which he regained the British invading army, that had already advanced, through many difficulties, as far as the fertile valley of Quettah. Here he had hard military service in the shape of a toilsome march, accompanied with danger and privation of every kind, as well as in the storming of Ghuznee, which was only wrested from the Afghans after a close and desperate hand-to-hand fight of three hours. After this important city was won, Hyder Khan, its governor, one of the sons of Dost Mohammed, who had surrendered himself to the British, was placed under the care of Sir Alexander Burnes. Soon after, Dost Mohammed fled from the kingdom, Shah Soojah was replaced in the sovereignty, and such was the appearance of submission on the part of the Afghans, that Sir William M'Naughten was left as British envoy at the court of Cabool, with Sir Alexander Burnes for his assistant. But, unfortunately, this season of calm was soon overcast. The impatient Afghans resumed their insurrectionary spirit, and on several occasions broke forth into revolts that were suppressed with difficulty. Still, however, neither M'Naughten nor Burnes seem to have anticipated any immediate danger, notwithstanding the warnings of Major Pottinger, for 14,000 British soldiers were stationed in Afghanistan, independent of the troops of the new shah. But, on the 2d November, 1841, the storm suddenly burst out. At nine o'clock in the morning, the house of Burnes in Cabool was attacked and set on fire by the insurgent multitude, and himself, his brother Lieutenant Charles Burnes, Lieutenant Broadfoot, and every man, woman, and child in the building, were murdered. It was the commencement of a fearful tragedy, of which a disastrous retreat, and the destruction of 26,000 individuals by exhaustion and the sabres of the pursuing Afghans were the mournful termination.

Sir Alexander was never married, and was survived by his parents and three brothers. Besides his *Travels in Bokhara*, and several papers in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, he was author of a work entitled *Cabool; being a Narrative of a Journey to and Residence in that City, in the years 1836-7-8*, which was published after his death.

BURNET, GILBERT, Bishop of Salisbury, and an historian of great eminence, was born at Edinburgh on the 18th of September, 1643. His father was a younger brother of a family possessing considerable interest in the shire of Aberdeen, and was bred to the law, which he followed with great success. He was eminent for his probity, and his generosity was such that he never took a fee from the poor, nor from any clergyman, when he sued in the right of his church. In his morals he was strict, and his piety procured him the reproach of being a puritan; yet he was episcopal in his judgment, and adhered to the bishops and the rights of the crown with great constancy, and three several times he left the kingdom to avoid taking the covenant. On one of these occasions he was an exile for several years, and though his return was latterly connived at, he was not permitted to resume the practice of the law, but lived in retirement upon his estate in the country till the Restoration, when he was promoted to be a lord of session. The mother of our author was not less conspicuous than his father, being a sister of Lord Wariston, and, like him, a great admirer of the Presbyterian discipline.

In consequence of his seclusion from business, Mr. Burnet took the education of his son in the early part

of it wholly upon himself, and he conducted it so successfully, that at the age of ten years, Gilbert was sufficiently acquainted with the Latin tongue, as to be entered a student in the college of Aberdeen, where he perfected himself in Greek, went through the common methods of the Aristotelian logic and philosophy, and took his degree of M.A. before he was fourteen. After this, much to the regret of his father, who had all along intended him for the church, he commenced the study of the law, both civil and feudal, in which he made very considerable progress. In the course of a year, however, he altered his resolution, and, agreeably to the will of his father, devoted himself wholly to the study of divinity, in which, with indefatigable diligence, studying commonly fourteen hours a day, he made a rapid progress, having gone through the Old and New Testaments, with all the commentaries then in repute, as well as some of the most approved systems of school divinity, before he was eighteen years of age; when, having passed the usual routine of previous exercises, which at that time were nearly the same in the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, he was licensed as a probationer or preacher of the gospel. His father was about this time appointed a lord of session, and his cousin-german, Sir Alexander Burnet, gave him the presentation to an excellent benefice, which lay in the very centre of all his relations. He refused to accept of it, however, on account of his youth, notwithstanding the importunities of all his friends, his father excepted, who left him entirely to his own discretion. His father dying shortly after this, and one of his brothers, Robert, having become famous at the bar, his mother's relations eagerly desired him to return to his former studies, the law, in which they assured him of the most flattering encouragement; but he was immovably fixed in his purpose of devoting his life to the service of the church. In this resolution he was greatly confirmed by the Rev. Mr. Nairn, who at that time filled the Abbey church of Edinburgh, and took a deep interest in him. Mr. Nairn was reckoned one of the most eloquent of the Scottish preachers, and afterwards became well known in the west of Scotland as one of "Archbishop Leighton's Evangelists." He was remarkable in his discourses for accuracy of style, strength of reasoning, and lofty flights of imagination; yet he always preached extempore, considering the task of writing his discourses as a loss of time. Young Burnet was his great admirer, and learned from him to preach extemporaneously, which he did all his life with great ease, by allotting a part of every day to meditation on all sorts of subjects, speaking all his thoughts aloud, and studying to render his expressions fluent and correct. To Mr. Nairn, also, he was indebted for his acquaintance with various celebrated works, particularly Dr. More's works, the writings of Plato, and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, by the principles of which he professed to be guided through life. In 1662 he became acquainted with Bishop Leighton, who, conceiving a great affection for him, took a particular delight in overlooking his studies. Through this amiable divine, he became acquainted with the primitive writers, going through all the apologies of the fathers of the three first centuries, and Binnius' *Collections of Councils*, down to the second council of Nice. He had the good fortune, about this same time, to contract an intimacy with Mr. Laurence Charteris, a man of great worth and gravity, who was not only a solid divine, but an eminent master of history, both ancient and modern, well acquainted with geography, and a profound mathematician, and who also took a deep

interest in finishing the education of his young friend, which had been so happily begun, and so successfully carried on.

In 1663 Burnet made an excursion into England, taking Cambridge and Oxford in his way. At the first of these, he had the pleasure of being introduced to Drs. Cudworth, Pearson, Burnet (author of the *Theory of the Earth*), and More. At the latter place he met with great attention, particularly from Drs. Fell and Pocock, on account of his ready knowledge of the fathers and ancient councils. Here he improved his mathematics by the instructions of Dr. Wallis, who gave him a letter of introduction to that great philosopher and Christian, Mr. Robert Boyle, at London. In London he was introduced to all the eminent divines of that period, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick Lloyd, Whitecot, and Wilkins, all of whose characters he lived to draw in his history. Here also he had the advantage of the conversation of Sir Robert Murray, who introduced him into the first circles of society, acting at the same time the part of a faithful monitor, in pointing out to him those errors and indiscretions into which he was in danger of falling from his youth and inexperience.

After spending six months in this agreeable manner, he returned to his native country, where he was again pressed to enter into orders, and to accept of a charge in the west, which he could not be prevailed on to do. Hearing of his great fame, Sir Robert Fletcher of Salton, who had been acquainted with, and had received many obligations from, his father at Paris, sent for him at this time to his country-seat, and after hearing him preach, offered him that parish, the minister having just been nominated to one of the bishoprics. Burnet would have excused himself, as he intended travelling to the Continent, and solicited the place for his friend Nairn; but Sir Robert would take no denial, being resolved to keep the place vacant till his return.

In 1664 the subject of this memoir went over to Holland, and after seeing what was most remarkable in the Seven Provinces, fixed his residence at Amsterdam, where, under the care of a learned rabbi, he perfected himself in the Hebrew language. He also became acquainted here with the leading men of many different sects, among all of whom he declared he found so much real piety and virtue, that he became fixed in a strong principle of universal charity, and conceived an invincible abhorrence of all severities on account of differences in the profession or forms of religion. From Holland, by the way of the Netherlands, he passed into France, where, at Paris, he had the pleasure of conversing frequently with Dailé and Morus, the two Protestant ministers of Charenton, the former renowned for his learning and judgment, the latter for shining abilities and unrivalled eloquence. His stay in France was prolonged on account of the kindness with which he was treated by Lord Hollis, then ambassador at the French court. Towards the end of the year, however, he returned to Scotland by the way of London, where, by the president, Sir Robert Murray, he was introduced as a member of the Royal Society. On arriving at Edinburgh, he was waited upon by Sir Robert Fletcher, who carried him down to Salton, and presented him to the parish, which he declined taking absolutely, till he should have the joint request of all the parishioners. This he very soon obtained without one single exception, and was ordained a priest by the Bishop of Edinburgh in the year 1665. At Salton he remained for five years, a bright example of what parish ministers ought to be. He preached twice every Sabbath, and once through the week. He catechized three times a week, so as to

examine every parishioner, old and young, three times in the compass of the year. He went round his parish, from house to house, instructing, re-proving, or comforting the inmates, as occasion required. The sick he visited often twice a day. The sacrament he dispensed four times a year, and he personally instructed all such as gave notice that they intended to receive it. Of his stipend,¹ all that remained above his own necessary subsistence, he gave away in charity. On one occasion, a parishioner who had been in execution for debt, asked him for a little to help his present exigency; he inquired how much it would take to set him up again in his business, and on being told, ordered his servant to go and give him the money. "Sir," said his servant, probably piqued at his generosity, "it is all the money we have in the house." "It is well," was the reply; "go and pay it to the poor man. You do not know the pleasure there is in making a man glad." We need not wonder that such a man had the affections of his whole parish, even of the Presbyterians, though he was then the only minister in Scotland who made use of the prayers in the liturgy of the Church of England. No worth and no diligence on the part of individuals, however, can atone for or make up the defects of a wretched system; on the contrary, they often render these defects more apparent, and their consequences more pernicious. Few parishes in Scotland were filled in the manner that Salton was. Ignorant and profane persons had almost everywhere, through political interest, thrust themselves into the cure of souls, which, of course, they totally neglected, to the great offence of good men like Burnet, who drew up a memorial of the many abuses he observed among his brethren, which was highly resented by his superiors. In consequence of this, lest his conduct might be attributed to ambitious views, he sequestered himself almost entirely from the public, and by hard study and too abstemious living, threw himself into a fever, which had nearly proved fatal. He was soon after interrupted in his pious labours, by being called upon, by the new administration that was appointed in 1668, in which his friend Sir Robert Murray had a principal share, to give his advice for remedying the public disorders, which had been occasioned by the overthrow of the Presbyterian constitution, and, along with it, the civil rights of the people. At his suggestion the expedient of an indulgence to the Presbyterians, under certain limitations, was adopted in the year 1669, by which it was hoped they would by degrees be brought to submit to the new order of things. He was at the same time employed to assist Leighton, now made Archbishop of Glasgow, in bringing forward his scheme for an accommodation between the conflicting churches. In the course of his journeyings to the west, he was introduced to Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, a very excellent woman, with a strong bias towards the Presbyterians, which enabled her to influence in some degree the leaders of that body, and rendered her somewhat of a public character. At her house the managers of the college of Glasgow had occasion to meet with the minister of Salton, and, the divinity chair being then vacant, he was unanimously elected to fill it. All this was unknown to Burnet till it was over, and he was again thrown into much difficulty, his friends insisting

upon him to accept the invitation, and his parishioners that he should refuse it. Leighton, however, laid his commands upon him, which he considered as law, and he therefore removed to Glasgow in the year 1669.

Owing to the deplorable state of the church and nation, he encountered much trouble and many inconveniences in his new situation. His principal care, however, was to improve his pupils, to whom he seems to have devoted almost his whole time and attention. On the Mondays he made each of the students in his turn explain a head of divinity in Latin and propound a thesis from it, which he was to defend against his fellow-students, the professor concluding the exercise by deciding the point in a Latin oration. On Tuesdays he prelected in Latin, purposing in eight years to embrace a complete system of divinity. On Wednesdays he gave a lecture of an hour upon the Gospel of Matthew. On Thursdays the exercise was alternate: one Thursday he expounded a Hebrew psalm, comparing it with the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the English version; on the other he explained some portion of the ritual and constitution of the primitive church. On Fridays he made each of his pupils, in course, preach a short sermon upon a text assigned, upon which he gave his own remarks in conclusion. This was the labour of the mornings. In the evenings, after prayers, he every day read them a portion of the Scriptures, on which he made a short discourse, after which he examined into the progress of their several studies, exhorting, encouraging, and directing them, as he found necessary. In order to keep up all these exercises, he was under the necessity of rising every morning at four o'clock, and it was ten before his preparations were completed for the labours of the day. During his vacations he made frequent visits to Hamilton, where he was engaged by the duchess to examine and put in order the papers of her father and uncle, which led him to compile the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*. The Duke of Lauderdale hearing he was employed upon this work, wrote for him to come up to London, promising him such information concerning the transactions of these times as he could furnish. He went to London, accordingly, and was received by Lauderdale with much kindness. But the impious manners of this nobleman were not agreeable to him; and he made no use of the confidence reposed in him, except to reconcile his grace to the Duke of Hamilton, who had assignments given him on the revenues of the crown, in satisfaction of some old claims for which vouchers had been found by Burnet among the papers intrusted to his care; and in return the Duke of Hamilton engaged to concur with the measures of the court in the ensuing parliament.

Four of the Scottish bishoprics were at this time vacant, of which Burnet was offered his choice; but he foresaw that they would entangle him in difficulties, with little prospect of his being able to effect anything good; so he utterly refused to accept any of them. In 1672 he prevented a breach between Lauderdale and the Duke of Hamilton, for which his country certainly owed him little thanks. About this time he published his vindication of the authority, constitution, and laws of the church and state of Scotland, wherein he strenuously maintained the cause of Episcopacy, and the illegality of resistance merely on account of religion. This was by the court reckoned a most acceptable service. He was again courted to accept of a bishopric, with the promise of the first archbishopric that should become vacant; but he still persisted in refusing. In 1673 he went again to London, in order to obtain a license

¹ As minister of Salton, Burnet received in stipend from the laird of Salton, in 1665, £397, 10s. Scots (equal to £33, 2s. 6d. sterling), together with 11 bolls, 2 pecks, 2 lippies, of wheat; 11 bolls, 2 pecks, 2 lippies, of bear; and 24 bolls, 1 firiot, 1 peck, 3 lippies, meal.—*Receipt, MSS. Adv. Lib.* signed "GILBERT BURNETT."

for publishing his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*. He also entertained a resolution to have nothing further to do with the affairs of state, being satisfied that Popery was now the prevailing interest at court, and that the sacramental test by which York, Clifford, and other Papists, had been excluded, was a mere artifice of Charles to obtain money to prosecute the Dutch war. On this occasion he used much freedom both with the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, pointing out to them in strong terms the errors they had fallen into, and the fatal effects that would accrue to themselves and to the whole nation. This, with his known intimacy with Duke Hamilton, who was at the time a kind of feeble oppositionist, brought him into high credit, as possessed of great influence in Scotland, in consequence of which he was frequently consulted both by the king and the Duke of York, to the latter of whom he introduced Dr. Stillingfleet, and proposed a conference, in presence of his royal highness, with some of the Catholic priests, on the chief points of controversy between the Romanists and the Protestants, which must have been highly offensive to that bigoted prince. With the king he made no other use of the freedom allowed him than to attempt awakening him out of that lethargy of indolence and vice in which he seemed to be wholly entranced, and to revive in him some sense of religion—an aim in which his self-esteem must have been very strong if he had any hopes of succeeding. The king made him a compliment, however, by naming him one of his chaplains. Having obtained a license for his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, which was delayed that the king and some of his ministers might have the pleasure of reading them in MS., he returned to Scotland, and finding the animosity between the dukes of Lauderdale and Hamilton no longer repressible, he retired to his station at Glasgow. The favour shown him at London awakened the jealousy and exposed him to the rage of a numerous class of courtiers. The schemes of the court having been in some instances thwarted by the parliament, Lauderdale threw the whole blame upon Burnet, whom he represented as the underhand instrument of all the opposition he had met with. This accusation drew him again to court in 1674. The king received him coldly, and ordered his name to be struck off the list of chaplains. Yet, at the entreaty of the Duke of York, his majesty admitted him to an audience, to say what he could in his own defence, which having heard, he seemed satisfied, and ordered him home to Glasgow. From this the Duke of York dissuaded him till his peace should be entirely made; otherwise, he assured him, he could be thrown into prison, where he might be detained as long as the present party was in power. His royal highness at the same time exerted himself to have him reconciled with Lauderdale, but without effect. Dr. Burnet had now no alternative but to resign his professorial chair, and seek a settlement in England, or by going back to Scotland, put himself in the power of his enemies. He did not long hesitate, and would have found at once a quiet settlement in London, had not the electors of the church he had in view been deterred from choosing him by a sharp message from the king. This, though at the time it had the aspect of a misfortune, he ever after spoke of as one of the happiest incidents of his life, as it at once set him free from the entanglements of a corrupt court, whose services he had been so far engaged in, that, without some such accident, he might never have escaped from them.

He had now an offer of the living of St. Giles' Cripplegate, from the dean and chapter of St. Paul's. As he, however, had learned that it was originally

their intention to bestow the living upon Dr. Fuller, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, he thanked them for the offer, but declared himself not at liberty to accept it. Through the recommendation of Lord Hollis he was next year appointed preacher to a chapel by Sir Harbottle Grimston, master of the rolls, though the court sent first a bishop, and afterwards Secretary Williamson, to inform Harbottle that he was a preacher highly unacceptable to the king. In this chapel he remained nine years, during which time he was elected a lecturer at St. Clement's, and was one of the most admired preachers in town. In 1676 he printed an account of a conference which himself and Dr. Stillingfleet held with Coleman and the principal of the Romish priests; and in 1679 appeared the first volume of his *History of the Reformation*, which procured him a vote of thanks from both houses of parliament, with a request that he would prosecute the work to its completion, without loss of time. Two years after this he published the second volume, which met with the same general approbation as the first. Having at this time no parochial cure, Dr. Burnet was not in the practice of visiting the sick as a part of his regular calling; but he was always ready to attend those who requested his visits. Among these happened to be a lady who had been criminally connected with John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester; and the manner in which the doctor conducted himself towards her excited a strong desire in his lordship to see and converse with him. This led to a weekly meeting of Dr. Burnet and Lord Rochester for a whole winter, which ended first in the conviction, and latterly, it is to be hoped, the conversion of that singular libertine. An account of the whole affair was published by Dr. Burnet in 1681, which, Dr. Johnson says, "the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety." During the time of the inquiry into the Popish plot Charles seems to have been softened down considerably, and often sent for Dr. Burnet and consulted with him on the state of the nation. His majesty made also another attempt to bring him over by offering him the bishopric of Chichester, at that time vacant, provided he would come entirely into his interests. Burnet, with an honesty that we fear is but too seldom practised, told the king he knew the oaths that in such a case he must take: these he would observe religiously, but must be excused from giving any other engagements. He of course was not installed in the bishopric; but he embraced the opportunity of writing a letter to the king, which does him more real honour than if he had held in his single person all the bishoprics in England. This letter, so full, so free, so faithful, and so affectionate, we regret that our limits forbid us to insert. We must also leave it to general history to detail the endeavours he made to save the lives of Staley and the Lord Stafford on the occasion of the Popish plot. By his conduct with regard to the exclusion of the Duke of York, and the scheme of a prince regent in lieu of that exclusion, he lost the favour of both parties, perhaps not undeservedly. Yet, in 1682, when the administration was wholly in favour of the Duke of York, a promise was obtained from the king to bestow upon him the mastership of the Temple, which was likely to be immediately vacant; upon which he was again sent for by the king, and treated with extraordinary kindness. Burnet himself, however, waived the promise that had been made him when he found that he was expected, in return for the place, to break up correspondence with all those who had been his best friends. He felt himself at this time upon such dangerous ground, that he was afraid of all communica-

tion with either of the parties that at this time were agitating the public mind; and as an excuse for privacy, built a laboratory, and for a whole year amused himself with performing experiments in chemistry. He was at this time offered a living of £300 a year by the Earl of Essex, upon condition that he would continue to reside in London. In case of having the cure of souls, however, Burnet thought residence with them an indispensable obligation, and the benefice was given to another. In 1683 he narrowly escaped being brought by his friends into trouble about the Ryehouse plot; and by his conducting the trial and attending on Lord William Russel in prison and on the scaffold, and particularly by defending his memory before the council, he incurred the odium of the court, which, from a certain knowledge of his integrity, could not fail at this time to be greatly afraid of him. In the course of this year, probably to be out of the way of his enemies, he went over to Paris, where he was treated with great deference, by the express orders of Louis XIV. Here his friends, apprehensive of danger to him at home, wished him to remain; but as no consideration could induce him to be long absent from his charge, he of course returned in a short time. That same year, however, he was discharged from his lecture at St. Clement's by a mandate from the king, and in March, 1684, he was forbade to preach any more in the chapel at the Rolls. Being thus happily disengaged from all his employments at the death of Charles II., upon the accession of James VII. he requested and obtained leave to quit the kingdom, and went to Paris, where he lived in great retirement, to avoid being involved in the conspiracies which the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Argyle were then forming against the government. When that business was at an end, he, in company with an officer, a Protestant in the French service, made the tour of Italy, and in 1684 came to Utrecht, where he found letters from some of the principal ministers of state at the Hague, requesting him to wait upon the Prince and Princess of Orange. As the revolution in England was already in contemplation, Dr. Burnet met from these personages a most gracious reception, and was soon admitted to an entire confidence. When Dyckvelt was sent over ambassador to England, with a view particularly to sound the inclinations of the people, his secret instructions were drawn up by Dr. Burnet, of which the rough draught in his own handwriting is still preserved. James, in the meantime, was highly incensed against him for the reflections he had made on the richness of the Catholic countries through which he had passed, in an account of his travels recently published, which, it was supposed, had had a sensible effect upon the people of England. His majesty accordingly wrote two severe letters against him to the Princess of Orange, and forbade his envoy at the Hague to transact any business with that court till Dr. Burnet was forbidden to appear there. This, to humour James, was done; but Hallewyn, Fogel, and the rest of the Dutch ministers consulted with him privately every day. A prosecution for treason was now commenced against Dr. Burnet in Scotland; but before this could be notified to the States, he had been naturalized with a view to his marriage with a Dutch lady; and in a letter in answer to the charges preferred against him, directed to the Earl of Middleton, he stated that being now naturalized in Holland, his allegiance, during his stay there, was transferred from his majesty to the States. This expression was at once laid hold of, and dropping the former prosecution, they proceeded against him for these words, as guilty of high treason,

and passed against him a sentence of outlawry. It was then demanded of the States to deliver him up, or to banish him; but as he had been naturalized, the States refused to proceed against him unless he were legally convicted of some crime, which, if his majesty found himself capable of doing, they would punish him according to their law. To narrate the important part he performed in the revolution would be to write the history of that great event. By the Prince of Orange, as well as by the friends of liberty in England, he was treated with unreserved confidence. He had a principal hand in drawing up the prince's declarations as well as the other public papers written at the time to justify the undertaking. But for a particular account of these we must refer our readers to the history of England. At the revolution, Dr. Crew, Bishop of Durham, having been on the high commission created by King James, offered to resign his bishopric to Dr. Burnet, trusting to his generosity for one thousand a year for life out of the episcopal revenue, and sent the Earl of Montague to the Prince of Orange with the proposal; but when mentioned to Burnet, he refused absolutely to have anything to do with it on these terms, as he considered them highly criminal. He was shortly after promoted to the see of Salisbury. At the close of the session of parliament, 1689, Dr. Burnet went down to his diocese, when he entered upon the duties of his episcopal office with that conscientious ardour which distinguished his character. His first pastoral letter, however, in which, to save betraying the discrepancies of his political creed, he founded King William's right to the throne upon conquest, gave so much offence to both houses of parliament, that they ordered it to be burned by the hands of the hangman. He maintained, nevertheless, unshaken credit with King William and Queen Mary to the end of their days, and employed that credit in the most praiseworthy manner. He was by the king, in preference to all his ministers, appointed to name the Princess Sophia Electress of Brunswick, next in succession to the Princess of Denmark, and her issue, in the famous bill for declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession to the crown; and when that succession was explicitly established in 1701, he had the honour of being chairman of the committee to which the bill was referred. He had also the pleasure, in 1690, of being a successful advocate for Lord Clarendon, who had engaged in a plot against the king, and been one of the doctor's bitterest enemies, at the time when Popery and arbitrary power were in favour.

During the life of Mary, Dr. Burnet being generally one of her advisers, the affairs of the church passed wholly through his hands. After her death, in 1694, a commission was granted for that purpose to the two archbishops and four prelates, of whom Dr. Burnet was one. A commission of the same kind was granted in 1700, and the doctor still continued a member. In 1698 he was appointed preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester, and, on that occasion, insisted on giving up his bishopric. King William, however, would not allow him to do so; but, in order to soothe him, made arrangements that he might be at hand, and still have it in his power to pay considerable attention to his diocese. In this high trust the bishop conducted himself so as to have the entire approbation of the Princess of Denmark, who ever after retained a peculiar affection for him, of which he had many sensible tokens after she came to the throne, though in her last years he was in direct and open opposition to her measures. In the year 1699 he published his celebrated *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, and a short time before his

death a third volume of his *History of the Reformation*. In the month of March, 1715, he was attacked with a pleuritic fever, which carried him off, being in the seventy-second year of his age. He was married first to the Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the Earl of Cassilis, celebrated for her beauty and her wit. Secondly, to Mrs. Mary Scott, a Dutch lady of noble extraction and large fortune, by whom he had three sons. Thirdly, to Mrs. Berkeley, a widow lady of singular talents and uncommon piety, by whom he had no issue.

From the brief sketch which we have given of the principal events of his life, it is evident that Dr. Burnet possessed a vigorous understanding, and was a man of great piety and unwearied perseverance. Early prepossessions, however, which, vigorous as his understanding was, he evidently could not overcome, made him the dupe of a system antisciptural and superstitious—a system which, whatever it may seem to promise in theory, has in practice been found cumbersome and inefficient—a system which, while it provides for a few of the privileged orders of the clergy, leaves all the rest, together with the great body of the people, to want, contempt, and ignorance. What man as a bishop could do, Dr. Burnet, while Bishop of Salisbury, appears to have done; but he was hampered on all hands by insurmountable abuses, originally inherent, or growing naturally out of the legalized order of things. His consistorial court he found to have become a grievance, both to clergy and laity, and he attended for years in person to correct it. But the true foundation of complaint he found to be the dilatory course of proceedings, and the exorbitant fees, which he had no authority to correct. He could not even discharge poor suitors who were oppressed with vexatious prosecutions otherwise than by paying their fees out of his own pocket, which he frequently did, and this was all the reform he was able to accomplish. In admitting to orders, he met with so much ignorance and thoughtless levity, that, for the benefit of the church, he formed a nursery at Salisbury, under his own eye, for students of divinity, to the number of ten, to each of whom he allowed a sum of money out of his own income for his subsistence, and in this way he reared up several young men who became eminent in the church; but this was soon discovered to be a designed affront put upon the method of education followed at Oxford, and he was compelled to give it up. Pluralities he exclaimed against as sacrilegious robbery; and in his first visitation at Salisbury quoted St. Bernard, who, being consulted by a priest whether he might not accept of two benefices, replied, "And how will you be able to serve them?" "I intend," said the priest, "to officiate in one of them by deputy?" "Will your deputy be damned for you too?" said the saint; "believe me, you may serve your cure by proxy, but you must be damned in person." This quotation so affected one of his hearers, Mr. Kilsey, that he resigned the rectory of Bemerton, worth £200 a year, which he held along with one of still greater value. The bishop was, at the same time, from the poverty of the living, frequently under the necessity of joining two of them together to have them served at all, and sometimes he found it necessary to help the incumbent out of his own pocket into the bargain. These, with other evils, it must be admitted, the doctor lost no opportunity to attempt having redressed, but alas! they were and are inherent in the system. He travelled over his diocese, which he found "ignorant to scandal," catechizing and confirming with the zeal of an apostle; and when he attended his duty in parliament, he preached in some of the London

churches every Sabbath morning, and in the evening lectured in his own house, where a number of persons of distinction attended. So much conscientious diligence, confined to a legitimate locality, could scarcely have failed to produce a rich harvest of gospel fruits. Scattered as it was over such a wide surface, there is reason to fear that it was in a great measure unprofitable.

While Dr. Burnet was a diligent instructor from the pulpit, he was not less so from the press, having published in his lifetime fifty-eight single sermons, thirteen treatises or tracts on divinity, seventeen upon Popery, twenty-six political and miscellaneous, and twenty-four historical and biographical, to which we may add *The History of His Own Time*, published since his death. Some of these, particularly the *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, the *History of the Reformation*, and of his own times, still are, and must long continue to be, especially the latter, standard works. *The History of His Own Time*, it has been happily observed, has received the best testimony to its worth from its having given equal offence to the bigoted and interested of all parties. Take him all in all, perhaps no juster eulogium has been passed upon him than that of Wodrow, who, speaking of him as one of Leighton's preachers, calls him "Mr. Gilbert Burnet, well known to the world since first professor of divinity at Glasgow, and after that persecuted for his appearing against Popery, and for the cause of liberty, and since the Revolution the learned, and moderate Bishop of Sarum, one of the great eyesores of the high-fliers and Tories of England, and a very great ornament to his native country."

BURNET, JAMES, better known by his judicial designation of Lord Monboddo, was born at Monboddo, in Kincardineshire, in the year 1714. He was eldest surviving son of James Burnet, by Elizabeth Forbes, only sister to Sir Arthur Forbes of Craigievar, Baronet. For what reason is not known, instead of being sent to a public school, he was educated at home, under the care of Dr. Francis Skene, afterwards professor of philosophy at the Marischal College, Aberdeen. This gentleman discharged his duty to his pupil with the utmost faithfulness, and succeeded in inspiring him with a taste for ancient literature. He was the first that introduced him to an acquaintance with the philosophy of the ancients, of which Mr. Burnet became so enthusiastic an admirer. Dr. Skene, being promoted to a professorship, was the more immediate cause of his pupil accompanying him to Aberdeen, and of his being educated at the Marischal College in that city. It is probable that he lodged with his preceptor, who of course would direct and superintend his studies. Dr. Skene was a professor in that seminary for the long period of forty years, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the most diligent and laborious teachers that ever held the honourable office.

What contributed, in a great degree, to fix Mr. Burnet's attention upon the literature and philosophy of the Greeks, was not only the instructions he had received at home from his tutor, but that, when he entered the university, Principal Blackwell had for several years been professor of Greek. This person was the great means of reviving the study of this noble language in the north of Scotland; and one of his greatest admirers and zealous imitators in the prosecution of Grecian learning was Mr. Burnet. Esteeming the philosophical works transmitted to us by the Romans as only copies, or borrowed from the Greeks, he determined to have recourse to the

fountainhead. Burnet was naturally a man of very keen passions, of an independent tone of thinking, and whatever opinion he once espoused, he was neither ashamed nor afraid to avow it openly. He dreaded no consequences, neither did he regard the opinions of others. If he had the authority of Plato or Aristotle, he was quite satisfied, and, how paradoxical soever the sentiment might be, or contrary to what was popular or generally received, he did not in the least regard. Revolutions of various kinds were beginning to be introduced into the schools; but these he either neglected or despised. The Newtonian philosophy in particular had begun to attract attention, and public lecturers upon its leading doctrines had been established in almost all the British universities; but their very novelty was a sufficient reason for his neglecting them. The laws by which the material world is regulated were considered by him as of vastly inferior importance to what regarded *mind*, and its diversified operations. To the contemplation of the latter, therefore, his chief study was directed.

Having been early designed for the Scottish bar, he wisely resolved to lay a good foundation, and to suffer nothing to interfere with what was now to be the main business of his life. To obtain eminence in the profession of the law depends less upon contingencies than in any of the other learned professions. Wealth, splendid connections, and circumstances merely casual, have brought forward many physicians and divines, who had nothing else to recommend them. But though these may be excellent subsidiaries, they are not sufficient of themselves to constitute a distinguished lawyer. Besides good natural abilities, the most severe application, and uncommon diligence in the acquisition of extensive legal knowledge, are absolutely necessary. At every step the neophyte is obliged to make trial of his strength with his opponents, and as the public are seldom in a mistake for any length of time, where their interests are materially concerned, his station is very soon fixed. The intimate connection that subsists between the civil or Roman law, and the law of Scotland, is well known. The one is founded upon the other. According to the custom of Scotland at that time, Burnet repaired to Holland, where the best masters in this study were then settled. At the university of Groningen he remained for three years, assiduously attending the lectures on the civil law. He then returned to his native country so perfectly accomplished as a civilian, that, during the course of a long life, his opinions on difficult points of this law were highly respected.

He happened to arrive in Edinburgh from Holland on the night of Porteous's mob. His lodgings were in the Lawnmarket, in the vicinity of the Tolbooth, and hearing a great noise in the street, from a motive of curiosity he sallied forth to witness the scene. Some person, however, had recognized him, and it was currently reported that he was one of the ring-leaders. He was likely to have been put to some trouble on this account, had he not been able to prove that he had just arrived from abroad, and therefore could know nothing of what was in agitation. He was wont to relate with great spirit the circumstances that attended this singular transaction.

In 1737 he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates, and in process of time came into considerable practice. His chief patrons in early life were Lord Justice-Clerk Milton, Lord-president Forbes, and Erskine Lord Tinwald or Alva. The last had been a professor in the university of Edinburgh, and being an excellent Greek scholar, knew how to estimate his talents.

During the rebellion of 1745, Burnet went to London, and prudently declining to take any part in the politics of that troublous period, he spent the time chiefly in the company and conversation of his literary friends. Among these were Thomson the poet, Lord Littleton, and Dr. Armstrong. When peace was restored, he returned to Scotland. About 1760 he married a beautiful and accomplished lady, Miss Farquharson, a relation of Marischal Keith, by whom he had a son and two daughters. What first brought him into very prominent notice, was the share he had in conducting the celebrated Douglas' cause. No question ever came before a court of law which interested the public to a greater degree. In Scotland it became in a manner a national question, for the whole country was divided, and ranged on one side or the other. Mr. Burnet was counsel for Mr. Douglas, and went thence to France to assist in leading the proof taken there. This he was well qualified to do, for, during his studies in Holland, he had acquired the practice of speaking the French language with great facility. Such interest did this cause excite, that the pleadings before the Court of Session lasted thirty-one days, and the most eminent lawyers were engaged. It is a curious historical fact, that almost all the lawyers on both sides were afterwards raised to the bench. Mr. Burnet was, in 1764, made sheriff of his native county, and on the 12th February, 1767, through the interest of the Duke of Queensberry, lord justice-general, he succeeded Lord Milton as a lord of session, under the title of Lord Monboddo. It is said that he refused a justiciary gown, being unwilling that his studies should be interrupted during the vacation by any additional engagements.

The first work which he published was *The Origin and Progress of Language*. The first volume appeared in 1771, the second in 1773, and the third in 1776. This treatise attracted a great deal of attention on account of the singularity of some of the doctrines which it advanced. In the first part, he gives a very learned, elaborate, and abstruse account of the origin of ideas, according to the metaphysics of Plato and the commentators on Aristotle, philosophers to whose writings and theories he was devotedly attached. He then treats of the origin of human society and of language, which he considers as a human invention, without paying the least regard to the scriptural accounts. He represents men as having originally been, and who continued for many ages to be, no better than beasts, and indeed in many respects worse; as destitute of speech, of reason, of conscience, of social affection, and of everything that can confer dignity upon a creature, and possessed of nothing but external sense and memory, and a capacity of improvement. The system is not a new one, being borrowed from Lucretius, of whose account of it Horace gives an exact abridgment in these lines:—*Cum prope reserunt primis animalia terribis, mutum et turpe pecus,* &c., which Lord Monboddo takes for his motto, and which, he said, comprehended in miniature the whole history of man. In regard to facts that make for his system he is amazingly credulous, but blind and sceptical in regard to everything of an opposite tendency. He asserts with the utmost gravity and confidence, that the orang-outangs are of the human species—that in the Bay of Bengal there exists a nation of human creatures with tails, discovered 130 years before by a Swedish skipper—that the beavers and sea-cats are social and political animals, though man, by nature, is neither social nor political, nor even rational—reason, reflection, a sense of right and wrong, society, policy, and even thought, being, in the human species, as much the effects of art, contrivance, and long experi-

ence, as writing, ship-building, or any other manufacture. Notwithstanding that the work contains these and many other strange and whimsical opinions, yet it discovers great acuteness of remark.

His greatest work, which he called *Ancient Metaphysics*, consists of three volumes 4to, the last of which was published only a few weeks before the author's death. It may be considered as an exposition and defence of the Grecian philosophy, in opposition to the philosophical system of Sir Isaac Newton, and the scepticism of modern metaphysicians, particularly Mr. David Hume. His opinions upon many points coincide with those of Mr. Harris, the author of *Hermes*, who was his intimate friend, and of whom he was a great admirer. He never seems to have understood, nor to have entered into, the spirit of the Newtonian philosophy; and, as to Mr. Hume, he, without any disguise, accuses him of atheism, and reprobrates in the most severe terms some of his opinions.

In domestic circumstances Monboddo was particularly unfortunate. His wife, a very beautiful woman, died in child-bed. His son, a promising boy, in whose education he took great delight, was likewise snatched from his affections by a premature death; and his second daughter, in personal loveliness one of the first women of the age, was cut off by consumption when only twenty-five years old. Burns, in an address to Edinburgh, thus celebrates the beauty and excellence of Miss Burnet:—

"Thy daughters bright thy walks adorn,
Gay as the gilded summer sky,
Sweet as the dewy milk-white thorn,
Dear as the raptur'd thrill of joy!

"Fair Burnet strikes the adoring eye,
Heaven's beauties on my fancy shine;
I see the *Sire of love* on high,
And own his work indeed divine."

His eldest daughter was married to Kirkpatrick Williamson, Esq., keeper of the outer house rolls, who had been clerk to his lordship, and was eminent as a Greek scholar.

About 1780, he first began to make an annual journey to London, which he continued for a good many years, indeed, till he was upwards of eighty years of age. As a coach was not a vehicle in use among the ancients, he determined never to enter and be seated in what he termed a box. He esteemed it as degrading to the dignity of human nature to be dragged at the tails of horses instead of being mounted on their backs. In his journeys between Edinburgh and London he therefore rode on horseback, attended by a single servant. On his last visit, he was taken ill on the road, and it was with difficulty that Sir Hector Monroe prevailed upon him to come into his carriage. He set out, however, next day on horseback, and arrived safe in Edinburgh by slow journeys.

Lord Monboddo, being in London in 1785, visited the King's Bench, when some part of the fixtures of the place giving way, a great scatter took place among the lawyers, and the very judges themselves rushed towards the door. Monboddo, somewhat near-sighted, and rather dull of hearing, sat still, and was the only man who did so. Being asked why he had not bestirred himself to avoid the ruin, he coolly answered, that he "thought it was an annual ceremony, with which, being an alien, he had nothing to do."

When in the country he generally dressed in the style of a plain farmer; and lived among his tenants with the utmost familiarity, and treated them with great kindness. He used much the exercises of walking in the open air and of riding. He had

accustomed himself to the use of the cold bath in all seasons, and amid every severity of the weather. It is said that he even made use of the air-bath, or occasionally walking about for some minutes naked in a room filled with fresh and cool air. In imitation of the ancients, the practice of *anointing* was not forgotten. The lotion he used was not the oil of the ancients, but a saponaceous liquid compound of rose-water, olive-oil, saline aromatic spirit, and Venice soap, which, when well mixed, resembles cream. This he applied at bedtime, before a large fire, after coming from the warm bath.

This learned and ingenious, though somewhat eccentric, man died upon the 26th May, 1799, at the advanced age of eighty-five years.

BURNET, JAMES, landscape painter. Among the lives of eminent men it often happens that some individual obtains a place, more on account of the excellence he indicated than that which he realized; and whom a premature death extinguishes, just when a well-spent youth of high promise has commenced those labours by which the hopes he excited would in all likelihood be fulfilled. Such examples we do not willingly let die, and this must form our chief apology for the introduction of a short memoir of James Burnet. He was of a family that came originally from Aberdeen, and was born at Musselburgh, in the year 1788. His father, George Burnet, of whom he was the fourth son, held the important office of general surveyor of excise in Scotland; his mother, Anne Cruikshank, was sister to the distinguished anatomist whose name is so honourably associated with the professional studies of John Hunter. James Burnet soon evinced his natural bias towards art, not only by juvenile attempts in drawing, but his frequent visits to the studio of Scott, the landscape engraver, with whom his brother John, afterwards so eminent as an engraver, was a pupil. On account of these indications, James was placed under the care of Liddell, to learn the mystery of wood-carving, at that time in high request, and productive of great profit to those who excelled in it; and as skill in drawing was necessary for acquiring proficiency in this kind of delineation, he was also sent to the Trustees' Academy, where he studied under Graham, the early preceptor of the most distinguished of our modern Scottish artists. It was not wonderful that, thus circumstanced, James Burnet's taste for carving in wood was soon superseded by the higher departments of art. He quickly perceived the superiority of a well-finished delineation upon canvas or paper over the stiff cherubs, scrolls, and wreaths that were laboriously chiselled upon side-boards and bed-posts, and chose his vocation accordingly: he would be an artist. With this view, he transmitted to his brother John, who was now employed as an engraver in London, several specimens of his drawings, expressing also his earnest desire to commence life as a painter in the great metropolis; and without waiting for an answer, he followed his application in person, and arrived in London in 1810. A letter of acquiescence from his brother, which his hurry had anticipated, was already on the way to Edinburgh, and therefore his arrival in London, although so sudden and unexpected, was not unwelcome.

It required no long stay in the British capital to convince the young aspirant that he had much yet to learn before he could become an artist. But he also found that London could offer such lessons as Edinburgh had been unable to furnish. This conviction first struck him on seeing Wilkie's "*Blind Fiddler*," of which his brother John was executing the well-known

and justly-admired engraving. James was arrested and riveted by the painting, so unlike all he had hitherto admired and copied: it was, he perceived, in some such spirit as this that he must select from nature, and imitate it, if he would succeed in his daring enterprise. This conviction was further confirmed by studying the productions of the eminent Dutch masters in the British gallery, where he found that originality of conception was not only intimately blended with the truthfulness of nature, but made subservient to its authority. He must therefore study nature herself where she was best to be found—among the fields, and beneath the clear skies, where the beauty of form and the richness of colour presented their infinite variety to the artist's choice, and taught him the best modes of arranging them upon the canvas. Forth he accordingly went, with nothing but his note-book and pencil; and among the fields, in the neighbourhood of London, he marked with an observant eye the various objects that most struck his fancy, and made short sketches of these, to be afterwards amplified into paintings. It was remarked, also, in this collection of hasty pencillings, that instead of seeking to aggrandize the works of nature, he faithfully copied them as he found them. "He has introduced," says a judicious critic, speaking of one of his paintings, "everything that could in any way characterize the scene. The rainbow in the sky, the glittering of the rain upon the leaves; the dripping poultry under the hedge, the reflections of the cattle on the road, and the girl with the gown over her shoulders, all tend with equal force to illustrate his subject." Not content, also, with the mere work of sketching in the fields, he was accustomed to note down in his book such observations in connection with the sketch as might be available for the future picture, or those remarks in reference to light and shade that were applicable to painting in general. The result of this training was soon perceptible in the increasing excellence of his successive productions, of which Allan Cunningham, his biographer, well remarks:—"His trees are finely grouped; his cows are all beautiful; they have the sense to know where the sweetest grass grows; his milk-maids have an air of natural elegance about them, and his cow-boys are not without grace."

Of the paintings of James Burnet, some of which are in the possession of his relatives, and others among the costly picture galleries of our nobility, the following is a list:—1. Cattle going out in the Morning. 2. Cattle returning Home in a Shower. 3. Key of the Byre. 4. Crossing the Brook. 5. Cow-boys and Cattle. 6. Breaking the Ice. 7. Milking. 8. Crossing the Bridge. 9. Inside of a Cow-house. 10. Going to Market. 11. Cattle by a Pool in Summer. 12. Boy with Cows.

While Burnet was thus pursuing a course of self-education that drew him onward step by step in improvement, and promised to conduct him to a very high rank among pastoral and landscape painters, a malady had latterly attended him in his wanderings, that too often selects the young and the sensitive for its victims. This was consumption, a disease which his lonely habits and sedentary employment in the open air were only too apt to aggravate; and, although a change of scene and atmosphere was tried by his removal to Lee in Kent, it was soon evident that his days were numbered. Even then, however, when scarcely able to walk, he was to be found lingering among the beautiful scenery of Lee and Lewisham, with his pencil and note-book in hand, and to the last he talked with his friends about painting, and the landscapes that he still hoped to delineate. He died on the 27th July, 1816. His

dying wish was to be buried in the village church of Lee, in whose picturesque churchyard he had so often wandered and mused during the last days of his illness; but as sepulture in that privileged place could not be granted to a stranger, his remains were interred in the churchyard of Lewisham. At his death he had only reached his twenty-eighth year.

BURNS, ALLAN. This talented anatomist and surgical writer, in whom a life of high promise was too soon arrested, was the son of the Rev. Dr. Burns, minister of the Barony Church, Glasgow; a venerable clergyman, who, after bearing for several years the title of "father of the Church of Scotland," on account of his seniority, died in 1839, at the very advanced age of ninety-six. Allan Burns was born at Glasgow on the 18th September, 1781. When not more than fourteen years old, he entered the medical classes, where his diligence and proficiency were so remarkable, that only two years afterwards, he was able to undertake the entire direction of the dissecting-rooms of Mr. John Burns, his brother, who at that time was a lecturer on anatomy and surgery in the city of Glasgow. In this situation, his opportunities of extending and perfecting his knowledge were so carefully employed, that he attained, even though still a youth, a high reputation among the practical anatomists of his day. His views being directed to medical practice in the army, he went to London, in 1804, for the purpose of obtaining a commission; but before his application was made to that effect, he received an offer that altered his intention. It was to repair to St. Petersburg, and undertake the charge of an hospital which the empress Catherine was desirous of establishing in her capital, upon the English plan. Allan Burns had been recommended to her majesty by Dr. Creighton, as one every way qualified for this important charge; and when the offer was made, it was with the understanding that he might make a six months' trial before finally closing with it. Tempted by so alluring a prospect, Burns left London for St. Petersburg, and commenced the duties of his new career. But Russia was not at that time the country which it has now become, and the sensitive mind of the young Scot was soon sickened by the Asiatic pomp and Scythian barbarism with which he was surrounded. On this account, he abandoned the tempting prospects of court favour and professional advancement that were held out to him, and returned to Scotland before the six months of probation had ended. At his departure, he was presented by the empress with a valuable diamond ring, as a token of the royal approbation and esteem.

On returning to his native country, which was at the commencement of 1805, Burns resolved to occupy the place of his brother, who had discontinued his lectures on surgery and anatomy. This he did in the winter of the following year, and quickly won the admiration of his pupils, by the correctness and extent of his professional knowledge, and great power of illustration. Indeed, as a lecturer, the most abstruse subjects in his hands became plain and palpable, and the driest subjects full of interest. Still, however, notwithstanding his reputation as a lecturer, his fame would have been limited and evanescent, had it not been for the works he published, by which the high admiration of those who knew him was participated in by the world at large. The first of these publications, which appeared in 1809, was entitled *Observations on some of the most Frequent and Important Diseases of the Heart: or Aneurism of the Thoracic Aorta; or Preternatural Pulsation in the Epigastric Region; and*

on the Unusual Origin and Distribution of some of the Large Arteries of the Human Body; illustrated by cases. The second, which was published in 1812, was entitled *Observations on the Surgical Anatomy of the Head and Neck*; illustrated by cases. This was the whole amount of his authorship, with the exception of two essays, which he contributed to the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*; one on the anatomy of the parts concerned in the operation for crural hernia; the other on the operation of lithotomy. The career of professional distinction which these works had so favourably opened up to him, was closed before it could be further pursued. So early as 1810 his health had begun to give way, and though he continued to lecture for two years afterwards, it was with great difficulty and pain. His death occurred on the 22d of June, 1813.

BURNS, JOHN, M.D., a distinguished medical writer, and elder brother of Allan, the subject of the preceding notice, was born in Glasgow, in 1774. He was descended from a family of the name of *Burn*; his grandfather, John Burn, was a teacher of English in Glasgow, and the author of an English grammar bearing his name, a work highly popular as a school-book in the west of Scotland about a century ago. His father was the Rev. John Burns, D.D., who, as has been already mentioned, was minister for upwards of sixty-nine years of the Barony parish of Glasgow, and who died in 1839. John, who was the eldest surviving son of Dr. Burns, was born in 1775. He began his professional studies in Glasgow, and continued them in Edinburgh. He had just completed his studies when the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, in which he was the first surgeon's clerk, was opened for the reception of patients in 1792. His favourite department of medical science was surgical anatomy, in which he made remarkable progress. He soon began to give instructions to others, and was the first private teacher of anatomy in Glasgow. His lecture-room was originally at the head of Virginia Street, at the north-west corner, behind the present Union Bank. At that period, and for thirty years afterwards, subjects for dissection could only be obtained by violating the repose of the dead; a practice most demoralizing to those immediately engaged in it, and not unfrequently productive of unpleasant consequences to lecturers and students. An affair of this nature having transpired in connection with the lecture-room of Mr. Burns, proceedings were instituted against him by the authorities, but were quashed on his coming under a promise to discontinue his lectures on anatomy. His younger brother Allan, however, took up the anatomical lectures, and John began to lecture on midwifery. The lecture-room of the brothers was removed to a tenement built on the site of the old bridewell, on the north side of College Street. They were both successful as lecturers. Allan's style was monotonous and unpleasing, but his demonstrations were admirable. John's manner was the more agreeable, his knowledge was exact, his views were practical, and his lectures were interspersed with anecdotes and strokes of humour which rendered them highly attractive to the students. Dr. Burns now began to exhibit the fruits of his studies in a series of important contributions to the literature of his profession. His first publication of note was the *Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus*, which appeared in 1799. This was followed, in 1800, by two volumes on *Inflammation*, in which he was the first to describe a species of cancer which is now known by the name of *fungus hematodes*. These two works stamped their author as an observing, original, and

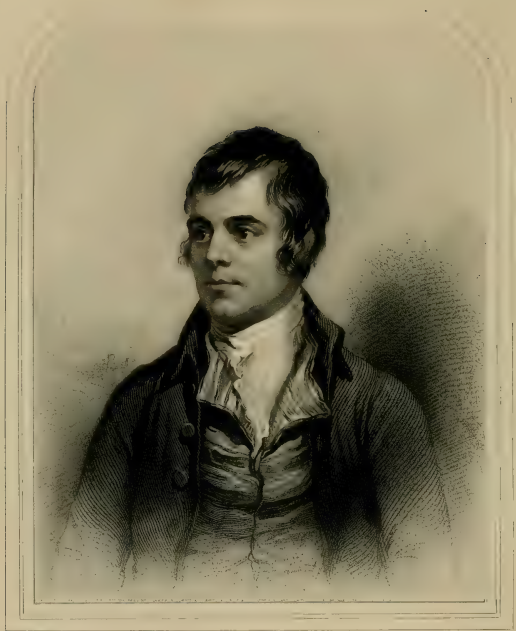
practical inquirer. They were followed by *Observations on Abortion*, in 1806; *Observations on Uterine Hemorrhage*, in 1807; and by the most popular of all his medical writings, *The Principles of Midwifery*, in 1809, a book which has been translated into various languages, and has passed through numerous editions. In 1828-38 appeared the *Principles of Surgery*, in two volumes, a work which cost Dr. Burns much pains, but did not meet with corresponding success. He likewise published a popular work on the *Treatment of Women and Children*.

Dr. Burns married, in 1801, the daughter of the Rev. John Duncan, minister of the parish of Alva, in Stirlingshire. He continued to lecture on midwifery till 1815, when the crown instituted a regius professorship of surgery, in the university of Glasgow, to which chair he was appointed, and discharged its duties till the close of his life. In 1810 his wife died, and he remained a widower during the forty years that he survived her. By her he had four children: the youngest, Allan, named after his uncle, was born in January, 1810.

At an early period in his professional career, Dr. Burns became surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, and distinguished himself by the nerve with which he operated. He subsequently became the partner of Mr. Muir, and, after that gentleman's death, of Mr. Alexander Dunlop, a connection which brought him into excellent family practice. His son, Allan, followed the medical profession, and having completed his studies, after a residence of three years on the Continent, he commenced practice in 1832. With an intimate knowledge of medical science, and a strong love of anatomical pursuits, he was rising fast into eminence, when intermittent fever, caught in the prosecution of his duties, carried him off after a short illness, in November, 1843, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. It was not till his son entered upon public practice that the subject of this memoir took out his degree, which he had previously refused to do. He was shortly afterwards elected physician to the Royal Infirmary. He had subsequently considerable practice as a consulting physician. Dr. Burns had, however, been gradually retiring from the labours of his profession, when the severe affliction caused by his son's death befell him. He then gave up everything but his professional duties, devoting much of his time to carrying out the views of the principal and professors of the college as respected the medical school—and, in token of their gratitude, he was requested by the senatus to sit for his portrait, which, having been painted by Mr. John Graham Gilbert, was placed in the Hunterian Museum of the college.

Early in life, and while yet a student in the university of Edinburgh, his mind was imbued with those religious principles which regulated his whole career, and sustained him amidst many afflictive bereavements. To the religious world he became favourably known by a work entitled *The Principles of Christian Philosophy*, which has gone through several editions, and promises to hold a permanent place in religious literature.

Dr. Burns also published another religious book, entitled *Christian Fragments*. Although brought up in the Church of Scotland, of which he was an elder, he became a member of the Episcopalian church, and died in its communion. His end was sudden and melancholy. He perished in the wreck of the *Orion* steamboat, on her passage from Liverpool to Glasgow, on the 18th of June, 1850. Having finished his course and kept the faith, he was removed from the world in the attitude and exercise of prayer. He had reached the mature age of seventy-five.



H. P. R. T. C. R. J.

Dr. John Burns was F.R.S., and a member of the Institute of France, and of several other scientific institutions in various countries. In politics he was a staunch Conservative. He was of a cheerful disposition, was a great favourite with his patients, and towards his professional brethren he behaved on all occasions in the most honourable manner. In person he was under the middle height, with gray flowing locks, and his dress was scrupulously neat and antique. Few individuals in Glasgow were unacquainted with his exterior, and thousands who knew little of his professional attainments were yet familiar with his appearance as a venerable medical gentleman of the old school. His eldest and only surviving son, Lieutenant-colonel Burns, of the second queen's regiment, died at the Cape of Good Hope towards the close of 1853.

BURNS, ROBERT. This illustrious bard, the poet of Scotland, and not only of Scotland, but of nature at large, was the son of William Burnes, of whose origin all that is known is, that his father had been a farmer in the Mearns, on the domains of the earl marischal, and that he left his native district at the age of nineteen. William Burnes (for thus he spelled his name) first repaired to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where he wrought as a gardener for several years; afterwards migrated to Ayrshire, where he became overseer on a small estate, and rented a few acres of land; and finally, in 1757, married Agnes Brown, an Ayrshire girl, of the same humble rank as his own. It has been suspected that William's father as well as himself had been of the same Jacobite sentiments as their landlord, and had even been involved in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, on which account William had found it necessary to leave his home and commence life anew among strangers. If this was the case, we can understand the sympathy of the poet for the Stuart cause when Jacobitism had become useless, and was even branded as ridiculous. But William Burnes possessed a character of his own which would have procured him respect whatever were his political leanings. His superior education was attested by his command of the English language, which he spoke more fluently and correctly than most people of his own degree. His integrity and manly independence were equally felt by his employers and those who worked under him. And in the family circle, where he was best understood, every member of it was enlightened by his conversation, directed by his judgment, and awed by his reproof. It is enough to add, that in the religious duties of the household he unconsciously sat for the picture of the father in the "Cottar's Saturday Night."

Of this upright noble-minded peasant Robert Burns was the son. In worldly circumstances the birth of the poet was unpromising, for it was in a little cottage of the humblest description in the parish of Alloway, a mile and a half from the town of Ayr, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the bridge of Doon—a clay-built cottage, which William Burnes had erected with his own hands. But this edifice is now the chief mark of many a pilgrimage to Scotland from lands however remote. Here the future bard, who was to fill the world with his fame, was born on the 25th of January, 1759. In his sixth year Robert was sent to school at Alloway Milne, about a mile distant; but the teacher having got a better situation a few months afterwards, another was engaged in his stead by William Burnes and a few other cottagers, who paid the cost of teaching by boarding the preceptor in their houses by turns. By this plan, which was common in

many of the rural districts of Scotland even until the close of the last century, several students supported themselves as teachers during their training for the clerical profession, while education of a superior kind was insured to the most secluded localities and children of the humblest ranks. Here Robert and his younger brother Gilbert remained so long as to learn to read English tolerably and to write a little; and here also Robert learned the rules and application of English grammar, which had afterwards an improving influence both upon his writings and conversation. As books in such a locality were not very numerous, while the mind of the young poet was ravenous for its intellectual sustenance, he devoured everything in print that fell in his way, and still hungered for more. It was well, perhaps, that he was not distracted by that immense variety and abundance of books which, in our own day, makes the task of reading such a careless and superficial process: on the contrary, every page was heedfully conned over until the whole volume was absorbed into his intellectual existence, and became a portion of his growth and strength. In this process of self-improvement, the first work he read was the *Life of Hannibal*, next to Hector of Troy the darling hero of young schoolboys. When he was a few years older, the *Life of Sir William Wallace*, in verse, by Henry the Minstrel, but modernized by Hamilton of Gilbertfield, came in his way, whose exploits were still more wonderful than those of the gallant Carthaginian, as well as more dear to his enthusiastic Scottish heart. Among the list of books perused in his youth, and which he either bought, borrowed, or obtained from book societies, were *Salmon's Geographical Grammar*, *Derham's Physico-Astro-Theology*, *Ray's Wisdom of God in the Creation*, and *Stackhouse's History of the Bible*. Some of these works were sufficient, by their bulk and erudition, to daunt a peasant boy; but to Robert Burns they had no such terrors: "No book!" declares his brother, "was so voluminous as to slacken his industry, or so antiquated as to damp his researches." His zeal for self-improvement was also attested by the following incident:—An uncle of his having gone to purchase in Ayr *The Ready Reckoner, or Tradesman's Sure Guide*, bought by mistake *The Complete Letter-writer* in its stead. This was a fortunate blunder for his nephew Robert, whom it inspired with a zeal to excel in letter-writing; and as the collection consisted of letters by the most eminent English writers, he persevered in the study until his own epistolary compositions surpassed the models. The letters of Burns are as wonderful as his poems. When he was about thirteen or fourteen years of age, he advanced to a higher and more miscellaneous kind of reading; and the books of this class are specified as Pope's *Poems*, and Pope's *Homer*, some plays of Shakspeare, *Boyle's Lectures*, *Locke on the Human Understanding*, *Horvey's Meditations*, *Taylor's Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin*, and the works of Allan Ramsay and Smollett. And all these works not only read but mastered by a peasant not advanced beyond the age of boyhood! But the most influential of them all was *A Collection of Songs*. Here he had lighted upon the shining grains on the surface which revealed to him the gold-field in which he was to dig and become rich. "That volume," he says fervently, "was my *vade mecum*. I pored over them, during my work, or walking to labour, song by song, verse by verse, carefully noticing the true, tender, or sublime, from affection or fustian; and I am convinced I owe to this practice most of my critic craft such as it is." In the meantime the rest of his school education had

been going on irregularly and by short snatches, during which he perfected himself in English grammar, learned a very little Latin, to which language he was not partial, and made greater proficiency in French, which he was able to read with tolerable ease.

But while schools and books were thus training the peasant youth for his future high destination, another stern discipline had all the while been at work, the good and evil effects of which would be equally difficult to calculate. The poet's father, notwithstanding his upright character, and more than ordinary abilities, was one of those persons whose talents and worth are equally unavailing in the battle of life; and whose attempts, however wisely devised and carefully followed out, seem as if fore-doomed to end in failure. He took the farm of Mount Oliphant, of between eighty and ninety acres, at what was apparently a very moderate rent, and had a loan of £100 to stock it; but the soil was ungenial, and did not repay him either for labour or outlay. Under these circumstances the family had to submit to privations that were unusual in those days in Scotland, even in the cottages of the poorest; and Robert, only half-fed, was obliged in boyhood to undergo the work of a man. At thirteen he thrashed the crops, with occasional help from Gilbert, his younger brother; and at fifteen he held the plough, while Gilbert drove the team. Such toil and such an unavailing struggle, acting upon a proud indignant spirit, imparted a scorching fire and energy to his poetical temperament, which, under happier circumstances, might never have been kindled: but where in such a case would have been that heroic independence, that withering contempt of the artificial distinctions of society, and those terrible denunciations of oppression and oppressors which form so essential a charm of his poetry? And where would have been those sympathies that were so beautifully expressed for the bird shivering and half-starved in its winter's nest, the field-mouse with its little house destroyed, or even the daisy that lay crushed beneath his ploughshare? But dearly, on the other hand, did he pay for such advantages. "I doubt not," says his brother Gilbert, "but the hard labour and sorrow of this period of his life was in a great measure the cause of that depression of spirits with which Robert was so often afflicted through his whole life afterwards. At this time he was almost constantly afflicted in the evenings with a dull headache, which, at a future period of his life, was exchanged for a palpitation of the heart, and a threatening of fainting and suffocation in his bed, in the night-time." Nor was this the worst. These sufferings and privations of his early youth laid the groundwork of that intemperance with which his after-life was chargeable. It was not wonderful, however deeply to be deplored, that the involuntary sufferings of the ascetic should be exchanged for the fierce indulgences of the bacchanal, and that the latter should be enhanced by the recollections of the former.

But long before this reaction had occurred, and while his mind was still in the purity of boyhood, an event happened, by which his high vocation as the poet of his country was decided. The outburst of a poet's first inspiration is generally patriotism, religion, or love; and, in the case of Robert Burns, it was the last that broke the seal of the fountain, and caused its imprisoned waters to gush forth. His own account of the circumstance is too interesting to be either omitted or curtailed. "You know our country custom," he writes to his English biographer, "of coupling a man and woman together as partners in the labours of harvest. In my fifteenth autumn

my partner was a bewitching creature, a year younger than myself. My scarcity of English denies me the power of doing her justice in that language; but you know the Scottish idiom; she was a *bonnie, sweet, sonsie lass*. In short, she altogether, unwittingly to herself, initiated me in that delicious passion, which, in spite of acid disappointment, gin-horse prudence, and book-worm philosophy, I hold to be the first of human joys, our dearest blessing here below. How she caught the contagion I cannot tell; you medical people talk much of infection from breathing the same air, the touch, &c.; but I never expressly said I loved her. Indeed, I did not know myself why I liked so much to loiter behind with her, when returning in the evening from our labours; why the tones of her voice made my heart-strings thrill like an Æolian harp; and particularly why my pulse beat such a furious ratan, when I looked and fingered over her little hand to pick out the cruel nettle-stings and thistles. Among her other love-inspiring qualities, she sung sweetly; and it was her favourite reel to which I attempted giving an embodied vehicle in rhyme. I was not so presumptuous as to imagine that I could make verses like printed ones, composed by men who had Greek and Latin: but my girl sung a song which was said to be composed by a small country laird's son, on one of his father's maids, with whom he was in love; and I saw no reason why I might not rhyme as well as he; for, excepting that he could smear sheep, and cast peats, his father living in the moorlands, he had no more scholarship than myself. Thus with me began love and poetry."

But with this opening of a new and buoyant existence, the old was still hanging to it like a millstone. After residing at the farm of Mount Oliphant for the space of eleven years, toiling with his family like a serf, and meeting with continued loss and disappointment, William Burnes removed to the farm of Lochlea, in the parish of Tarbolton. But the change brought only a fresh train of disasters, so that at the end of seven years the old man succumbed, and died with the prospect of utter bankruptcy and a jail hanging over him. The removal to Lochlea occurred when our poet was only seventeen years of age; but, amidst these depressing circumstances, his native qualities, both moral and intellectual, were developing themselves in all their strength and luxuriance. The first difficulty of a poet, the mechanical art of rhyming, he had already tried and surmounted, and he was now preluding with those attempts which were afterwards to carry him into the highest regions of song. The inspiration, also, that first awoke his muse, instead of abating, became more fervent than ever; and when his first boy-love ceased, it was only to give place to a fresh succession of mistresses, each of whom possessed him wholly for the time, though it might be but for a week or a day. And little did it matter how these goddesses might appear to moral eyes: his fervent imagination was sufficient to form a *Venus de Medicis* out of a very ordinary block of granite. Hence the rustic astonishment that was excited by his lays, which peopled the whole region round about with nymphs of surpassing beauty, whose charms they had never been able to detect; and the fervour of their exclamation, when the originals were pointed out, of "whaur were his een!" And well would it have been for his moral reputation, if he could have been contented with this poetical idolatry. But the ethereal in such extremes is too closely allied to the sensual; and, in too many cases, Burns found that his goddesses were women, and weak ones too. These aberrations, however, did not occur until several years afterwards; and for the present, the

mind of Burns was involved in a daily struggle arising from the meanness of his condition, and the consciousness of his own latent powers. Speaking of this period of his existence, he says, "The great misfortune of my life was to want an aim. I had felt early some stirrings of emulation; but they were the blind gropings of Homer's Cyclops round the walls of his cave. I saw my father's situation entailed on me perpetual labour. The only two openings by which I could enter the temple of fortune, was the gate of niggardly economy, or the path of little chicaning bargain-making. The first is so contracted an aperture I never could squeeze myself into—the last I always hated—there was contamination in the very entrance! Thus abandoned of aim or view in life, with a strong appetite for sociability, as well from native hilarity as from a pride of observation and remark, a constitutional melancholy or hypochondriasm that made me fly solitude; add to these incentives to social life, my reputation for bookish knowledge, a certain wild logical talent, and a strength of thought, something like the rudiments of good sense; and it will not seem surprising that I was generally a welcome guest where I visited."

When our poet had reached the twenty-third year of his life, to him it was an eventful period. With a worn-out father dying under the near prospect of beggary and a jail, and with the cares of the family, as the eldest of its members, about to devolve upon him, he felt it necessary, instead of following the precarious occupation of farming, to learn a trade. For this purpose he joined a flax-dresser in the neighbouring town of Irvine, at whose occupation he wrought for six months. Here also he established the Batchelor's Club, and drew out its rules and regulations. It originally consisted of seven young men belonging to the parish of Tarbolton, and was to meet on the evening of every fourth Monday to discuss a question on any important subject, disputed points of religion being alone excepted. The place of meeting was a small public-house in the village, and not more than threepence was to be expended by each member in drink. Thus humble though such a society was, and established only by young rustics for their intellectual improvement, their meetings could be of no ordinary kind when they had Robert Burns for their chief speaker. Here also he matured that command of language and power of conversational discussion which afterwards were to astonish the most learned and accomplished of Edinburgh. But there were also other gatherings at Irvine, one of which was fatal to the poet's project of pursuing the occupation of a flax-dresser. He had only resided six months in that town when new year's-day arrived, and such a visit could not at that time occur in Scotland without being welcomed by all ranks with a carousel. A party had been assembled by Burns for this purpose; but while the mirth and fun grew fast and furious, the combustible materials of the shop were accidentally set on fire and the shop itself burned to ashes, leaving their owner, like a true poet, not worth a sixpence.

On the death of old William Burnes, in 1784, the family removed to the farm of Mossgiel, in the neighbourhood of Mauchline, of which they had previously taken a sub-lease. It consisted of 118 acres, which they held at a rent of £90; and as it was a joint-stock adventure, each brought to it the portion he had saved from the general wreck. The farm being thus stocked, although in a scanty fashion, each member was to receive victuals and wages from it, the share of wages allotted to

Robert and Gilbert being £7 per annum to each. Upon this limited allowance the poet commenced life in earnest. To use his own words, "I entered on this farm with a full resolution, 'Come, go to, I will be wise!' I read farming books," he continues, "I calculated crops, I attended markets; and in short, in spite of the devil, and the world, and the flesh, I believe I should have been a wise man; but the first year, from unfortunately buying bad seed, the second from a late harvest, we lost half our crops. This overset all my wisdom, and I returned, 'like the dog to his vomit, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.'" It is thus that half in mirth, and half in remorseful sorrow, he briefly sums up the history of that commencement by which his success in life was to be made or marred. But while the agriculturist would pity, and the moralist condemn, such an untoward experiment and its result, this sojourn at Mossgiel constitutes the most important of all epochs in the history of Scottish poetry. For it was in the "auld clay biggin," dignified with the name of a farmhouse, and when he was resolved to abjure poetry for ever, that he enjoyed the glorious "vision" in which the Scottish muse welcomed him, cheered him onward, and placed the crown of holly on his head. And it was while he was ploughing the cold sterile soil of Mossgiel, in the attempt to wring from it a bare subsistence, that he was visited by the best and brightest of his poetical inspirations. Although he could find neither wealth nor competence, he had found where his real strength lay, and was revelling in its enjoyment. While holding the plough some impressive idea would seize him, which he soon resolved into rhyme, and the verses thus formed served as the nucleus of other stanzas which he gathered round it by after study, until the whole poem was completed. His common auditor was his affectionate brother and fellow-labourer Gilbert, to whom he recited these productions, when finished, and by whom a record has been left of the circumstances in which they originated. It is a curious instance of poetical modesty that Burns, while producing such matchless poems, was content with a single hearer; and that while his talents, knowledge, and conversational powers obtained for him the admiration or envy of his companions, they little guessed that a prince of poetry was among them. But so it was, and the two brothers kept well the secret which they shared between them. Gilbert indeed had begun to suspect that such poems were too good to remain unknown; and after imparting this idea to Robert, the latter thought of sending one of them to some magazine. But the idea was not followed out; and perhaps it was better that the whole collection should burst upon the world at once, and take it by storm—as we know it afterwards did.

In the meantime the life of Burns, before he entered into authorship, continued to be a chequered one; it was also one that was evidently fitting him for some remarkable destination, should the course of events be propitious. In reputation for talent he was far beyond his compeers, and they consoled themselves in their inferiority with the thought, that he was but a hare-um scare-um genius after all, who would never get on in the world. His intellectual superiority was even recognized by such of the educated as chanced to meet him in company, and erudite divines preached with a certain nervous uneasiness when Robert Burns was among their hearers. But to this acknowledgment of superiority, there were also joined some serious disqualifications. In theological belief he could scarcely be called

orthodox, and his freedom in religious discussions were already procuring for him the character of being "not sound." His latitudinarian practices in some cases were but too correspondent to the flexibility of his creed, and these especially in matters of chastity and sobriety. He had even been punished for the sin of incontinence according to the rules of Scottish ecclesiastical discipline, by being rebuked in open congregation in the church of Mauchline by the Rev. Mr. Auld, the minister of the parish. Excluded by these circumstances from the rigid or orthodox party, who comprised the bulk of the Scottish population, Burns had no alternative but to ally himself to their opponents, the moderates, who welcomed him as a valuable acquisition; and under their colours he commenced that bitter war against the opposite party which vented itself in poetical sarcasms, such as *The Holy Fair*, *Holy Willie's Prayer*, and other similar productions. And most unjustly were these "priest-skelpling turns" recorded against him as proofs of his irreligious spirit, his profanity, and general unbelief, while they were nothing more than the sharp strong utterances of party feeling and theological antagonism. He held up to ridicule the severe doctrines, the precise practices, and high pretensions of the orthodox clergy and their followers; and in this he only retaliated the charges with which they were wont to condemn the moderates. It was nothing more than a war at outrance, as all theological conflicts are wont to be. But Burns had the last word of it, because he had the word that lasts longest—and hence the intensity of their dislikes. The antagonism of the two parties still continues, but the scorching and withering satire of the poet is as fresh as ever. No wonder then that the charge of profanity has been continued against the poet until the present day. Were we to rake up the pamphlets and broad-sheets of this controversy, we should find paragraphs as bitter, and apparently as profane, written by clergymen on both sides of the question, whom the world never thought of accusing of irreligion, and whose memory, when their fight was ended, was allowed to rest in peace.

Among the many charmers who had been successively the objects of Burns's adoration, Jean Armour now reigned paramount. She was of a rank scarcely better than his own, being the daughter of a master-mason, in the village of Mauchline, of which locality she was the reigning belle. Their first meeting was characteristic of their country and station. Burns, while out shooting by the river side, saw a black-eyed, rosy-faced, jimp-waisted lassie about seventeen years of age, washing clothes in the Scottish fashion by tramping them in a tub, and cheering this dancing operation by lilting a Scottish song. His dog ran over a portion of the clothes that were spread out upon the green to dry; she threw a stone at the animal, to drive it away; and Burns sportively remarked, "If you liked me, you would like my dog." This introduction led to a mutual acquaintanceship and fervent liking on both sides, of which the consequences at length became too apparent—the poor girl was about to become a mother. In this dilemma Burns was in no doubt as to what he ought to do: honour and justice required that he should anticipate the consequences by marriage. But his farming speculations had been an utter failure, so that he was obliged to throw up his share of Moss-giel, of which his tenure had been only nominal; and having no home of his own, an immediate marriage was impossible. He did however what he could, by giving her what are called in Scotland "marriage

lines"—a precontract that constitutes a marriage according to law, and legitimates the offspring that would otherwise be branded with shame, independent of the sanctions of the church, which only visits such offenders with rebuke and fine before it notifies the union. With her character thus shielded, Jean was to remain in the paternal home, while her affianced husband was to repair to Jamaica, in the hope of securing such a position as would enable him to maintain a wife and family. But the discovery of her state prematurely occurred, and her father was in a transport of indignation. Even her marriage lines were of no avail, as he thought that his daughter's marriage with a man of such questionable character, and in Jamaica, would be worse than none. He therefore prevailed upon her to destroy the written documents, and abide the consequences of her imprudence. Burns was well-nigh distracted at the change, and offered to stay at home and support his wife and children as he best could, by the wages of a daily labourer; but the old man would not relent; and when Jean Armour became the mother of twins, he sent the sheriff-officers after Burns, to compel him to find security for the support of his children, although well aware that he could not. In this difficulty the poet was obliged to flee to the mountains, until he could muster enough of money to convey him to Jamaica. He had already obtained the promise of a situation there, as an overseer or book-keeper, and for the price of his passage he had been advised to publish a collection of his poems by subscription. To these strange circumstances his immortal productions were indebted for their appearance before the world. Subscription papers were issued, the printing of his little volume was commenced in Kilmarnock, and these labours were alternated with his preparations for the West India voyage. Only 600 copies of this first edition were published, and from the sale Burns had just realized enough for the expenses of his expatriation; his chest had been forwarded by night to Greenock, for fear of an arrest; and he had composed the mournful ditty of *The Gloomy Night, is Gathering Fast*, in which he bade farewell to his native district in the following mournful accents:—

"Farewell, old Coila's hills and dales,
Her heathy moors and winding vales,
The scenes where wretched fancy roves,
Pursuing past unhappy loves.
Farewell, my friends! farewell, my foes!
My peace with these—my love with those—
The bursting tears my heart declare,
Farewell, the bonnie banks of Ayr."

But when all was at the darkest the storm was dispersed, the sun broke out, and the whole landscape was gladdened with the singing of birds and the voice of joyful promise. His poems had been read not merely with approbation, but with rapture and astonishment. The little publication was not merely poetry, but poetry of a new kind, or at least the long-lost ancient inspiration recalled to fresh life and utterance. Among the foremost to recognize its excellence were the peasantry, whose simple life and ardent feelings it embodied in their own despised dialect; and while they read, they wondered at the poetical richness of their native Doric, and the genius of him who had invested it with a power and attractiveness hitherto unfelt. And rapidly these feelings continued to widen until all classes were pervaded with their influence. *The great national poet* had appeared at last, and in the form of a half-educated ploughman! In the preface to the first edition of his volume, a preface at once characterized by manly independence and modest timidity, Burns had thus characterized his attempt:—"The author certainly looks upon

himself as possessed of some poetic abilities, otherwise his publishing in the manner he has done, would be a manoeuvre below the worst character, which, he hopes, his worst enemy will ever give him. But to the genius of a Ramsay, or the glorious dawns of the poor unfortunate Ferguson, he with equal unaffected sincerity declares, that even in his highest pulse of vanity, he has not the most distant pretensions." This he wrote in that humble spirit of self-appreciation, the characteristic of genius of the highest order, by which Burns was distinguished to the close of his career. But the united voice of the public at once contradicted this lowly estimate, and placed him far above the level of Ferguson and Ramsay. "When," it was asked, "had these poets written anything to be compared to *The Cottar's Saturday Night*, *Halloween*, or *Tam O' Shanter*?"

But while the poet's fame was growing with such rapidity, something more immediate in its action was necessary to save him from ruin or exile. Still "the gloomy night was gathering fast," and relief delayed until to-morrow might come too late. He had successfully eluded the pursuit of his angry father-in-law; his luggage was on board at Greenock, and at the price of nine guineas he had secured a steerage passage to Jamaica, where, on landing, he would either be cut off by yellow fever, or committed to the unpunctual duties of a negro-driver. And what, under either alternative, would his genius, or the renown he was winning, avail him? At such a crisis relief appeared in the form of a blind old man. This was Dr. Blacklock; and honoured be the man that saved Burns to Scotland and the world at large! A copy of the poems of Burns had been sent to him, and their effect upon him was electric. Himself a poet, he recognized in them poetry of the very highest character; and, as free from envy as pure-hearted childhood, he was impatient to announce his admiration, and benefit the author. He wrote a letter so full of encouragement, and inviting Burns so cordially to try his fortune in the metropolis, that the poet renounced his purpose of the Jamaica voyage before it was too late. "I posted," he says, "away to Edinburgh without a single acquaintance, or a single letter of introduction. The baneful star that had so long shed its blasting influence on my zenith, for once made a revolution to the nadir."

It was in November, 1786, that Burns for the first time entered the Scottish capital, as if he had come into a new world. He might have appeared and walked among its throngs without notice, and passed away unremembered, for his outward form was not such as to separate him from the crowd. All that met the common view was a strongly-built peasant in his best clothes, with a dark physiognomy, and such a stoop as is generally acquired by hard-working bodily labour, and no one at first sight would have thought that this was the Apollo of Scottish poetry. It was only in company, and in the glow of conversation, that his homely countenance was lighted into eloquence, and his large black deep-set eyes were more powerful than words. But as such distinctive advantages could only be recognized upon acquaintanceship, it was as well for Burns that, though he carried no letters of introduction, he was not unknown to Edinburgh. The first week or two he resided chiefly with Ayrshire acquaintances in a state of obscurity; but his productions in the meantime were preparing the way for him, and bespeaking a cordial welcome. Already he was known by fame among some of the highest literary characters in Edinburgh. A critique which appeared in the *Lounger*, giving "An Account of Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Ploughman, with Extracts from his Poems,"

from the elegant pen of the author of the *Man of Feeling*, had not only wafted his reputation over Scotland, but had carried it into England. These were introduction enough, and as soon as it was known that he was in Edinburgh, all classes were eager to see him, and be admitted into his company. Besides Dr. Blacklock, he could soon enrol among his personal acquaintances, the Earl of Glencairn, Professor Dugald Stewart, Principal Robertson the historian, Dr. Blair the eloquent divine, Dr. Gregory, Frazer Tytler, and the greatest northern celebrities of the day. It was a different society from that of Mauchline and Tarbolton; but Burns was equal to the occasion, and his conversational powers, instead of lessening, only deepened the impression which his poetical genius had created. His appearance, demeanour, and bearing in such distinguished companies are well described by one who was afterwards to enjoy an intellectual reputation more varied, and but a little lower than his own. Among Sir Walter Scott's interesting reminiscences of Burns are the following:—"As for Burns, I may truly say, '*Virgilium vidi tantum*.' I was a lad of fifteen in 1786-7, when he came first to Edinburgh, but had sense and feeling enough to be much interested in his poetry, and would have given the world to know him; but I had very little acquaintance with any literary people, and still less with the gentry of the west country, the two sets that he most frequented. . . . As it was, I saw him one day at the late venerable Professor Henderson's, where there were several gentlemen of literary reputation, among whom I remember the celebrated Dugald Stewart. Of course we youngsters sat silent, looked and listened. The only thing I remember which was remarkable in Burns's manner was the effect produced upon him by a print of Banbury's, representing a soldier lying dead on the snow, his dog sitting in misery on the one side, and on the other his widow with a child in her arms. These lines were written beneath:—

"Cold on Canadian hills, or Minden's plain,
Perhaps that parent wept her soldier slain:
Bent o'er her babe, her eye dissolved in dew,
The big drops mingling with the milk he drew,
Gave the sad presage of his future years,
The child of misery baptized in tears."

Burns seemed much affected by the print, or rather the ideas which it suggested to his mind. He actually shed tears. He asked whose the lines were, but it chanced that nobody but myself remembered that they occur in a half-forgotten poem of Langhorne's, called by the unpromising title of the *Justice of the Peace*. I whispered my information to a friend present, who mentioned it to Burns, who rewarded me with a look and a word, which, though of mere civility, I then received, and still recollect, with very great pleasure."

The great delineator of Scotland and its people then proceeds to the portraiture of the national poet:—"His person was strong and robust; his manners rustic, not clownish; a sort of dignified plainness and simplicity, which received part of its effect perhaps from one's knowledge of his extraordinary talents. . . . I would have taken the poet, had I not known what he was, for a very sagacious farmer of the old Scottish school—i.e. none of your modern agriculturists, who keep labourers for their drudgery, but the *douce gude* man who held his own plough. There was a strong expression of sense and shrewdness in all his lineaments; the eye alone, I think, indicated the poetical character and temperament. It was large, and of a dark cast, and glowed (I say literally *glowed*) when he spoke with feeling or interest. I never saw such another eye

in a human head, though I have seen the most distinguished men in my time. His conversation expressed perfect self-confidence, without the slightest presumption. Among the men who were the most learned of their time and country, he expressed himself with perfect firmness, but without the least intrusive forwardness; and when he differed in opinion, he did not hesitate to express it firmly, yet at the same time with modesty."

Mention has been made of Dugald Stewart as among the distinguished characters with whom Burns associated in Edinburgh, and to the eye of the eminent and accomplished philosopher the rustic bard was a subject of intense psychological interest. As he also associated frequently with Burns, and was better qualified by matured years and the nature of his studies to obtain a more complete insight into the poet's mind than Sir Walter could enjoy from his single interview, his account gives features and colouring to the picture which the former could only sketch in outline. We select from it the following extract, as it is too long to be given in detail:—

"His manners were then, as they continued ever afterwards, simple, manly, and independent; strongly expressive of conscious genius and worth; but without anything that indicated forwardness, arrogance, or vanity. He took his share in conversation, and not more than belonged to him; and listened with apparent attention and deference on subjects where his want of education deprived him of the means of information. If there had been a little more of gentleness and accommodation in his temper, he would, I think, have been still more interesting; but he had been accustomed to give law in the circle of his ordinary acquaintance, and his dread of anything approaching to meanness or servility rendered his manner somewhat decided and hard. Nothing, perhaps, was more remarkable among his various attainments, than the fluency, and precision, and originality of his language, when he spoke in company; more particularly as he aimed at purity in his turn of expression, and avoided more successfully than most Scotchmen the peculiarities of Scottish phraseology. . . . The attentions he received during his stay in town from all ranks and descriptions of persons, were such as would have turned any head but his own. I cannot say that I could perceive any unfavourable effect which they left on his mind. He retained the same simplicity of manners and appearance which had struck me so forcibly when I first saw him in the country; nor did he seem to feel any additional self-importance from the number and rank of his new acquaintance. . . . He had a very strong sense of religion, and expressed deep regret at the levity with which he had heard it treated occasionally in some convivial meetings which he frequented. . . . I do not recollect whether it appears or not from any of your letters to me, that ever you had seen Burns. If you have, it is superfluous for me to add, that the idea which his conversation conveyed of the powers of his mind exceeded, if possible, that which is suggested by his writings. Among the poets whom I have happened to know, I have been struck in more than one instance with the unaccountable disparity between their general talents and the occasional inspirations of their more favoured moments. But all the faculties of Burns's mind were, as far as I could judge, equally vigorous; and his predilection for poetry was rather the result of his own enthusiastic and impassioned temper than of a genius exclusively adapted to that species of composition. From his conversation I should have pronounced him to be fitted to excel in whatever walk of ambition he had chosen

to exert his abilities. . . . I must not omit to mention, what I have always considered as characteristic in a high degree of true genius, the extreme facility and good nature of his taste in judging of the compositions of others, where there was any real ground for praise. I repeated to him many passages of English poetry with which he was unacquainted, and have more than once witnessed the tears of admiration and rapture with which he heard them. In judging of prose, I do not think his taste was equally sound. . . . The influence of this taste is very perceptible in his own prose compositions, although their great and various excellencies render some of them scarcely less objects of wonder than his poetical performances. The late Dr. Robertson used to say, that, considering his education, the former seemed to him the more extraordinary of the two."

Such was Burns as he appeared for the first time before the highest intellects of Edinburgh; and it will be seen, that while they recognized the wonderful talents and many-sided intellect of the Ayrshire ploughman, it was with the homage that is due to a superior genius. By a single stride he had stepped from obscurity to an intellectual throne, while none disputed his right to occupy it. And this was at a time too when there were giants in the land—men so eminent in every intellectual department that this period might be called the Augustan era of Scotland. Every circle was eager to fete him, and Burns was the honoured guest of every evening party of rank and genius in the northern capital. But more wonderful still than this sudden elevation, was the equanimity with which he sustained it, so that after he had passed through the ordeal, he retained the same estimate of himself and of others as before: such incense had neither impaired his intellect, nor corrupted his heart. And well would it have been for him had he in like manner escaped the other contagions with which he was surrounded. But with all its intellectual reputation, Edinburgh had not yet thrown aside the besetting vice of the national character, and at this time it enjoyed the unenviable distinction of being one of the most hard-drinking cities in Europe. Affairs of business in every department were usually conducted in taverns, and no evening party, however select, was complete without an immoderate amount of drinking from which the most abstinent could not wholly escape. In such a state of things, to remain uncontaminated would have been little less than miraculous, more especially when the previous life of Burns, and his fervid temperament, are taken into account. His whole existence had been one of such difficulties and privations as seldom fall even to the lot of the peasantry, and his course had hitherto been one of habitual abstinent sobriety, although checkered with a few instances of social excess among the smugglers of the coast of Carrick, or the rustics of Mauchline and Tarbolton. But to find himself suddenly elevated into the circles of rank, beauty, and fashion, and playing a high part in the festive conversations of the learned, the witty, and the eloquent, was too much for humanity, or at least the portion which had fallen to his share; the allurements of the moment overmastered him; and while he went *pari passu* with such attractive companions, it was into paths that charmed him by their novelty, and with a zest that made his return all the more difficult. Thus the habit was formed which clouded his after-life, and which the most enthusiastic of his admirers are compelled to acknowledge and deplore.

In coming to Edinburgh, one important object of

Burns was to publish his poems anew; accordingly a second edition was published by Creech early in March, 1787; and as nearly 3000 copies were quickly sold, his reputation was not only more widely diffused than ever, but such a sum realized as enabled him to support his expenses in Edinburgh, and afterwards to undertake a tour over some of the most interesting portions of his native country, and parts of the English border. At his return, the greater part of the winter of 1787-8 was spent in Edinburgh, where he was received with as hearty a welcome, and involved in the same dissipation, as before. But it was time that he should now settle down into the occupations of his future life, and for this he was provided with the means, as on settling with his publisher Creech, in February, 1788, he found himself possessed of the clear sum of £500. He returned to his family, but no longer the same person who had left it; for he was not only rich according to peasant estimation, but had achieved an illustrious reputation, and associated with the most distinguished men of the land. One of his first acts was to advance £200 to his brother Gilbert, who was still struggling with difficulties on the farm of Mossiel; with the remainder of his capital, and other profits that were still accruing from the sale of his poems, he rented the farm of Ellisland on the banks of the Nith, six miles above Dumfries, and entered into occupation on Whitsunday, 1788. He had previously applied to the board of excise, and been put on the list for the office of exciseman, and this profession he intended to combine with that of a farmer. His next step was to marry Jean Armour, his betrothed wife, who had twice made him the father of twins, although only one of the four children she had borne to him now survived. In such a union there was no longer any difficulty with her parents, who were now as eager to have him for their son-in-law as they had formerly been averse to it. On thus entering into a regular married life, nothing could be more heroic than the resolutions he formed to avoid his former deviations, and commence in earnest a steady, industrious, virtuous career. These resolutions he thus expressed in his common-place book, on Sunday the 14th of June, 1788:—"This is now the third day that I have been in this country. 'Lord, what is man!' What a bustling little bundle of passions, appetites, ideas, and fancies; and what a capricious kind of existence he has here! . . . I am such a coward in life, so tired of the service, that I would almost at any time, with Milton's Adam, gladly lay me in my mother's lap, and be at peace. But a wife and children bind me to struggle with the stream, till some sudden squall shall overset the silly vessel, or, in the listless return of years, its own craziness reduce it to a wreck. Farewell now to those giddy follies, those varnished vices, which, though half sanctified by the bewitching levity of wit and humour, are at best but thriftless idling with the precious current of existence; nay, often poisoning the whole, that, like the plains of Jericho, the water is naught and the ground barren, and nothing short of a supernaturally gifted Elisha can ever after heal the evils."

Thus repentant of the past, and resolute upon a course of amendment, Burns resumed the simple life of a farmer on settling at Ellisland. But a whole array of obstacles was opposed to the purposed reformation. The luxuries of rich men's tables had indisposed him for the simple peasant fare of his former lowly condition. The varied and exciting life he had led since the first publication of his poems had unfitted him for the plodding and persevering industry without which the work of farming cannot

be successfully carried on. And more than all were the bacchanalian indulgences in which he had revelled among the societies of the learned and distinguished in Edinburgh, and which he was now willing to repeat, although with diminished lustre, among the bonnet-lairds and farmers of Dumfries-shire. Every tourist, also, who visited Scotland, thought his task incomplete without enjoying an interview with its great poet; and such interviews it was impossible to hold without what were considered the due rites of hospitality. Against these strong temptations he continued to battle, and with such partial success, that his constitution was as yet unbroken; and although the allurements of social excess were generally too much for him, he had not as yet fallen into the habitual use of ardent spirits. Under these circumstances, there was still hope of recovery, and that a better course of life was awaiting him, when his transition from a farmer to a gauger decided the momentous question. His application to the board of excise had been successful, and he had been appointed exciseman of his district with a humble salary of £50 per annum. He felt the degradation of the office, of which he thus wrote in one of his letters, "I am now a poor rascally gauger, condemned to gallop two hundred miles every week, to inspect dirty ponds and yeasty barrels." But this continual travelling, and variety of scene and action, he found more attractive than monotonous occupation in the narrow limits of Ellisland; so that while the work of the farm was left to servants, who might waste or mismanage at pleasure, his days were chiefly spent on horseback, and in a chase after smugglers among the hills and dales of Nithsdale. Such explorations also were calculated to confirm his irregular habits, and throw him into society the least distinguished for temperance and regularity. His farming speculations proving a failure—as how could they otherwise in such circumstances?—he, at the end of three years and a half, abandoned Ellisland, and at the close of 1791 removed with his family to a small house in the town of Dumfries, having been appointed exciseman to a new district, the emoluments of which were about £70 per annum. It was there, alas! that his irregularities grew into confirmed habits, which finally hurried him into an untimely grave. Of this period of his life the following account, given by Heron in his *Life of Burns*, is too fully borne out by general testimony to be contradicted:—"In Dumfries his dissipation became still more deeply habitual. He was here exposed more than in the country, to be solicited to share the riot of the dissolute and the idle. Foolish young men, such as writers' apprentices, young surgeons, merchants' clerks, and his brother excisemen, flocked eagerly about him, and from time to time pressed him to drink with them, that they might enjoy his wicked wit. The Caledonian Club, too, and the Dumfries and Galloway Hunt, had occasional meetings at Dumfries after Burns came to reside there, and the poet was of course invited to share their hospitality, and hesitated not to accept the invitation. The morals of the town were, in consequence of its becoming so much the scene of public amusement, not a little corrupted, and, though a husband and a father, Burns did not escape suffering by the general contamination, in a manner which I forbear to describe. In the intervals between his different fits of intemperance, he suffered the keenest anguish of remorse and horribly afflictive foresight. His Jean behaved with a degree of maternal and conjugal tenderness and prudence, which made him feel more bitterly the

evils of his misconduct, though they could not reclaim him."

Amidst this desperate struggle between his better resolutions and his trespasses, in which every lapse was seen in its true light only when too late, and followed by the unavailing tortures of self-reproach and resolutions of reformation that proved equally unavailing, Burns had not abandoned the high vocation by which he was set apart from other men. At Ellisland, indeed, it appears from his letters, that he wrote little poetry, and for this the nature of his position may sufficiently account. He had commenced the important work of life in earnest, the every-day realities of which were scarcely favourable to poetical ideality; and after what he had already achieved, he might repose for a while upon his laurels. But in 1792 a call was made upon his muse to which he could not be inattentive. In that year Mr. George Thomson, clerk of the honourable board of trustees in Edinburgh, and distinguished as a musical amateur, projected a work entitled "*A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice*:" to which are added, Introductory and Concluding Symphonies and Accompaniments for the Piano Forte and Violin, by Pleyel and Korleuck, with Select and Characteristic Verses by the most admired Scottish Poets." It was a patriotic enterprise as well as a labour of love on the part of Mr. Thomson, who, far from rich, was yet willing to peril all that he had on a costly publication by which the song-music of his country was to be preserved. But without the aid and co-operation of Burns, how could such a purpose be fulfilled? It was natural that the editor should apply to the author of the *Cottar's Saturday Night*, and he invoked him, "for the honour of Caledonia," to take up the pen, and write twenty or twenty-five songs suited to the particular melodies which he was prepared to send him—hinting, at the same time, a reasonable pecuniary remuneration. Burns was already a large contributor to *Johnson's Musical Museum*, but no sooner did Mr. Thomson's application arrive than he returned a cordial assent. He was ready to reform the old national songs, as well as to write new ones. But the idea of payment for his contributions he peremptorily and indignantly rejected. "As to any remuneration," he wrote, "you may think my songs either above or below price; for they shall absolutely be the one or the other. In the honest enthusiasm with which I embark in your undertaking, to talk of money, wages, fee, hire, &c., would be downright prostitution of soul! A proof of each of the songs that I compose or amend, I shall receive as a favour." And this from a man with a wife and family, and only seventy pounds a year! But poetry, in his eyes, was too sacred a commodity to be sold; and so long as he was free from a jail or absolute starvation, he would give it cheerfully and without price. The result was, that instead of twenty or twenty-five songs, the number originally specified, he contributed to Thomson's collection 150, of which more than one half were wholly original, and the rest either improvements of old verses, or verses of his own which had previously appeared in *Johnson's Museum*. And could such songs be written by an author with the fumes of strong drink in his head, or whose delicacy of genius and strength of intellect a course of habitual intemperance had impaired? Do they not rather prove that the excesses of the poet while he lived in Dumfries have been overdrawn, and that his aberrations, however culpable, were rather occasional than habitual?

But however partial his lapses may have been, they were now to be visited with their natural retribution. The early hypochondriacal tendencies of his

constitution had admonished him of the dangers of intemperance in vain, and the temporary cure which he sought in stimulants and exciting society had confirmed the disease beyond remedy. More than a year before his death, there was a decline in his personal appearance, and from October, 1795, to the January following a severe rheumatism confined him to the house. He had scarcely recovered, and was still in a state of debility, when he imprudently joined a party at a tavern dinner, where the merriment was kept up till about three in the morning. The weather was severe, and Burns, who was intoxicated, is said to have fallen asleep upon the snow in his way home. On the following morning his rheumatism returned upon him with redoubled violence, and after languishing under it till the middle of summer, he repaired to Brow in Annandale, on the shore of the Solway Firth, hoping to effect a recovery by sea-bathing. But he soon felt that his days were numbered. Mrs. Riddell of Glenriddel, a beautiful and accomplished lady, and a friend of the poet, happened at that time to be residing in the neighbourhood, and her interview with him, of which she has left a full account, gives us a distinct idea of the last days of Burns. The stamp of death was on his features, and with that playfulness which is often more expressive of sadness than mirth, he said, on entering the room, "Well, madam, have you any commands for the other world?" In the conversation that followed, he spoke of his approaching death with firmness, but also with feeling, and his principal sorrow was for his four young children who would be left unprotected, and for his wife, who was hourly expected to be delivered of a fifth. He then passed to the subject of his poems, and especially the publication of his posthumous works, and regretted that every scrap he had written would be revived and printed to the injury of his future reputation, when he was no longer at hand to vindicate it. He also regretted the epigrams he had penned on persons against whom he entertained no enmity, and his indifferent poetical pieces, which, after his death, would be thrust upon the world with all their imperfections on their head; and expressed his sorrow for having delayed to put his papers into a proper state of arrangement, as it was now too late. "I have seldom," adds Mrs. Riddell, "seen his mind greater or more collected. There was frequently a considerable degree of vivacity in his sallies, and they would probably have had a greater share, had not the concern and dejection I could not disguise damped the spirit of pleasantry he seemed not unwilling to indulge. We parted about sunset on the evening of that day (the 5th of July, 1795); the next day I saw him again, and we parted to meet no more."

Finding no relief from bathing, and having a fresh attack of fever, Burns on the 18th of July was brought back to Dumfries, but so greatly enfeebled, that he could no longer stand upright. It was known that his case was past all hope, and the town was darkened as with the gloom of a public calamity. His faults and failings were forgot, all ranks and classes united in a common sympathy, and wherever two or three townsfolk were assembled in the streets, their talk was of the poet, of his wonderful genius and lovable qualities, and how greatly their town and Scotland at large would be a loser by his departure. Nor was that event long in following, for he died on the 21st of July, the third day after his return home. On the 26th he was buried, and with such obsequies as are not always accorded to the highest rank; for besides the volunteers of Dumfries, the fencible infantry of Angus-shire and the cavalry of the Cinque Ports, then quartered at Dumfries,

who marched at the funeral with their banners and military music, about ten or twelve thousand persons followed them in procession, many of whom had travelled from a great distance to be present at the solemnity. If anything also could deepen such a sorrowful scene, it was an event which at that moment was occurring in the house of mourning, for Mrs. Burns was at the same time delivered of a posthumous son, who died in infancy. Nor did the public sympathy here terminate, for, as the poet died poor, an immediate exertion followed in behalf of his family, for whose support upwards of £700 were collected; and this sum, with the profits of Dr. Currie's *Life and Edition of Burns*, formed such a fund as their father had never possessed while living, and furnished his children with the means of an excellent education that fitted them for the honourable career which was afterwards opened up to them. The less substantial but more public honours to his memory succeeded; the street in which he had lived was thenceforth, by the authority of the magistrates of Dumfries, named Burns Street; a mausoleum to his memory was erected in the churchyard where he lies buried, and another near the Calton Hill, Edinburgh; and a yearly anniversary was established, on which day all who value his writings and revere his worth, in whatever country of both hemispheres, assemble to talk of our national poet, and the benefit which his works have conferred not merely upon Scotland, but upon humanity at large, and for all future time.

The family of Robert Burns by Jean Armour consisted, from first to last, of five sons and four daughters; but all the latter died in early youth, and also two of the former, leaving only three survivors out of such a numerous family. Of these, Robert the eldest, a retired clerk of the accountant-general's department, died at Dumfries; the youngest, Lieut.-col. James Glencairn Burns, of the E. I. C.'s service, died at Cheltenham in 1866; and of the whole family none now survive but William Nicol Burns, also a colonel of the E. I. C., who retired from the service about twenty years ago, at the same time as his brother James, and lived with him at Cheltenham. But no grandson of the poet by the male line is living, his only grandchildren being two females, the daughters of Colonel James. Thus Robert Burns has shared in the mournful distinction reserved for poets only of the highest order—no grandson of his by the male line will found a family that will represent him to future generations. Thus, in common with Shakspeare, Milton, and Scott, he must pay the price for such a lasting name, and renown that will be imperishable. At his death, his partner, "bonnie Jean," was still young, and fully deserving of her title; but true to the memory of her first and only affection, she continued unmarried, and after living honoured and beloved by all who knew her, died in March, 1834, in her seventieth year.

BUTE, EARL OF. See STUART, JAMES.

C.

CALDER, SIR ROBERT, Bart. It has been truly remarked by Hallam, that the state trials of England exhibit the most appalling accumulation of judicial iniquity that can be found in any age or country. And why? Because, as he adds, the monarch cannot wreak his vengeance, or the nobles vent the bitterness of their feuds, except in a law court, and by a legal process. The trials connected with the history of the British navy, and the iniquitous sentences passed upon some of our most heroic and deserving admirals, attest too fully the truth of Hallam's observation. Byng, Matthews, Cochrane—the first shot, the second cashiered, and the third imprisoned, from no adequate cause, or without cause whatever—are cases that seem to carry us back, not to the dark ages, when heroism at least was fairly appreciated, but to the old Carthaginian periods, when the bravest generals were crucified as often as their rivals entered into place and power. A fourth British admiral, who was the victim of an unjust trial and most undeserved punishment, was Sir Robert Calder, the subject of the present notice. And we judge it the more necessary to introduce him with the preceding remarks, as it is only now, after the lapse of many years, that men are disposed to render full justice to his memory and worth.

Robert Calder was the second son of Sir Thomas Calder of Muirton, Morayshire, and was born at Elgin on the 2d of July, 1745. At the age of fourteen he entered the navy as midshipman. At the age of twenty-one he had attained the rank of lieutenant on board the *Essex*, commanded by the Hon. George Falkner, and served on the West India station. Promotion, however, was long in coming, for it was not until after many years that

he obtained the command of a ship. In 1782 he was captain of the *Diana*, which was employed as a repeating-frigate to Rear-admiral Kempenfelt. At this period, also, he was an unwilling sharer in one of those events which the British historian is compelled to record to the shame of our glorious navy. The united fleets of France and Spain had appeared upon our coasts; but Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded the English fleet, was ordered not to risk an engagement, so that he was obliged to retire between the Wolf-rock and the Main. Such an inglorious retreat, at a time when the flag of Rodney was triumphant, so maddened our gallant tars, that they muffled with their hammocks a figure-head of George III., swearing that his majesty should not be witness of their flight. Captain Calder, who belonged to the rear-division, so fully sympathized in their feelings, that, although his vessel was within a short distance of a large French two-decker, that could have blown him out of the water by a single broadside, he kept his place, until he was peremptorily ordered by signal to retire.

On the renewal of war with France, Captain Calder was employed in various services, from which little individual distinction was to be acquired; but in these he acquitted himself so well as to establish his character for naval skill and courage. He was finally appointed captain of the fleet by Sir John Jervis, and was present at the memorable engagement of the 14th of February, 1797, off Cape St. Vincent, when the Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line and twelve frigates was completely defeated by Jervis, with only fifteen ships and six frigates. On this great occasion, where Nelson and Collingwood were the heroes of the encounter, Captain Calder ac-

quitted himself so ably, that on being sent home with the despatches, he was honoured with knighthood, and afterwards made a baronet. On the 14th of February, 1799, he rose in the service by seniority to the rank of rear-admiral; and in 1801 was sent with a small squadron in chase of Admiral Gantheaume, who was carrying supplies to the French army in Egypt. A short-lived peace followed, and Sir Robert Calder retired to his residence in Hampshire, from which he was quickly recalled to sea by the renewal of hostilities with France; and in 1804 he was raised to the rank of Vice-admiral of the White.

This fresh commencement of war was an event of more than common importance to Great Britain. Its liberty, its very existence as a nation, were now at stake; for Bonaparte, hitherto so successful in all his enterprises, had resolved to invade it, and for this purpose was making preparations at Boulogne commensurate with what he meant to be his crowning enterprise. An immense flotilla was constructed and put in readiness to convey an army of 150,000 veteran soldiers from Boulogne to the shores of Kent, after which, a march upon London was deemed an easy achievement. Still further to insure the facilities of such an invasion, these flat-bottomed transports were ostentatiously armed, as if they alone were intended to force a passage across the British Channel, and thus the attention of our statesmen was withdrawn from the real point where danger was to be apprehended. This consisted in the contemplated junction of the French and Spanish fleets, which was to be effected while the eyes of England were exclusively fixed upon the land show of preparations going on at Boulogne. While these warlike boats were intended for transports, and nothing more, Napoleon's real design was to collect forty or fifty ships of the line in the harbour of Martinique, by operations combined in the harbours of Toulon, Cadiz, Ferrol, and Brest; to bring them suddenly back to Boulogne; and while thus making himself for fifteen days master of the sea, to have his whole army transported into England without interruption.

Never, perhaps, since the days of William the Conqueror, had England been in such imminent jeopardy. While her statesmen were still thrown off their guard, and imagining that the only danger lay in the flotilla, the vessels preparing in the ports of Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthagea consisted of thirty-eight French and thirty Spanish ships of the line; and these, if combined, would have been sufficient to hold the English Channel against all the force which our nation could muster. To attempt a blockade of the hostile harbours was the only expedient that occurred to the British government in this emergency, and the important task of blockading the ports of Ferrol and Corunna was intrusted to Sir Robert Calder. Even yet, however, the design of Bonaparte was so little surmised, that Sir Robert's force on this occasion was utterly incommensurate with the greatness of the crisis, for only seven sail were allowed him, which were afterwards raised to nine; and with these he was to prevent five French ships of the line and three frigates, and five Spanish ships of the line and four frigates, from leaving the hostile harbours. Thus the blockade was to be maintained by a force which was greatly inferior to that of the enemy. Undismayed by this disparity, Sir Robert entered his appointed station, and maintained it, notwithstanding the manœuvres of the Brest squadron to entice him into the open sea.

At length the moment arrived which Bonaparte had anticipated. The imperfect blockades of the British had been in several cases eluded; the West

Indies had been reached by several hostile squadrons; and Nelson, who had gone in pursuit without being able to reach them, only learned at the last moment that the combined French and Spanish fleets had set sail from Martinique, and were in full return to Europe. A swift-sailing vessel, which he sent with this intelligence, happily outstripped the combined fleet, and thus, at the last moment, and by an intervention truly providential, the British government was put upon its guard. The first movement of the enemy, to which they were directed in consequence of the express command of Bonaparte, was to raise the blockade of Ferrol, and that accomplished, to proceed with the French and Spanish ships lying there to the relief of the other ports, by which their whole combined navy would be collected in full force in the English Channel. Sir Robert Calder was thus to abide the first brunt of the onset, and upon the stoutness of his resistance the issue of the great trial between France and England would mainly depend. Conscious of this, the British government despatched instant orders to Rear-admiral Stirling, who commanded a squadron before Rochefort, to raise the blockade of that harbour, join Sir Robert Calder off Ferrol, and cruise with him off Cape Finisterre, to intercept the allied fleet of the enemy on their homeward passage to Brest.

As soon as the junction between the two British squadrons was effected, Sir Robert Calder stood out to sea, and quickly reached the station appointed for his cruise. Although the addition of Stirling's squadron raised his whole force to nothing more than fifteen ships of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger, he had little fear of the issue, as the French and Spanish fleet was supposed to amount to only sixteen ships. But as soon as the enemy hove in sight, looming through a fog that had concealed their approach until they were close at hand, it was found that they consisted of twenty line-of-battle ships, a fifty gun-ship, seven frigates, and two brigs. This was an unexpected and startling disparity; but Sir Robert boldly entered into action, although the fog that had commenced in the morning made it necessary for his ships, which bore down in two columns, to tack before they reached the enemy. A close action of four hours ensued, in which the British, notwithstanding their inferiority of numbers, behaved with such gallantry and spirit that a signal victory would probably have been the consequence, had it not been for the haze, which became so dense that Sir Robert was scarcely able to see his ships either ahead or astern. As it was, he had already captured two large Spanish ships, the *Rafael* of eighty-four, and the *Firme* of seventy-four guns; and, judging it imprudent to continue the fight, he brought to, for the purpose of covering his prizes, and waiting an opportunity to renew the engagement. On the following day the French and Spanish fleet, having the advantage of the windward, advanced within a league and a half of the British, upon which, Sir Robert, hauling on the wind, offered them battle; but Villeneuve, the admiral of the combined fleet, refused the challenge, by hauling to the wind on the same tack as his adversary. On the third day Sir Robert once more offered battle, but in vain; and, being now justly apprehensive of the union of the enemy with the Rochefort and Ferrol squadrons, under whose combined force his own would have been overwhelmed, he fell back, relying upon the support of the Channel fleet, or that of Lord Nelson; while Villeneuve, instead of holding on in his course, was fain to retire into Ferrol. This meeting, that was fraught with such momentous consequences, occurred in lat. 43° 30' north, and long.

11° 17' west, or about forty leagues from Ferrol, on the 22d of July, 1805.

Nothing could exceed the rage and vexation of Napoleon in this engagement and its result. He saw that, by this single stroke, all his preparations at Boulogne were frustrated, and the projected invasion of England rendered hopeless. As soon as he received the tidings, he summoned Count Daru, his private secretary, into the apartment, who, on entering, found the emperor traversing the room with hurried steps, and exclaiming, "What a navy! What sacrifices for nothing! What an admiral! All hope is gone! That Villeneuve, instead of entering the Channel, has taken refuge in Ferrol! It is all over: he will be blockaded there. Daru, sit down and write." Daru took up his pen accordingly, and, with the rapidity of lightning, Napoleon dictated the details of the breaking up of the army at Boulogne, the routes and movements of the different corps, and all the complicated minutiae of the campaign that ended so triumphantly at Austerlitz. In this manner the terrible storm that was to have gathered and burst over London, was suddenly wafted away to the shores of the Danube and the devoted palaces of Vienna. Speaking of his disappointment in after years, Bonaparte said, "If Admiral Villeneuve, instead of entering into the harbour of Ferrol, had contented himself with joining the Spanish squadron, and instantly made sail for Brest, and joined Admiral Gantheaume, my army would have embarked, and it was all over with England."

While such was the judgment of Napoleon upon this event—and certainly no one was so fitted to foretell its consequences—a very different estimation was made of it in England. There, a long series of naval victories had so pampered the public vanity, that the defeat of a British fleet was deemed impossible, and anything short of its full success a proof of the most culpable negligence and shortcoming. It was the counterpart of that land-delusion which made our countrymen imagine that every Briton was able to beat three Frenchmen, until subsequent events reduced them to a more reasonable calculation. Of this overweening estimate Sir Robert Calder was soon to taste the bitter fruits. He had encountered a fleet, no matter how superior to his own, and not annihilated it; he had allowed it to slip through his fingers, and find shelter in a friendly harbour. In the meantime, the unconscious victim of such unreasonable obloquy was congratulating himself on his services, and anticipating nothing less than the approbation of his country. With an inferior force he had blocked up the enemy in port for nearly five months; he had afterwards encountered and held the combined fleet at bay when their ships greatly outnumbered his own, and made two valuable captures without losing a single vessel. These advantages were so justly appreciated by Lord Cornwallis, his superior in command, that on the 17th of August, 1805, Calder was sent back with twenty ships to Ferrol, from which Villeneuve had ventured out at the express command of Napoleon, to join the French fleet at Brest; but, on hearing of Sir Robert Calder's approach, instead of pursuing his course, he tacked about and made sail for Cadiz, which he reached on the 21st. Thus Calder had the honour of baffling, for the second time, an expedition, upon which the fate of England was at stake; and Villeneuve, shut up in Cadiz, was obliged to remain at anchorage there, until all was ready for the crushing disaster at Trafalgar.

But the same winds that carried Calder against his antagonist, and enabled him once more to baffle the most cherished of Napoleon's objects, also bore

to his ears the murmurs of the admiralty at home, and brought to him the public prints in which his courage as a British sailor, and his loyalty as a British subject, were equally called in question. Indignant at these aspersions, and the eagerness with which they were received, he resolved to right himself by a public trial. He therefore demanded from the lords of the admiralty the sitting of a court-martial upon his conduct, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of Nelson that he should remain on the station, and await the expected engagement, in which his reputation would be fully cleared. On finding, however, that his brother-admiral was impatient of an hour's delay until his character was vindicated, the hero of the Nile sent him home in the *Prince of Wales*, his own ship of ninety guns, to do Calder the greater honour, although such a diminution from the fleet could be ill spared at that period. On the arrival of the vessel at Spithead, the court-martial was held on board on the 23d of December, 1805. After the witnesses had been examined, Sir Robert entered upon his defence. He quoted several recent cases in which our best naval commanders had refrained from the renewal of an encounter without any impeachment of the propriety of their forbearance. He stated that the Rochefort and Ferrol squadrons, to the number of twenty sail of the line, were supposed to be at sea when the battle of the 22d of July occurred; and that had he waited for their junction with the enemy, whose force already so greatly exceeded his own, he must have been utterly overpowered. Even had he been only disabled in the encounter, these united squadrons might have pressed onward for Ireland, or even for England, and thus have facilitated the long-threatened invasion of our country. In this case, it was necessary to preserve his fleet for ulterior operations instead of risking a renewal of the action, and the more especially, that on the morning after the battle, he found himself eight or nine miles to leeward, while some of his ships were so greatly disabled, that they could not carry sufficient sail to windward, and others were wholly out of sight. Matters being such, and believing that the design of the enemy was to reach Ferrol, and there unite with the blockaded squadron, he had done what he could: he had thrown himself between the port of Ferrol and the combined fleet for two days under an easy press of sail, neither offering nor shunning an encounter; and as often as the enemy menaced a renewal of action, he had accepted the challenge by hauling up his wind. All this he stated at large, and with the most convincing perspicuity; and at the close he burst forth with indignant eloquence upon the wrong with which himself and his brave companions had been treated, and the manner in which his despatches had been mutilated, and some important parts of them suppressed. But his arguments and his eloquence were in vain; a scape-goat was needed to carry off upon its innocent head the manifold blunders of the admiralty, and Sir Robert Calder had been selected for this office. His defence accordingly was overruled, and on the 26th the following sentence was pronounced:—"The court is of opinion, that the charge of not having done his utmost to renew the engagement, and to take and destroy every ship of the enemy, has been proved against the said Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder; that it appears that his conduct has not been actuated either by cowardice or disaffection, but has arisen solely from error in judgment, and is highly censurable, and doth adjudge him to be severely reprimanded; and the said Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder is hereby severely reprimanded accordingly."

It would be ridiculous, in the present day, when

the conduct of this gallant admiral is so well understood, and the greatness of his services so thoroughly appreciated, to allude to the injustice of such a sentence. It stands solitary and aloof, with the brand upon its forehead, and can only now condemn none but its authors. In the defence of Sir Robert Calder, we perceive that he had made an indignant allusion to the mutilation and curtailment of his despatches. This serious charge unfortunately was too true, and the admiralty itself was guilty of the crime. In their published account, the following passage of Sir Robert was retained:—"The enemy are now in sight to windward; and when I have secured the captured ships, and put the squadron to rights, I shall endeavour to avail myself of any further opportunity that may offer to give you a further account of these combined squadrons." In consequence of this announcement, a meeting between the hostile fleets for the renewal of the contest was anticipated; and as the hours went onward, the public ear in London was on the alert for the firing of the Tower guns, to announce a glorious victory. But the following passage, which would have abated this ardour, was omitted:—"At the same time, it will behove me to be on my guard against the combined squadrons in Ferrol, as I am led to believe that they have sent off one or two of their crippled ships last night for that port; therefore, possibly I may find it necessary to make a junction with you immediately off Ushant with the whole squadron." Had the admiralty published this part of Sir Robert's despatch, as they ought to have done, the nation would have seen at once that it was impossible, with only fourteen ships ready for action, to encounter the opposite eighteen, should the latter be joined by the twenty line-of-battle ships whose arrival was hourly expected. But a sensation was to be produced, and hope excited, and therefore the chilling paragraph was fraudulently withheld. And when no victory ensued, the perpetrators of this deed endeavoured to conceal their blunder, and avert the public wrath, by a condemnation that ought to have fallen, not upon Calder, but upon themselves.

Although the sentence of the court-martial was expected to soothe the popular disappointment, and for a short time succeeded, yet let no statesman venture upon such experiments with the British public. John Bull is reckoned indeed the very type of gullibility, and with good reason; but the honesty of heart in which this weakness originates is sure to recover the ascendancy, and examine the trial anew, in which case, the false witness and unrighteous judge have equally cause to tremble. Thus it was in the case of Sir Robert Calder. The public began to suspect that he had been unjustly dealt with, and further inquiry only strengthened the suspicion. The same feeling, although more tardily, at length obtained entrance into head-quarters; and in 1810 Mr. Yorke, then first lord of the admiralty, ventured to express his conviction that Sir Robert had deserved very different treatment. In parliament, also, the same sentiment was expressed by the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Romney. The result of this return to a proper feeling, was the offer to Sir Robert, on the part of Mr. Yorke, of the important command of Plymouth, which the former accepted as a testimony of his acquittal and recognition of his public services and worth. After Sir Robert Calder had held the appointment for three years, he died at Holt, near Bishop's Waltham, in Hants, on the 31st of August, 1818, in the 74th year of his age.

CALDERWOOD, DAVID, an eminent divine and ecclesiastical historian. The year of his birth,

the place of his education, and the character of the family from which he was descended, are all alike unknown. The earliest ascertained fact of his life is his settlement, in 1604, as minister of Crailing, in Roxburghshire. Being a zealous supporter of the principles of presbytery, he set himself with all his might to oppose the designs of the court, which aimed at the introduction of a moderate episcopacy. In 1608, when the Bishop of Glasgow paid an official visit to the synod of Merse and Teviotdale, Mr. Calderwood gave in a paper declining his jurisdiction. For this act of contumacy he was confined for several years to his parish, so as to prevent his taking any share in the public business of the church. In the summer of 1617 King James paid a visit to Scotland, for the purpose of urging forward his episcopal innovations. On this occasion, while the parliament was considering how to intrust powers of ecclesiastical supremacy to the king, the clergy were convened to deliberate in a collusive manner, so that everything might appear to be done with the consent and approbation of the church. This assemblage was attended by the bishops, who affected to consider it an imitation of the *convocations* of the English Church. Calderwood, being now permitted to move about, though still forbidden to attend synods or presbyteries, appeared at this meeting, which he did not scruple to proclaim as in no respect a convocation, but simply a free assembly of the clergy. Finding himself opposed by some friends of the bishops, Mr. Calderwood took leave of them in a short but pithy speech, allusive to the sly attempts of the king to gain the clergy, by heightening their stipends:—"It was absurd," he said, "to see men sitting in silks and satins, crying poverty in the kirk, while purity was departing." He assisted, however, at another meeting of the clergy, where it was resolved to deliver a protest to parliament against a particular *article*, or *bill*, by which the power of framing new laws for the church was to be intrusted to an ecclesiastical council appointed by the king. This protest was signed by Mr. Archibald Simpson, as representing all the rest, who, for his justification, furnished him with a roll containing their own signatures. One copy of the document was intrusted to a clergyman of the name of Hewat, who, having a seat in parliament, undertook to present it. Another remained with Mr. Simpson, in case of accident. Mr. Hewat's copy having been torn in a dispute with Archbishop Spottiswoode, Mr. Simpson presented his, and was soon after called before the tyrannical court of high commission, as a stirrer up of sedition. Being pressed to give up the roll containing the names of his abettors, he acknowledged it was now in the hands of Mr. David Calderwood, who was then cited to exhibit the said roll, and, at the same time, to answer for his seditious and mutinous behaviour. The commission court sat at St. Andrews, and the king having come there himself, had the curiosity to examine Mr. Calderwood in person. Some of the persons present came up to the peccant divine, and, in a friendly manner, counselled him to "come in the king's will," that his majesty might pardon him. But Mr. Calderwood entertained too strong a sense of the propriety and importance of what he had been doing, to yield up the point in this manner. "That which was done," he said, "was done with deliberation." In the conversation which ensued betwixt the king and him, the reader will be surprised to find many of the most interesting points of modern liberty asserted with a firmness and dignity worthy of an ancient Roman.

King. What moved you to protest?

Calderwood. An article concluded among the laws of the articles.

King. But what fault was there in it?

Calderwood. It cutteth off our General Assemblies.

King. (After inquiring how long Mr. Calderwood had been a minister.) Hear me, Mr. David, I have been an older keeper of General Assemblies than you. A General Assembly serveth to preserve doctrine in purity from error and heresy, the kirk from schism, to make confessions of faith, to put up petitions to the king in parliament. But as for matters of order, rites, and things indifferent in kirk policy, they may be concluded by the king, with advice of bishops and a choice number of ministers.

Calderwood. Sir, a General Assembly should serve, and our General Assemblies have served these fifty-six years, not only for preserving doctrine from error and heresy, but also to make canons and constitutions of all rites and orders belonging to the kirk. As for the second point, as by a competent number of ministers may be meant a General Assembly, so also may be meant a fewer number of ministers than may make up a General Assembly.

The king then challenged him for some words in the protestation.

Calderwood. Whatsoever was the phrase of speech, we meant nothing but to protest that we would give passive obedience to his majesty, but could not give active obedience to any unlawful thing which should flow from that article.

King. Active and passive obedience!

Calderwood. That is, we will rather suffer than practise.

King. I will tell thee, man, what is obedience. The centurion, when he said to his servants, to this man, go, and he goeth; to that man, come, and he cometh: that is obedience.

Calderwood. To suffer, sir, is also obedience; howbeit, not of that same kind. And that obedience, also, was not absolute, but limited, with exception of a countermand from a superior power.

Secretary. Mr. David, let alone [cease]; confess your error.

Calderwood. My lord, I cannot see that I have committed any fault.

King. Well, Mr. Calderwood, I will let you see that I am gracious and favourable. That meeting shall be condemned before ye be condemned; all that are in the file shall be filed before ye be filed, provided ye will conform.

Calderwood. Sir, I have answered my libel. I ought to be urged no further.

King. It is true, man, ye have answered your libel; but consider I am here; I may demand of you when and what I will.

Calderwood. Surely, sir, I get great wrong, if I be compelled to answer here in judgment to any more than my libel.

King. Answer, sir! ye are a refractor: the Bishop of Glasgow, your ordinary, and the Bishop of Caithness, the moderator of your presbytery, testify ye have kept no order; ye have repaired neither to presbyteries nor synods, and in no wise conform.

Calderwood. Sir, I have been confined these eight or nine years; so my conformity or nonconformity, in that point, could not be well known.

King. Good faith, thou art a very knave. See these self-same puritans; they are ever playing with equivocations.

Finally, the king asked, "If ye were relaxed, will ye obey or not?"

Calderwood. Sir, I am wronged, in that I am forced to answer questions beside the libel; yet, seeing I must answer, I say, sir, I shall either obey

you, or give a reason wherefore I disobey; and, if I disobey, your majesty knows I am to lie under the danger as I do now.

King. That is, to obey either actively or passively.

Calderwood. I can go no further.

He was then removed. Being afterwards called up, and threatened with deprivation, he declined the authority of the bishops to that effect; for which contumacy he was first imprisoned in St. Andrews, and then banished from the kingdom. When we read such conversations as the above, we can scarcely wonder at the civil war which commenced twenty years afterwards, or that the efforts of the Stuarts to continue the ancient arbitrary government of England were finally ineffectual.

Mr. Calderwood continued to reside in Holland from the year 1619 till after the death of King James, in 1625. Before leaving his country he published a book on the Perth assembly, for which he would certainly have been visited with some severe punishment, if he had not been quick to convey himself beyond seas. In 1623 he published, in Holland, his celebrated treatise, entitled, *Allure Damascusum*, the object of which was to expose the insidious means by which the polity of the English church had been intruded upon that of Scotland. King James is said to have been severely stung in conscience by this work. He was found very pensive one day by an English prelate, and being asked why he was so, answered, that he had just read the *Altar at Damascus*. The bishop desired his majesty not to trouble himself about that book, for he and his brethren would answer it. "Answer that, man!" cried the king sharply; "how can ye? there is nothing in it but Scripture, reason, and the fathers." An attempt was made, however, to do something of this kind. A degraded Scottish gentleman, named Scott, being anxious to ingratiate himself at court, published a recantation as from the pen of Mr. Calderwood, who, he believed and alleged, was just dead. There was only one unfortunate circumstance against Mr. Scott. Mr. Calderwood soon let it be known that he was still alive, and of the same way of thinking as ever. The wretched impostor is said to have then gone over to Holland and sought for Mr. Calderwood, in order to render his work true by assassinating him. But this red ink postscript was never added, for the divine had just returned to his native country.

Mr. Calderwood lived in a private manner at Edinburgh for many years, chiefly engaged, it is supposed, in the unobtrusive task of compiling a history of the Church of Scotland, from the death of James V. to that of James VI. His materials for this work lay in Knox's *History*, Mr. James Melville's *Observations*, Mr. John Davidson's *Diary*, the acts of parliament and assembly, and other state documents.

The work, in its original form, was long deemed too large for publication, although manuscript copies were preserved in the archives of the church, Glasgow university, the Advocates' Library, and the library of the British Museum, London. At length, however, the copy in the last-mentioned place was published by the Wodrow Society in 1843. On the breaking out of the troubles in 1638, Mr. Calderwood appeared on the public scene as a warm promoter of all the popular measures. At the Glasgow assembly in that year, and on many future occasions, his acquaintance with the records of the church proved of much service. He now also resumed his duty as a parish minister, being settled at Pencaitland, in East Lothian. In 1643 he was appointed one of the committee for drawing up the directory for public worship, and in 1646 an ab-

stract of his church history was published under the care of the General Assembly. At length, in 1651, while Cromwell's army occupied the Lothians, Mr. Calderwood retired to Jedburgh, where, in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of his earliest ministrations, he sickened and died at a good old age.

CALLANDER, JOHN, of Craigforth, an eminent antiquary, was born in the early part of the eighteenth century. He was the descendant of John Callander, his majesty's master-smith in Scotland, who seems to have been an industrious money-making person, and who, tradition says, acquired part of his fortune from a mistake on the part of government in paying in pounds *sterling* an account which had been stated in *Scots* money. The estate of Craigforth, which originally belonged to Lord Elphinstone, was in 1684 purchased by Mr. Alexander Higgins, an advocate, who became embarrassed by the purchase, and conveyed his right to — Callander, from whom he had obtained large advances of money. From that period the estate has remained in the possession of the family, notwithstanding the strenuous exertions of Higgins to regain it; and of this family the subject of the present memoir was the representative.¹ Of his private history, very little has been collected; nor would it probably have much interest to our readers.² The next work published by him was *Terra Australis Cognita, or Voyages to the Terra Australis, or Southern Hemisphere, during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries*, Edinburgh, 1766; 3 vols. 8vo, a work translated from the French of De Brosse. It was not till thirteen years afterwards that he gave to the world his *Essay towards a Literal English Version of the New Testament in the Epistle to the Ephesians*, printed in quarto at Glasgow, in 1779. This very singular production proceeds upon the principle of adhering rigidly to the order of the Greek words, and abandoning entirely the English idiom. As a specimen of the translation, the 31st verse of chapter v. is here transcribed. "Because of this shall leave a man, the father of him, and the mother, and he shall be joined to the wife of him, and they shall be even the two into one flesh." The notes to the work are in Greek, "a proof, certainly," as has been judiciously remarked, "of Mr. Callander's learning, but not of his wisdom" (*Orme's Bibliotheca Biblica*, p. 74). After it followed the work by which Mr. Callander is best known: *Two Ancient Scottish Poems: The Gabelunzie Man, and Christ's Kirk on the Green, with notes and observations*. Edin. 1782, 8vo. It would seem that he had for some time meditated a dictionary of the Scottish language, of which he intended this as a specimen, but which he never prepared for publication. His principle, as an etymologist, which consists "in deriving the words of every language from the radical sounds of the first or original tongue, as it was spoken by Noah and the builders of Babel," is generally considered fanciful, and several instances have been given by Chalmers and others of the absurdity of his derivations.

In April, 1781, Mr. Callander was, without any

solicitation on his part, elected a fellow of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, which had been formed in the preceding November, by the late Earl of Buchan; and in the first list of office-bearers his name appears as secretary for foreign correspondence. Along with several other donations, he presented them, in August of the same year, with the *Fragmenta* already mentioned, and with the MS. notes on *Paradise Lost*, in nine folio volumes. For more than forty years these annotations remained unnoticed in the society's possession, but at length a paper, written, it is supposed, by the respectable biographer of the Admirable Crichton and Sir Thomas Craig, appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, in which Callander is charged with having, without acknowledgment, been indebted for a large proportion of his materials to the labours of Patrick Hume, a Scotsman who published a huge folio of 321 pages on the same subject, at London, in 1695. At the suggestion of Mr. David Laing, a committee was appointed in 1826 to examine the MSS., and present the result to the society. From the report³ drawn up by Mr. Laing, it appears that, although there are some passages in which the analogy between Callander's remarks and those of Hume are so close that no doubt can be entertained of the one having availed himself of the notes of the other, yet that the proportion to the whole mass is so small, that it cannot be affirmed with truth the general plan or the largest portion of the materials of the work are derived from that source. On the other hand, it is candidly admitted that no acknowledgment of his obligations to his fellow-countrymen are made by Mr. Callander; but unfortunately a preface, in which such obligations are generally noticed, has never been written for, or, at all events, is not attached to, the work. According to the testimony of Bishop Newton, the work by Hume contains "gold;" but it is concealed among "infinite heaps of rubbish;" to separate them was the design of the learned bishop, and our author seems to have acted precisely upon the same principle. Nor does he confine himself merely to the commentaries of Hume; he avails himself as often, and to as great an extent, of the notes of Newton, and of the other contemporary critics.

Besides the works already mentioned, Mr. Callander seems to have projected several others. A specimen of a *Bibliotheca Septentrionalis* was printed in folio in 1778. *Proposals for a History of the Ancient Music of Scotland, from the age of the venerable Ossian, to the beginning of the sixteenth century*, in quarto, 1781; and a specimen of a *Scoto-gothic glossary* is mentioned in a letter to the Earl of Buchan in 1781. He also wrote "*Vindicia Miltoniana*, or a refutation of the charges brought against Milton by [the infamous] William Lauder." The publication of this work was, however, rendered unnecessary from the appearance of the well-known vindication by Dr. Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. This was, perhaps, fortunate for its author; not aware of Lauder's character, he had taken it for granted that all his quotations from Milton's works were correct, but he soon found that he had defended the poet where "he stood in no need of any apology to clear his fame." It is probably hardly worth mentioning, that he also projected an edition of Sir David Lindsay's *Satyre*, to be accompanied by a life of Lindsay from the pen of George Paton, which he does not seem to have accomplished.

"Mr. Callander," says the editor of *Paton's Letters*,⁴

¹ *Letters from Bishop Percy, &c., to George Paton*. Preface, p. vii.

² Though a member of the Scottish bar, the early part of his life seems to have been devoted to classical pursuits, in which it is acknowledged he made great proficiency. A considerable portion of the results of these studies was presented by him to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, in August, 1781. His MSS., which are entitled *Spicilegium Antiquitatis Græcæ, sive ex Veteribus Poetis Deperdita Fragmenta*, are in five volumes folio. The same researches were afterwards directed to the illustration of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, of which a specimen, containing his annotations on the first book, was printed at Glasgow, by Messrs. Foulis, in 1750 (4to, p. 167). Of these notes an account will afterwards be given.

³ See *Trans. of the Soc. of Scot. Antig.* vol. 3, part i. pp. 84-89.

⁴ *Letters from Thomas Percy, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Dromore, John Callander, of Craigforth, Esq., David Herd, and others, to George Paton*. Edinburgh, 1830, 12mo, p. x.

"was, for many years, particularly distinguished for his companionable qualities. He had a taste for music, and was an excellent performer on the violin. Latterly he became very retired in his habits, saw little company, and his mind was deeply affected by a religious melancholy, which entirely unfitted him for society. He died at a good old age, upon the 14th September, 1789. By his wife, who was of the family of Livingston of Westquarter, he had seventeen children. His great-grandson is at present in possession of the estate."

CAMERON, DONALD, of Lochiel. This gallant Highland chief, who united such amiable manners and attractive accomplishments to the proverbial hardihood and valour of his race, that his name has descended to us under the title of "the gentle Lochiel," occupies the most conspicuous place in the history of the unfortunate rebellion of 1745; and may be considered as the fairest type of those chivalrous men by whom such a romantic lustre has been thrown over Jacobite loyalty and devotedness. He was grandson of that Sir Ewen Cameron, chief of Lochiel, of whom so many remarkable stories have been told, that he passes among Lowlanders as the Amadis de Gaul, or Guy of Warwick of the Highlands. Not the least remembered of these was his supreme contempt for Saxon effeminacy, so that, in a night bivouac among the snow, he kicked a snowball from under his son's head exclaiming, "What, are you become so luxurious that you cannot sleep without a pillow?" John Cameron of Lochiel, the father of Donald, for the share he had taken in the rebellion of 1715, was obliged to escape to France, and in consequence of his attainder, the subject of this notice succeeded to the estates of his ancestors, and chieftainship of the clan. On account of his father being still alive, he was commonly called by the Highlanders "Young Lochiel," although he was of mature age when he entered the field; but the precise year of his birth we are unable to discover.

As the grandfather and father of Donald had been steadfast adherents to the cause of the Stuarts, and as the clan Cameron was both numerous and powerful, the Chevalier de St. George opened a correspondence with the present chief, and invested him with full powers to negotiate in Scotland for the restoration of the exiled dynasty. Such was the state of affairs when the young Pretender, accompanied by only seven attendants, landed upon the western coast, and sent tidings to all his adherents in the neighbourhood of his arrival and its purposes. They were astounded at the intelligence. Had he come at the head of a strong reinforcement of foreign troops, and supplied with money for the expenses of a campaign, the whole Highlands might have been armed in his cause, and the result would scarcely have been doubtful; but, on the present occasion, the Highland chieftains well knew that the hope of overturning three kingdoms by their own resources was utter madness, and that the attempt would only precipitate themselves and their followers into certain destruction. But now the prince was among them, and all but alone: he had thrown himself upon their loyalty, and could they requite it with ingratitude? Such was the generous disinterested feeling with which the chiefs embarked in this desperate undertaking, and not from overweening confidence in their own valour, or hope of the rewards of conquest. They saw nothing before them but death on the field or the scaffold; and although their first success tended to remove these gloomy forebodings, they returned in full strength with the retreat from Derby, and were confirmed upon the field of Culloden.

In all these fears Lochiel fully participated. As soon, therefore, as he heard of the prince's arrival, he sent his brother, Dr. Archibald Cameron, to warn him of the consequences of the enterprise. This the Doctor did faithfully and earnestly; he even told the prince that his brother could not and would not join him under such circumstances. But he spoke to the son of a doomed race, whom no warnings could enlighten. Still, however, Charles felt that without the co-operation of Lochiel it was useless to advance, and he therefore sent Macdonald the younger, of Scothouse, requesting a personal interview with the Cameron at Borodale. Perhaps he was aware of the marvellous power that accompanies the petitions of a prince. The chief complied with an invitation which he could not well refuse, but he set out with a firm resolution to have nothing to do with the prince's undertaking. This he expressed to his brother, John Cameron of Fassefern, upon whom he called on his way. As soon as Fassefern learned that Charles had arrived without money, arms, or troops, he approved of his brother's purpose not to join the expedition, and advised him to communicate this by letter; but when Lochiel persisted in continuing his journey to Borodale, as the best opportunity for justifying his refusal, Fassefern replied, "Brother, I know you better than you know yourself. If this prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases."

In the interview that followed between the prince and his chivalrous adherent, this prediction was too well verified. The latter stated that, as his royal highness had come without the promised supplies in men and money, the Highland chiefs were released from their engagements; and he advised Charles to return to France, and await a more favourable opportunity. To this the prince replied that no such opportunity as the present might again occur—that most of the British troops were abroad, and the few newly-raised regiments at home would be unable to withstand the army of Highlanders that could be brought into the field, and that a few advantages at the outset would insure him effectual assistance both at home and from abroad. Unpersuaded by these arguments, which were more showy than solid, Lochiel advised a middle course: this was, that the prince should dismiss his attendants and his ship, the *Doutelle*, back to France, so that it might be thought that himself had returned with them, and that, in the meantime, his highness might remain concealed in the Highlands until the court of France could send over an armament to their aid. This, however, Charles rejected, declaring that the court of France would never believe he had a party in Scotland until an insurrection had actually commenced. Thus driven from every point of dissuasion, Lochiel had recourse to his last inducement, by entreating that his highness would remain at Borodale until the Highland chiefs could be assembled, when they might deliberate in concert what was best to be done; but this prudent proposal Charles also refused. "In a few days," he exclaimed, "and with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors—to win it, or to perish in the attempt: Lochiel, whom my father has often told me was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and from the newspapers learn the fate of his prince." This taunt, which touched so keenly the honour of the high-minded chief, decided him at once, and he cried, "No! I'll share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power!" In this way "the gentle Lochiel" was over-

thrown and taken captive by what many will reckon a mere punctilio. In his case, too, it was the more to be regretted, as not only his own fate and that of his clan was at stake, but the introduction of a civil war, which, but for his example, would either not have happened, or have begun and terminated in a petty skirmish.

Having gained over a chief so influential, the Pretender thought that he might proceed at once to action, and accordingly he announced his purpose to raise the royal standard on the 19th of August at Glenfinnan, where all his Highland adherents were warned to be in readiness. In the meantime Lochiel went home to muster his clan for the gathering. When the period arrived, Charles, who had now been three weeks in the Highlands without the secret being divulged, embarked from Kinlochmoidart, with twenty-five attendants in three boats, and reached Glenfinnan on the morning of the rendezvous. And dreary was the prospect that welcomed him to his expected kingdom, for he found himself in a dark narrow glen, bounded on both sides by high rocky mountains; and instead of the gallant muster of impatient clans by whom he hoped his coming would be greeted, there were no persons but the inhabitants of the few wretched hovels sprinkled at wide intervals along the glen, who stood at their doors, or among the distant precipices, to gaze at the arrival of the strangers. Dispirited at this appearance of remissness on the part of his friends, Charles retired to one of these hovels, where, after two anxious hours of suspense, his ears were gladdened by the sound of a distant bagpipe. It was the clan Cameron hastening to the trysting-place, with Lochiel at their head. They were from 700 to 800 strong, while in point of arms, discipline, and equipments, they formed the *élite* of that rebel army by which such singular successes were obtained both in Scotland and England. The Camerons also did not come to the meeting empty-handed, for they brought with them, as prisoners, a party of the royalist soldiers who had been surprised in the neighbourhood of Loch Lochie. On the arrival of Lochiel and his followers, Charles, without waiting for the rest of the clans, proclaimed war in due form against the "Elector of Hanover," raised his silk banner of white, blue, and red, and proclaimed his father sovereign of the British empire. After this ceremony new volunteers arrived, by which the prince soon found himself at the head of 1200 men. With such an army, where nearly one half were very imperfectly armed, and with only one guinea in his pocket when he reached the fair city of Perth, the young Chevalier commenced his daring march for the overthrow of three kingdoms. It has often been reckoned one of the maddest freaks in military history; but how would it have been characterized had it succeeded, which it almost did? The wonderful successes of Montrose, with means as inadequate, were not yet forgotten in the Highlands.

The rest of the career of Lochiel is so closely connected with the events of the campaign of 1745, that a full detail of them would necessarily include a narrative of the whole rebellion. We can, therefore, only specify a few particulars. The town of Perth, which fell into the hands of the insurgents after they commenced their descent into the Lowlands, was taken by a party of the Camerons. On crossing the Forth the great difficulty was to restrain the Highlanders from plundering, as they committed much havoc among the sheep, which they hunted and shot as if they had been hares, and cooked in their own rude fashion. A summary act of justice executed by Lochiel upon one of these marauders is thus

described by Dugald Graham, the Homer of this eventful rebellion:—

"This did enrage the Camerons' chief,
To see his men so play the thief;
And finding one into the act,
He fired, and shot him through the back;
Then to the rest himself addressed:—
'This is your lot, I do protest,
Who'er amongst you wrongs a man;
Pay what you get, I tell you plain;
For yet we know not friend or foe,
Nor how all things may chance to go.'"

It was a just and humane order, enforced by politic considerations, and as such it must have greatly aided in procuring for the wild miscellaneous army that character for forbearance by which it was afterwards distinguished. On reaching Edinburgh, which had closed its gates and refused to surrender, Charles, with the army of Sir John Cope at his heels, was anxious to place his wild followers within the walls of the ancient capital, but without the bloodshed and odium of a storm. This resolution, which was so congenial to the character of Lochiel, the gallant chief undertook to execute; and with a select detachment of 900 men he marched by night to the city gates, which, however, were too jealously watched to give him access. While he waited for an opportunity, a hackney coach, filled with deputies, that had been sent from the town-council to the prince's head-quarters, and were returning home by the Canongate, suddenly appeared. As soon as the gate opened to admit them, a party of Highlanders rushed in, disarmed the guards in a twinkling, and cleared the way for their fellows. In this way Edinburgh was captured without shedding a drop of blood, or even making so much noise as to disturb the sleep of its inhabitants. Lochiel again appears on the very foreground of Prestonpans, the victory of which was chiefly attributed to his clan, by whom the dragoons were routed, and the royalist foot left wholly uncovered. In charging cavalry, which was a new event in Highland warfare, he ordered his men to rush forward boldly and strike at the noses of the horses with their broadswords, without caring about the riders; and the consequence was, that these formidable-looking cavaliers were chased off the field by a single onset. In the unsuccessful expedition into England which followed this victory, the Camerons were always found at their post, while the conduct of their chief was distinguished throughout the advance and retreat by the same combination of prudence, courage, and clemency. Strangely enough, however, it happened that he, the "gentle Lochiel," was, on one occasion, mistaken for a cannibal or an ogre. In England fearful tales had been reported of the Highlanders, and among others, that they had claws instead of hands, and fed upon human flesh. On that account, one evening, when he entered the lodging that had been assigned to him, the poor landlady threw herself at his feet, and besought him, with uplifted hands and weeping eyes, to take her life, but spare her two children. Astonished at this, he asked her what she meant, when she told him everybody had said that the Highlanders ate children as their common food. A few kind words sufficed to disabuse her; and opening the door of a press, she cried with a voice of joy, "Come out, children, the gentleman won't eat you," upon which the two little prisoners emerged from their concealment and fell at his feet.

At the winding up of this wild tragedy on Culloden Moor, Lochiel had his full share of disappointment and disaster. He was one of the advocates of a night surprise of the English army, and when the unsuccessful attempt was made, he was one of its principal

leaders. In the battle that followed next day the Camerons were described by eye-witnesses as advancing to the charge "with their bonnets pulled tightly over their brows, their bodies half-bent, their shields raised so as to cover the head and vital parts, and their broadswords quivering in their nervous gripe: they sprang forward upon their foes like crouching tigers, their eyes gleaming with an expression fierce and terrific to the last degree." The whole front rank fell; and, in spite of their devoted efforts to protect their chief, Lochiel himself received several severe wounds in the legs, and was carried off the field. Such was the termination which his own prudence had apprehended from the beginning, without needing the predictions of "the death-boding seer," but to which he had committed himself from a mistaken sense of honour. After this defeat, by which all the adherents of the Pretender were scattered and hunted upon their native mountains, Lochiel, having skulked for two months in his own district, at last withdrew to the borders of Rannoch, where he took up his abode in a miserable hovel on the side of the mountain Benalder, to be cured of his wounds. Here, on the morning of the 30th of August, 1746, he and his few attendants were startled by the unwelcome apparition of a party of men advancing to the dwelling: and thinking that they were enemies from the camp a few miles distant, who had tracked them to their hiding-place, they prepared to receive them with a volley of musketry. Their weapons were pointed for the occasion, and in another instant would have given fire, when Lochiel suddenly stopped them: he discovered that the strangers were no other than the prince himself, Dr. Cameron his brother, and a few guides, who had heard in their wanderings of his whereabouts, and were coming to visit him! One moment more and Charles might have lain stretched on the heath by the hand of the best and most devoted of his followers. On discovering who his visitor was, the chief, who was lamed in the ancles from his wounds, limped out to welcome him, and would have knelt upon the ground, when Charles prevented him with, "No, my dear Lochiel; we do not know who may be looking from the top of yonder hills, and if they see any such motions, they will immediately conclude that I am here." Seldom have prince and subject met under such circumstances of adversity. As the royal wanderer had long been a stranger to a comfortable meal, some minced collops were fried for him with butter in a large saucepan, to which the luxury of a silver spoon was added; and poor Charles, after partaking very heartily of these savoury viands, could not help exclaiming, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince!" Turning to Lochiel, he asked, "Have you always fared so well during your retreat?" "Yes, sir," replied the chief, "for nearly three months past I have been hereabout with my cousin Cluny; he has provided for me so well, that I have had plenty of such as you see, and I thank heaven your royal highness has got through so many dangers to take a part."

Soon after this meeting, two vessels of war, despatched by the French government, arrived, and in these Charles and about 100 of his adherents, of whom Lochiel was one, embarked at Loch-nanuagh, on the 20th of September. Soon after his arrival in France, Lochiel received the command of a regiment in the French service, to which the young Chevalier wished a title of British nobility to be added; but this the prince's father refused, observing very justly, that it would create envy in the other Highland chiefs, who might expect a similar distinction; and that Lochiel's interest and

reputation in his own country, and his being at the head of a regiment in France, would give him more consideration there than any empty title he could bestow. By this time, however, the mere question of a coronet was of little importance to the brave and good Lochiel, for he died in his place of exile in 1748. At his death he left two sons, of whom John, the eldest, succeeded to his father's regiment, but died in early life. Charles, the younger, who succeeded to the family claims of his brother, obtained leases from the British crown of parts of the family estate upon very easy terms, and received a commission in the 71st Highlanders, to which regiment he added a company of clansmen of his own raising. On the regiment being ordered for foreign service, his Camerons refused to embark without him, upon which, though he was dangerously ill in London, he hurried down to Glasgow to appease them, but found that this had been successfully done by Colonel Fraser of Lovat, the commander of the regiment. This violent exertion, however, was too much for his exhausted strength, so that he died soon afterwards. Nothing, it is said, could exceed the enthusiasm with which the arrival of Charles Cameron was welcomed by the citizens of Glasgow, for it was their conviction that his father had prevented their city from being plundered by the rebel army in 1745.

Another member of the Lochiel family still remains to be mentioned; this was Dr. Archibald Cameron, whose name has already occurred more than once in the course of this notice. After having endured his share of the hardships which befell the rebel army, and aided the prince in his wanderings among the Highlands, he was one of those who embarked at Loch-nanuagh, and reached France in safety. Some doubtful causes, however, not sufficiently explained, but which seem to have been altogether unconnected with politics, induced him to return to Scotland privately in 1749, and subsequently in 1753; but at his last visit he was apprehended, tried at London, and sentenced to be hanged at Tyburn, as one of the attainted persons who had been "out" in 1745. He was the last victim of the fears or the vengeance of government; and many even of its best friends thought that after so long an interval, and on account of his well-known amiable character, his life ought to have been spared.

CAMERON, SIR EWEN, of Lochiel. This fierce and gallant warrior, the grandfather of the "gentle Lochiel," in whom the character of a Highland chief of the seventeenth century was impersonated, was born at Castle Culchorn, a seat of the Earl of Breadalbane, in February, 1629. After the fashion of the Highlanders, who were wont so to distinguish the members of the same clan and name, he was called Ewen Dhu, from his dark complexion. When about the age of twelve, the education of the young chief was undertaken by the Marquis of Argyll, in whose hands he was a hostage for the peaceable behaviour of the Camerons; but Sir Ewen showed more inclination for hunting, shooting, fencing, and such exercises, than for books or the society of learned men. At the age of fourteen he was taken by the marquis to England, to be entered as a student at Oxford; but his lordship soon found the difficulty of managing such a ward, for on reaching Stirling on their journey, the youth, tired of the coercion of a coach, slipped away from his guardian, and travelled a whole day through the town and its neighbourhood, although the pestilence was at that time in Stirling, and of a most infectious and destructive character. At Berwick, where they made

a long stay, he entered into so many quarrels with the young gentlemen of the town, upon questions connected with the honour of his country, as to endanger his being knocked on the head; so that the marquis would not allow him to stir out of doors without two or three of his armed servants as a guard. The invasion of the Marquis of Montrose into Scotland, and the events preceding the battle of Philiphaugh, prevented the buoyant Highlander from prosecuting his journey and astonishing the peaceful students of Oxford; and having visited Sir Robert Spotiswood in prison after the defeat of Montrose, he was by that able and wily politician estranged from Argyle and his party and converted into a royalist.

When the young chief of the Camerons had reached the age of eighteen, he was set free from the guardianship of Argyle, and sent back to his own people. From want of other active occupation, he commenced a regular warfare against the wild beasts of the district, and made fearful destruction of the wolves and foxes, the last wolf seen in the Highlands having been slain with his own hand. The prospect of higher game, to which this was only preparatory, soon offered itself, by the refusal of Macdonald of Keppoch, chief of a tribe of the Macdonalds, to pay the annuity of a mortgage held by the chief of the Camerons upon an estate belonging to the former. To enforce payment, Lochiel came down into the territories of his creditor at the head of some hundreds of armed Camerons, and Keppoch was fain to listen to reason. Another similar quarrel occurred with Macdonald of Glengarry, who refused to pay some arrears of feu-duty which he owed to the chief of the Camerons, as lord-paramount of the territory of Knoidart, which the other occupied. Lochiel in this case used the same figure of persuasion, and with the same result. The attempt of the Earl of Glencairn, after the defeat of Charles II. at Worcester, to revive his majesty's cause in the Highlands was more attractive, however, to Lochiel than such petty feuds about money with his brother chiefs; and when the earl raised the royal standard in 1652, he joined him at the head of 700 of his clansmen. In this campaign, the courage of the young Lochiel, daring even to the extreme of rashness, was so much in character with the enterprise as to attract general notice. After behaving with remarkable gallantry in the engagement in which Glencairn was defeated, Lochiel, who had been successful against the English soldiers in several important skirmishes, withdrew his clan in safety to Lochaber. Instead of warring for the restoration of the king, he was now reduced to the necessity of acting upon the defensive, as General Monk, after reducing the Lowlands, was resolved to complete the conquest of the whole of Scotland by also reducing the Highlands to obedience.

This resolution of the English commonwealth was followed up with a military skill and also with a promptitude which the Highlanders had never witnessed in former invasions of their mountain territories; and either dismayed by the unexpected advance of Monk, or allured by the advantages they might derive from supporting the stronger cause, they either remained inactive or favoured the invaders. A detachment from the English army had advanced as far as Aberchalder, where Fort Augustus now stands, and Lochiel, who had mustered his followers for resistance, depended upon the co-operation of Keppoch and Glengarry, who had leagued with him against the common enemy. But these chiefs at such a crisis were more mindful of their former feud with Lochiel, than the safety or honour of their country, and neither of them would give him aid.

Thus left to his own resources, he was obliged to change the plan of combined warfare into a guerilla resistance, for which the country was well adapted. Annoyed by such an enemy, Monk endeavoured to disarm him by tempting promises. He offered to bestow upon him two large estates, to pay all his debts, and invest him with what rank in the army he pleased; but finding the gallant young chief inaccessible to such bribes, the English general returned to his previous design of establishing such a strong garrison at Inverloch, as would either reduce the Highlands to his mercy, or compel Lochiel to retire and confine himself to his own district. Two thousand of his most effective troops were accordingly conveyed thither by sea, with workmen and everything necessary for the erection of a fort and suitable defences.

The establishment of this formidable bridle of the Highlands was now the chief eyesore of the patriotic Lochiel; upon it his whole attention was concentrated, and to prevent or retard its completion became the chief object of his daring spirit of enterprise. While he hovered in the neighbourhood upon the watch, he learned that 300 men of the garrison, accompanied by some workmen, were to be sent across the loch, to bring in provisions, and cut down trees for timber in building; and although he had not more than thirty-eight men at hand, having dismissed the rest on various commissions, he resolved with his small handful to attack the party. The arrangements of the enemy favoured his design, for, dividing themselves, they sailed in two vessels to opposite sides of the loch, so that the vessel which landed on the side nearest to the Camerons had only 150 soldiers on board. Even yet, however, so great was the disparity in point of numbers, that some of the Camerons who had served with Montrose declared that the great marquis himself had never ventured such an attempt. Lochiel, however, persisted in his purpose of attack, and as the clansmen were chiefly apprehensive that in such an enterprise their chief would perish along with them, he tied his younger brother Allan to a tree, to reserve him as the future head of the Camerons; and being unable to spare a man for the purpose, he appointed a little boy to attend him. After these preparations and precautions, the chief marched half a mile westward to the village of Achadalew, which the English soldiers were at that moment in the act of pillaging, and judging this a favourable opportunity, he gave the signal of onset. A strange conflict immediately followed between the Highlanders, half of whom were only armed with bows and arrows, and the English, who were fully equipped and brave soldiers; but the latter, besides the unexpectedness of the attack, were confounded at the peculiar mode of a Highland assault, against which their discipline was rather a hindrance than a help. In the heat of the struggle Lochiel himself was in danger of being shot by an English musketeer, who had concealed himself behind a bush; but at this critical moment his brother Allan appeared, and shot the Englishman while the latter was about to pull the trigger. This arrival of Allan was owing to his impatience for the fight, in consequence of which he had prevailed upon the boy who waited on him to loose the cords with which he was tied to the tree, after which, although but a mere stripling, he plunged into the thickest of the conflict. Gallantly although the Highlanders contended with such odds, they were met with equal bravery, and it seemed as if discipline would at last prevail, for nothing disheartened them more than to see with what facility these Saxon enemies rallied when broken, and the courage with which they renewed the combat

instead of running away. But the nimbleness and ferocity of the Celts, and the advantage their strange mode of attack gave them, were finally successful; and the English, reduced to thirty-five men, fled in confusion to their ship, where they surrendered on the offer of quarter. Only four of the Camerons were lost in the action, and a fifth, who was Lochiel's foster-brother, who on observing an English officer taking aim at his chief, started forward, received the shot in his own bosom, and fell dead at the feet of his master. But such devotedness was so common among the Highlanders, that a different conduct would have formed a subject for their astonishment. With Highland devotedness we may also quote an instance of Highland simplicity. They had heard, and they believed, that the English had certain caudal appendages projecting from the quarter whence tails usually grow; and to find these they searched the dead bodies of the English with a solicitude worthy of the philosophic Lord Monboddo.

But of all the events of this remarkable skirmish, none was to be compared to a combat which took place between Lochiel and one of the enemy. He had given chase to a party along a by-way that led to a wood, and struck down two or three of the fugitives, when he was suddenly confronted by the officer of the party from behind a bush, where he had concealed himself. They were both alone, and between them a deadly conflict at once commenced. The combat was desperate, as each fought for life; and the advantages on both sides were so equal, that it was both long and doubtful. The English officer was superior both in strength and stature, but Lochiel excelled him in activity, so that at last, by a sudden stroke, he sent the sword out of the other's hand. On this the Englishman closed with his opponent, bore him to the ground, and fell with him, but uppermost; and in the close death-struggle they lay, until they both rolled into the channel of a dry brook, where Lochiel was almost helpless from the weight of the other, and the sharp stones upon which he had fallen. At last the Englishman got his right hand free, and drew his dagger; but just when he had raised his head in the act of dealing a fatal stab, Lochiel darted at the extended throat with his teeth, and bit with such bull-dog ferocity, as to tear away a whole mouthful of the officer's throat. This he afterwards declared was the sweetest bite that ever he had in his lifetime. It is needless, perhaps, to add that such a wound brought the combat to a close. This terrible duel Sir Walter Scott has copied in describing that between Roderick Dhu and Fitz-James. Great was now the renown of "the Cameron," who was extolled as the first of living heroes; and as his biographer expresses it, "his presence of mind in delivering himself from his terrible English antagonist, who had so much the advantage of him in everything but vigour and courage, by biting out his throat, was in every person's mouth." The garrison, when they saw the wounds of their dead companions, whose limbs were lopped off, and even their bodies almost cleft in twain, trembled at these evidences of the might of the mountain arm, and wondered what kind of mortals these Highlanders were who could deal such dreadful strokes.

In other skirmishes that followed Lochiel was so successful that his name became a word of terror to the garrison, so that they were cautious of venturing beyond the shelter of their walls. But the royalist cause, of which he was one of the most distinguished adherents, was weary of the struggle, and General Middleton, who had succeeded the Earl of Glencairn as its representative in Scotland, made submission to the existing government. Lochiel, thus finding himself

unsupported, and aware that he could no longer support such a conflict, in which the resources of the three kingdoms would be arrayed against him, resolved to obtain an honourable peace. To accomplish this he judged it best not to offer himself empty-handed, and he accordingly surprised three English colonels at an inn where they happened to reside, made them prisoners, and carried them off to a little island which his biographer calls Locharkike, almost ten miles north of the garrison, and situated in a fresh-water loch twelve miles in length, and covered with woods on both sides. Deep were the apprehensions of these colonels on account of the savages into whose hands they had fallen, and the ogre who commanded them—for, except to those who had visited the country in person, the Highlands was still a *terra incognita* both to Englishman and Lowlander. But the kind and simple manners of the primitive natives, and the courteous polished behaviour of Lochiel, agreeably undeceived them, so that at last they were anxious to bring such a landlord into good terms with the government. This was what the Highland chief desired, and accordingly Colonel Campbell, one of his hostages, and himself a Highlander, was sent to General Monk with overtures on the part of Lochiel, which were readily accepted. The past was to be buried in oblivion; no oaths or assurances beyond their word of honour was to be required from the Camerons for their future allegiance; and they were allowed to wear their arms as formerly, as far as was consistent with a peaceful behaviour. On these articles being confirmed, the cordiality with which the garrison and the clan, lately so irreconcilable, met for the first time, was truly marvellous. The clan Cameron, their chief, and its dhuine-wassails, attired in their best, and armed as if going to battle, marched to Inverlochry with pipes playing and colours displayed, and formed in two lines opposite the troops of the garrison, who were drawn up to welcome them; the articles of agreement were read with huzzas from both parties, and while the clan were treated with a plentiful dinner on the green, as they stood in their ranks, Lochiel and the gentlemen of his people were regaled at a banquet by the governor. After this peaceful settlement of his affairs, Lochiel, who had been several years in love with a lady whom his active and precarious life prevented from marrying, was now united to her in wedlock in 1657, and the happy event was solemnized by such a wedding as was long after remembered for its magnificence. On his return to Lochaber with his bride, and while all was happiness around him, an impoverished bard, whose three cows had been taken from him in the late wars, used the favourable moment for entreating restitution. This he did in a way most gratifying to Highlanders, for it was in sounding Gaelic verse, in which the chief, the principal Camerons, and the whole clan were successively eulogized in the most flattering style of hyperbole. A translation is given of it in the *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron*, both in prose and verse, from the latter of which we venture to select the following specimen:—

"Immortal chief! with early triumphs crown'd,
Thy conduct guides, thy courage gives the wound.
Matchless the guns, the bows well-backed and long,
Pointed the shafts, the sounding quivers strong;
Dreadful the swords, and vigorous are the hands
Of our well-bodied, fierce, and numerous bands—
Bands, whose restless fury scours the field,
Greedy of slaughter, and unknown to yield!

"Hence your fierce Camerons (for that name they bear)
As masters rule, and lord it everywhere.
E'en of such power might scepter'd monarchs boast!
Happy when guarded by so brave an host:
Ane host, whose matches no ane chief can tell,
In arms to equal, or in strength t'excel."

After having prepared the way by these and other such encomiums, the poet indicates the wrong he had suffered, and craves redress in the following modest language:—

"If, or your judgment does approve my song,
Or, if my sufferings claim redress of wrong—
Three cows well fed (nor more, alas! had I)
With drink and food sustain'd my poverty;
These I demand, oh! they the victims are
Of lawless ravage and destructive war."

But enough of this. It is more gratifying to state that Lochiel and the company present not only gratified the bard by giving him back his three cows, but also a gratuity of 300 merks in money, to encourage his poetical vein.

During the rest of the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, the chief of the Camerons submitted to a rule which it was useless to resist; but when General Monk undertook his memorable march from Scotland to London for the restoration of Charles II., he was accompanied, among other adherents of the king, by Lochiel. He was present also when Charles entered London. But although he was received with flattering distinction at court, and afterwards knighted by the Duke of York at Edinburgh, this was the only requital he received for his services; while, on the other hand, he sustained great annoyance as well as considerable loss both in estates and money, chiefly through the ex-tortions of Lauderdale, to whom the government of Scotland was committed. At last Lauderdale issued a commission of fire and sword against him, and intrusted its execution to several of the most powerful nobles both of the Highlands and Lowlands, who however were not anxious to carry it into effect. No one except the chief of the Macintoshes, who was a feudal enemy of Sir Ewen Cameron, readily undertook it; but as he endeavoured to accomplish it in the genuine Highland fashion, with a powerful array at his back, his adversary, who was skilled in such modes of controversy, confronted him in the same manner, and baffled his attempts. When this quarrel was composed, the Earl of Argyle, who at first had been on the side of Sir Ewen's enemies, invited the latter to spend a few days with him at Inverary, an invitation with which the other so readily complied, that he did not wait to denude himself of a beard of some days' growth. The earl offered him the services of his own valet-de-chambre, which were accepted, and the process of lathering and shaving went on in the room where they had been conversing. The earl's eye however was caught by sight of two grim Camerons, attendants of Lochiel, who stood with their backs planted against the door of the room, to hinder any one from entering, while their gaze was fixed, the one on the earl, and the other on the valet. He mentioned this circumstance to Lochiel, who protested his entire ignorance of the matter, and desired the earl to question the fellows himself. On this being done, one of these life-guards replied that, knowing the late feud of the earl against their master, they were apprehensive that he was not merely to be shaved but murdered, and that therefore they were resolved, if their suspicion proved true, first to despatch his lordship, and afterwards his servant. "But," said his lordship, "what do you think would have become of yourselves had you done such a thing?" "That we did not think upon," replied the Highlander boldly, "we were only resolved to revenge the murder of our chief."

The rest of the reign of Charles II. was spent by Lochiel in political controversies and legal bickerings for the preservation of his estate—a species of

warfare with which he was unacquainted, and in which he was certain to be worsted. As a devoted adherent of the house of Stuart, he was in arms to resist the invasion of the Earl of Argyle; and after the abdication of James VII., and from the same principle of loyalty, he joined Dundee, whose followers were powerfully reinforced by the clan Cameron. From his intimate knowledge of the Highlanders, and the best mode of employing their services in war, his advice was of important use to the expedition, and when those delays were proposed that would have been fit only for hired or trained soldiers, he urged the necessity of action, and the advantage of being the assailants. "He [Dundee] advised with Lochiel," says the biographer of the latter, "on every occasion, and always followed his opinion; and so much did he confide in his sufficiency that he often declared that he was the fittest person in the kingdom to command that army. They both loved fighting and adventurous actions, and were never known to differ in any one point; and Dundee said often that he could never have managed an army so different in costumes, humour, and discipline from those with whom he was bred, if it had not been for the lessons he daily had from him." The events of the battle of Killiecrankie are too well known to require repetition; it is enough to state that at the head of his clan Lochiel, though now an elderly man of threescore and three years, showed all the activity and all the intrepid courage of his youth, while his matured experience and the wisdom of his suggestions contributed materially to the victory. During the battle, the chief was closely attended by the son of his foster-brother, who waited at his side like a shadow; but soon after, on looking round, Lochiel missed his faithful follower. He perceived him however at a short distance in the agonies of death, and with his breast transfixed with an arrow. He told his sorrowing master, that, observing a Highlander in General Mackay's army taking aim at him with drawn bow, in the rear of the enemy, he had sprung forward, and received the shaft in his own bosom, to save the life of his chief. It was the same touching devotedness that had been exhibited by the father of this faithful follower at the desperate skirmish of Achadalew. Although the battle of Killiecrankie was so decided a victory to the Jacobites, it was more than counterbalanced by the death of their leader, Viscount Dundee, and the imbecility of his successor, General Cannon. After the battle Sir Ewen Cameron retired to Lochaber, leaving his men under the command of his eldest son. The resistance of the Highlanders had been maintained upon the understanding that an army from France was to be sent to their aid, with the ex-king James at its head; but as these promises had not been fulfilled, the Highland chiefs were assembled to decide whether they should continue the war by their own resources, or offer their submission to King William upon favourable terms. The greater part inclined to the latter alternative, while several of the bolder and more chivalrous spirits advocated a continued resistance. Among these, the most distinguished was Sir Ewen, and his arguments showed the principles in which the marvellous strength of Highland Jacobitism was chiefly founded. He declared that, whatever might be the sentiments of men who were actuated by no other principle but that of interest, he was certain that it was his duty, as a subject who had sworn allegiance to King James, to serve and obey him as long as he was able. As James was the lawful successor of the most ancient and illustrious race of monarchs in the world, so he [Sir Ewen] could not transfer his alle-

giance without a direct violation of the laws of God and man. Though a successful rebellion might change the names of things, yet it could never alter the nature of truth and justice, nor transform a violent intrusion to that of a lawful possession; and that, for his part, he was resolved that the dictates of his conscience should be the rule of his actions; and that even though the case were doubtful, yet, as a Highland chief, he thought himself bound to King James by the strongest ties of gratitude. After these considerations, which had their force with men like-minded with himself, Sir Ewen adverted to the golden promises held out by James to encourage the Highland resistance to the last—promises, however, which the fickle and deceitful ex-king was not likely to implement in the event of his restoration. "You all know," said Lochiel, "what that prince has done—or at least was resolved to do—if ever it pleased God to restore him to the throne of his ancestors. Nor are the last expressions of his royal goodness ever to be forgot, which he has been graciously pleased to transmit to us by the Earl of Seaforth. Our countrymen are the only persons he is to trust with the military part of the government of this kingdom; we are to have his pay as soldiers, with an indulgence either to live at home with our commands, or where it shall be most agreeable; and if any of us have capacities for offices in the civil government, we have his royal promise for it that we shall be preferred, according to our merits, to posts of honour and profit. Our children are to be educated under the royal eye; our country to be enriched, and our families aggrandized; so that, though our duty did not oblige us, the natural ties of gratitude and generosity ought to prevail over all other considerations, to make us endeavour in some measure to requite his royal favours." After these considerations, which were designed for the selfish and calculating of the party, the disinterested ancient chief ended his speech with the following characteristic declaration: "For my own part, gentlemen, I am resolved to be in my duty while I am able; and though I am now an old man, weakened by fatigue, and worn out by continual trouble, yet I am determined to spend the remainder of my life after my old manner, among mountains and caves, rather than give up my conscience and honour by a submission, let the terms be never so inviting, until I have my master's permission to do it; and no argument, or view of interest or safety, shall prevail with me to change this resolution, whatever may be the event."

This address prevailed, and the voice of the assembled chiefs was still for war. They unanimously agreed to remain in arms, and open a fresh campaign by a series of skirmishes until they were fully prepared for general action. But their generals, Cannon and Buchan, were sufficient to mar any enterprise. The preliminary skirmishes were ill concerted, and ended in failure; and before these events could ripen into serious overt acts, by which the Highland chiefs would have been committed, the utter defeat of James at the battle of the Boyne set the question, for the present at least, at rest. There was no further hope of the presence of James among them, or of reinforcements from France or Ireland; and as the government of William still kept the door open for reconciliation, the Highland chiefs resolved to embrace the opportunity, and submit on honourable terms. This, however, they would not do without the express permission of King James, and having obtained it, the terms of their surrender were readily accepted by the government. But it was with reluctance that Lochiel took

the benefit of the indemnity, and only accepted it when further resistance would have been worse than useless. His public career had now ended, and he disappeared from the page of history. His last peaceful years were spent among his clan, and he died in 1719, at the age of ninety. It is said that, notwithstanding all his desperate conflicts and hair-breadth escapes, he never received a wound, or lost a drop of blood. He was thrice married, and had four sons and eleven daughters. In his grandson, the "gentle Lochiel," we recognize the same gallantry, integrity, and loyalty as those which animated the heart of Sir Ewen, but softened and refined by those graces of education which Sir Ewen had not the means of acquiring.

CAMERON, JOHN. This was one of those learned theologians, the natural offspring of the Reformation, of whom the latter part of the sixteenth century, and earlier of the seventeenth, were so prolific. He was born at Glasgow about the year 1579, of respectable parents, but of whose position in life no statement has been given. He received his education at the schools, and finally at the university of his native city, at the latter of which he regented, and taught the Greek language. But being seized with the common desire of the Scottish students of that period to visit foreign parts, either to mature their acquirements, or find congenial society, John Cameron, after teaching a year in the college of Glasgow, went to France in the year 1600. Arriving at Bordeaux, his literary attainments excited the admiration of the two Protestant clergymen of the city, for, as we are told, "he spoke Greek with as much fluency and elegance as others could speak Latin"—a rare superiority in the scholarship of the period, which procured him the friendship of the learned Casaubon. Through the recommendations of the Protestant clergymen of Bordeaux, Cameron was appointed a regent in the newly founded college of Bergerai, where his office was to teach the classical languages; but soon after he was promoted to the higher office of professor of philosophy in the university of Sedan, by the Duc de Bouillon. In this conspicuous situation his character for learning was so greatly increased, that the Duke offered him the professorship of Greek in the same university, which Cameron however respectfully declined. He appears indeed to have possessed a full share of that restless disposition and love of change that might lead onward and upward, which were already noted as characteristics of his countrymen; and after remaining only two years at Sedan, he resigned his professorship, visited Paris, and afterwards returned to Bordeaux, where he was once more cordially welcomed.

He now had an opportunity of indulging his erratic disposition by being appointed in 1604 one of the students of divinity who were maintained at the expense of the French Protestant Church. They were thus to be prepared for its ministry when their services should be required, and in the meantime were at liberty to study in any Protestant college or school. Under this exhibition he became travelling guardian and tutor to the two sons of the Chancellor of Navarre; and while he held this office, Cameron spent with his charge one year at Paris, two at Geneva, and nearly a whole year at Heidelberg, superintending the education of his pupils, one of whom became a very accomplished Greek scholar. On the 4th of April, 1608, he gave at the university of Heidelberg a public proof of his talents by maintaining a series of theses *De triplici Dei cum Homine Fædere*, which have been included in his published works. During the same year the death of one of the Protestant min-

isters of Bordeaux occasioned the recall of Cameron, and he was appointed to fill the vacant charge, where he had Primrose, a learned man, his countryman and friend, for his colleague. He was not, however, to occupy this peaceful office undisturbed. More than any others, the Protestant church of France existed by the sufferance of the government, and was affected by every political change; and the parliament of Bordeaux was distinguished by its hatred of the ministers and adherents of the Reformation. This broke out in 1616, when the two ministers, Cameron and Primrose, were visited with prosecution upon very frivolous pretexts, which, however, was terminated speedily, and without harm. But it was not so in the following year, when two captains, who professed the Protestant creed, were accused of the crime of piracy, and sentenced to an ignominious death. An appeal which was presented in their behalf against the justice of the sentence before the parliament of Bordeaux was arbitrarily rejected, and the accused, whether guilty or not, were left for execution. They suffered with such Christian resignation, that Cameron, who had prepared them for their fate, and attended them in their last moments, published a tract entitled *Constance, Foy, et Résolution, à la mort des Capitaines Blanquet et Guillard*. But to publish such an account of the deaths of two men whom the parliament had condemned was thought little, if anything, less than high treason, and the pamphlet was burned by the hands of the common executioner.

From Bordeaux, where he had little prospect of peace, Cameron was transferred, in 1618, to the professorship of divinity in the university of Saumur, the principal seminary of French Protestantism. The church of Bordeaux affectionately clung to their minister, and appealed to the synod against his removal; but the verdict of the latter was, that "because of the pressing and urgent necessities of the said university of Saumur, which is of mighty concernment to all our churches in general, it doth now order and decree that Monsieur Cameron shall continue in the said professorship until the next national synod, and the church of Bordeaux to allow and approve thereof." At the university of Saumur he accordingly remained, where he had for his associate Dr. Duncan, one of those learned Scots who at this period were so numerous in France. Cameron was now at the height of his literary renown: his lectures were highly popular, and the celebrated Du Plessis Mornay was one of his frequent auditors. He also enjoyed in 1620 the coveted distinction of a public intellectual tournament. The formidable Daniel Tilenus, who had adopted the doctrines of Arminius, had expressed a wish to hold a public controversy with Cameron upon the doctrines of grace and free-will, to which the other readily assented; and the encounter was to take place at the house of a Protestant gentleman in the neighbourhood of Orleans. The two champions met, and the controversy was continued during four days, a full account of which was afterwards published at Leyden. At a time when orthodoxy was a matter of life-and-death importance, and when an error in belief which would now be considered trivial, was sufficient to convulse parliaments, and throw whole nations into commotion, suspicions had been whispered respecting the soundness of some of Cameron's views. Already, at the synod of Poitou, he had been charged with holding the opinion of Piscator touching the imputed righteousness of Christ, but this charge had been declared groundless by the national synod held at Alez. A similar accusation, founded upon his controversy with Tilenus, was adduced against him by the university of Leyden, where some of his ex-

planations were declared to be unsatisfactory, but these he justified in a brief reply. He also had upon his side, as advocate and defender, that great colossus of theological learning, Bochart, who was at that time a student of divinity.

The civil disturbances of France in 1620 had the effect of dispersing the students of the university of Saumur, and Cameron, with his family, took refuge in England. He commenced lecturing on theology, but privately, in London, until 1622, when James I. appointed him principal of the university of Glasgow, in the room of Robert Boyd, who had held the office, but was displaced for his devotedness to Presbyterian principles. Cameron, on the other hand, had a leaning to Episcopacy, and however this might recommend him to royal favour, it was not calculated to endear him to Glasgow, which already had become the stronghold of the anti-prelatic spirit of Scotland. The high learning and gentle ingratiating manners of Cameron not only tended to soften this dislike, but probably to win over adherents to his party; and Baillie himself acknowledged that these qualities of the principal and Mr. Struthers had almost succeeded in confirming him in his inclinations towards episcopal rule in the church. The stay of Cameron was short in Glasgow—not longer, indeed, than a twelvemonth. It is stated by Verneuil, a French writer of the period, that the reversion of his sentence of banishment in France, and his longing towards that country, were the causes of his leaving Glasgow. Calderwood, however, states that he was so disliked by the people, that he was forced to quit that city. His ideas of the right divine of kings, and the sinfulness of resisting their behests, however unreasonable, must have been too much for its sturdy half-republican citizens, who had little sympathy for the doctrines of passive obedience, and Cameron himself, as we have already hinted, was not so rooted in his attachments to any one place as to be unwilling to change it for another. At all events, leaving behind him not only the strict Presbyterianism of his native country on the one hand, but the favour of its sovereign on the other, he returned to France, and took up his abode once more in Saumur.

If Cameron had thus abandoned his high office in Glasgow, and left his native country in the hope of being exempt from opposition, and leading a life of peaceful study, he found little benefit by the change of locality. The same causes which were to end in a civil war in England were fermenting with still greater violence in France, so that at Saumur he was permitted nothing more than to read his lectures privately, instead of exercising the rights of a public teacher. In 1623 the province of Anjou appealed to the national synod of Charenton for the reinstatement of Cameron in his professorship; but the king announced his will that neither Cameron nor Primrose should hold any public office or employment in the churches or universities of France. The opposition of these clergymen to the Jesuits, and the successful manner in which they had exposed the sophistries and devices of the order, was the cause of this severe restriction: it was the usual policy of the Jesuits to silence those whom they were unable to refute. Cameron represented the hardships of his case to the synod. He might have obtained, he stated, very advantageous appointments out of the kingdom, which he had refused to accept, from his love and obligations to the churches of France; and that now, as he could neither hold office nor perform ministerial or academical duties, he was without employment, and destitute of the means of support. The synod recognized the justice of this appeal by voting him a gratuity of a thousand livres. At length

the king also relaxed in his favour, and he was allowed to accept the professorship of divinity in the university of Montauban, to which he removed near the end of 1624. But whether in France or Scotland, his political opinions were unsuitable, and himself out of his proper element. His doctrines of kingly right and passive obedience were distasteful even to his own party, who had been compelled to extort their privileges from loyalty with an armed hand; and on one occasion an individual treated him with such extreme and barbarous violence, that his health was injured, and his life in peril. Sick and weary of such a strife which he was unqualified to confront, he retired for relief to the neighbouring town of Moissac; but there his health found no recovery, so that he returned to Montauban, and died a few days afterwards. This occurred in 1625, when he was only forty-six years old. He left behind him a widow and several children, whose maintenance the French Protestant churches undertook, in consequence of the services of Cameron, and the high esteem in which his learning and character were held.

Of his personal appearance and character his pupil Cappel has left a full description, from which Dr. Irving has composed the following portrait. "With respect to his person, he was of the middle size, somewhat inclining to a spare habit, sound, but not robust in his constitution. His hair was yellow, his eyes were brilliant, and the expression of his countenance was lively and pleasant. He appeared to be always immersed in deep meditation, and was somewhat negligent in his apparel, and careless in his gait; but in his manners he was very agreeable, and although he was not without a considerable share of irritability, his anger was easily appeased, and he was very ready to acknowledge his own faults. One writer, of doubtful authority, has represented him as a person of consummate vanity, as a tedious preacher, and an endless talker: but this account is evidently to be received with a considerable degree of caution; and his distinguished pupil Cappel has exhibited his character in a most favourable light. According to his impression, he was a man of eminent integrity and piety, open, candid, and incapable of guile; faithful to his friends, and not spiteful to his enemies; of so liberal a turn of mind, that his generosity made some approach to profusion."

Such was Cameron in his person and disposition: of his learning there was but one opinion, however variously expressed. Sir Thomas Urquhart tells us that, in consequence of his universal reading, he obtained the title of "the walking library." Milton speaks of him in his *Tetrachordon* as "a late writer, much applauded, an ingenious writer, and in high esteem." Bishop Hall regarded him as the most learned writer that Scotland had produced. Simon, in his critical history of the principal commentators on the New Testament, bears witness to Cameron's intimate acquaintance with the principles of criticism, his exact knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and the skill with which he had elucidated the literal and grammatical sense of many passages in the sacred books which he professed to illustrate. And among our modern theologians, Dr. Pye Smith, a very high authority, considers Cameron as entitled to be classed among the most learned, judicious, and moderate interpreters, and declares that his annotations "are peculiarly valuable, and often anticipate the remarks of later and more celebrated writers."

Although he was so earnest a student, he is represented as having not been fond of writing; and that, when he took up the pen, it was chiefly from the solicitation of his friends, or the provocations of his

adversaries. But when he wrote, it was with rapidity and ease, and the amount of his writings is remarkable when we take into account the comparative shortness of his life. Either his indifference to posthumous fame, or the changes and vicissitudes of a restless life, prevented him from committing these productions to the press, and they were collected and published by his friends, chiefly from such copies as had been taken by his pupils. These, however, have been so highly valued, and so carefully preserved, that they have been transmitted to our own day. Soon after his death, his lectures delivered in the university of Saumur were published, under the following title, *Joh. Cameronis, S. Theologiae in Academia Salmurienſi nuper Professoris, Praelectiones in Selectiora quaedam N. T. Loca, Salmurii habitae. Salmurii, 1626-8, 3 tom. 4to.* A collection of his theological works was published at Geneva in one volume folio in 1642, entitled *Joannis Cameronis, Scoto-Britanni, Theologi eximii, τὰ συγγράμματα, sive Opera partim ab auctore ipso edita, partim post ejus obitum vulgata, partim nusquam hactenus publicata, vel e Gallico idiomate nunc primum in Latinam Linguam Translata: in unum collecta, et variiis indicibus instructa.*

CAMERON, RICHARD, an eminent martyr of the Scottish church, whose name is still retained in the popular designation of one of its sects, was the son of a small shopkeeper at Falkland in Fife. His first appearance in life was in the capacity of schoolmaster and preceptor of that parish under the Episcopal clergyman. But, being converted by the field preachers, he afterwards became an enthusiastic votary of the pure Presbyterian system, and, resigning those offices, went to reside as a preceptor in the family of Sir Walter Scott of Harden. From this place he was soon compelled to remove, on account of his refusal to attend the ministrations of the parish clergyman. He then fell into the company of the celebrated Mr. John Welch, and was by him persuaded to accept a license as a preacher. This honour was conferred upon him by Mr. Welch and another persecuted clergyman in the house of Haughhead in Roxburghshire; so simple was the ceremony by which these unfortunate ministers recruited their ranks. Cameron soon excited the hostility of the indulged Presbyterian clergy, by the freedom with which he asserted the spiritual independence of the Scottish church. He was, in 1677, reproved for this offence at a meeting of the Presbyterian clergy at Edinburgh. The indulged ministers having threatened to deprive him of his license, he was induced to promise that he would be more sparing in his invectives against them; an engagement which afterwards burdened his conscience so much as to throw him into a deep melancholy. He sought diversion to his grief in Holland, where his fervid eloquence and decided character made a strong impression upon the banished ministers. These men appear to have become convinced that his extraordinary zeal could end only in his own destruction, as Mr. Ward, in assisting at his ordination, retained his hand for some time upon the young preacher's head, and exclaimed, "Behold, all ye beholders, here is the head of a faithful minister and servant of Jesus Christ, who shall lose the same for his Master's interest, and it shall be set up before the sun and moon, in the view of the world." Cameron returned to his native country in 1680, and, although field-preaching had now been nearly suppressed by the severity of the government, he immediately recommenced that practice. It is necessary to be observed, that Cameron did not identify himself at any time with the Presbyterian clergy

in general; while his proceedings, so little squared by prudence or expediency, were regarded by his brethren with only a gentler kind of disapprobation than that which they excited in the government. The persecutors had now, by dint of mere brute force, reduced almost all men to a tacit or passive conformity; and there only held out a small remnant, as it was termed, who could not be induced to remain quiet, and at whose head Mr. Richard Cameron was placed, on account of his enthusiastic and energetic character. On the 20th of June, 1680, in company with about twenty other persons, well armed, he entered the little remote burgh of Sanquhar, and in a ceremonious manner proclaimed at the cross, that he and those who adhered to him renounced their allegiance to the king, on account of his having abused his government, and also declared war against him and all who adhered to him, at the same time avowing their resolution to resist the succession of his brother the Duke of York. The bulk of the Presbyterians beheld this transaction with dismay, for they knew that the government would charge it upon the party in general. The privy council immediately put a reward of 5000 merks upon Cameron's head, and 3000 upon the heads of all the rest; and parties were sent out to waylay them. The little band kept together in arms for a month, in the mountainous country between Nithsdale and Ayrshire. But at length, on the 20th of July, when they were lying in a secure place on Airmoss, Bruce of Earlsall approached them with a party of horse and foot much superior in numbers. Cameron, who was believed by his followers to have a gift of prophecy, is said to have that morning washed his hands with particular care, in expectation that they were immediately to become a public spectacle. His party, at sight of the enemy, gathered closely around him, and he uttered a short prayer, in which he thrice repeated the expression—"Lord, spare the green and take the ripe"—no doubt, including himself in the latter description, as conceiving himself to be among the best prepared for death. He then said to his brother, "Come, let us fight it out to the last; for this is the day which I have longed for, and the day that I have prayed for, to die fighting against our Lord's avowed enemies; this is the day that we will get the crown." To all of them, in the event of falling, he gave assurance that he already saw the gates of heaven open to receive them. A brief skirmish took place, in which the insurgents were allowed, even by their enemies, to have behaved with great bravery; but nothing could avail against superior numbers. Mr. Cameron being among the slain, his head and hands were cut off, and carried to Edinburgh, along with the prisoners, among whom was the celebrated Mr. Hackstoun of Rathillet. It happened that the father of Cameron was at this time in prison for nonconformity. The head was shown to the old man, with the question, "Did he know to whom it had belonged?" He seized the bloody relics with the eagerness of parental affection, and, kissing them fervently, exclaimed, "I know, I know them; they are my son's, my own dear son's: it is of the Lord; good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me or mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days." The head and hands were then fixed upon the Netherbow Port, the fingers pointing upwards, in mockery of the attitude of prayer. The headless trunk was buried with the rest of the slain in Airmoss, where a plain monument was in better times erected over them. To this spot, while the persecution was still raging, Peden, the friend of Cameron, used to re-

sort, not so much, apparently, to lament his fate, as to wish that he had shared it. "Oh to be wi' Ritchie!" was the frequent and touching ejaculation of Peden over the grave of his friend. The name of Cameron was applied to the small but zealous sect of Presbyterians which he had led in life, and has since been erroneously extended to the persecuted Presbyterians in general. The twenty-sixth regiment, which was raised at the revolution out of the west-country people who flocked to Edinburgh, was styled, on that account, the Cameronian regiment, which appellation, notwithstanding the obvious error, it still retains.

CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER, musician and poet, was born in 1764, at Tombea, on the banks of Loch Lubnaig, above Callendar, and received his education at the grammar-school of that town. While yet a youth, he removed to Edinburgh, and studied music under the celebrated Tenducci and others. A decided taste for the art, and especially for the simple melodies of his native country, induced him to become a teacher of the harpsichord and of vocal music in Edinburgh; and as he was a zealous adherent of the scattered remnant who still espoused the cause of the unhappy Stuarts, he became at the same time organist to a nonjuring chapel in the neighbourhood of Nicolson Street, where the Rev. Mr. Harper then officiated. While in this situation, and still possessed of all the keen feelings of youth, he became acquainted with Robert Burns, who is said to have highly appreciated his ardent character, as he must have strongly sympathized in his national prepossessions. It may also be mentioned that Mr. Campbell was music-master to Sir Walter Scott, with whom, however, he never made any progress, owing, as he used to say, to the total destitution of that great man in the requisite of an *ear*. Mr. Campbell was twice married, and on the second occasion with such prospects of advancement, that he was induced to abandon his profession, in which he was rising to eminence, and turn his attention to the study of medicine, which, however, he never practised on an extended scale, though he was ready and eager to employ his skill for benevolent purposes. The connections of Mr. Campbell's second wife were of so elevated a rank in life, that he entertained hopes of obtaining, through their means, some employment under government, in his medical capacity; but in this, as in many other things, he was destined to experience a bitter disappointment. In 1798 he published his first literary work, namely, *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, quarto; to which were added, *The Songs of the Lowlands*, with illustrative engravings by David Allan. The *History of Poetry*, though written in a loose style, and deformed here and there by opinions of a somewhat fantastic nature, is a work of considerable research. It was dedicated to the artist Fuseli. It is worth mentioning that a dialogue on Scottish music, prefixed to the *History*, was the first means of giving foreign musicians a correct understanding of the Scottish scale, which, it is well known, differs from that prevalent on the Continent; and it is consistent with our knowledge, that the author was highly complimented on this subject by the greatest Italian and German composers. About this time Mr. Campbell began to extend his views from literature to the arts; and he attained to a very respectable proficiency as a draughtsman. In 1802 appeared his best work, *A Tour from Edinburgh through various Parts of North Britain, &c.*, 2 vols. quarto, embellished with a series of beautiful aquatint drawings by his own hand. This book is very entertain-



CONSTANCE D'ARLON

1750-1820

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ing, and, in some parts (for instance, the account of Scottish society in the early part of the eighteenth century), it betrays powers much above the grade of the author's literary reputation. In 1804 Mr. Campbell was induced to appear as an original poet, in a work entitled *The Grampians Desolate*. If in this attempt he was not very successful in the principal object, it must at least be allowed, that his various knowledge, particularly in matters of Scottish antiquity, and the warm zeal with which he advocates the cause of the exiled Highlanders, give the work an interest for the patriot and the antiquary. Mr. Campbell finally published, in 1816, two parts of a collection of native Highland music, under the title *Albyn's Anthology*, for which Sir Walter Scott, Sir Alexander Boswell, and other eminent literary men, contributed modern verses. Unhappily, Mr. Campbell's acquirements, though such as would have eminently distinguished an independent gentleman in private life, did not reach that point of perfection which the public demands of those who expect to derive bread from their practice of the fine arts. Even in music, it was the opinion of eminent judges, that *Albyn's Anthology* would have been more favourably received, if the beautiful original airs had been left unencumbered with the basses and symphonies which the editor himself thought essential.

Mr. Campbell, in early life, had been possessed of a handsome person, and a lively and social disposition. Gifted, as he then was, with so many of those accomplishments which are calculated to give a charm to existence, it might have been expected that his life would have been one of happiness and prosperity. It was in every respect the reverse. Some unhappy misunderstanding with the relations of his second wife led to a separation between them, and two individuals, who, united, could have promoted each other's happiness, lived for ever after apart and miserable. A numerous train of disappointments, not exclusively literary, tended further to embitter the declining years of this unfortunate man of genius. Yet his own distresses, and they were numerous, both from disease and difficulty of circumstances, could never either break his spirits, or chill his interest in the happiness of his friends. If he had the foibles of a keen temper, he was free from the faults of a sullen and cold disposition. After experiencing as many of the vicissitudes of life as fall to the lot of most men, he died of apoplexy on the 15th of May, 1824, in the sixty-first year of his age.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, Marquis of Argyle, an eminent political character of the seventeenth century, born in 1598, was the son of Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyle. He was carefully educated in a manner suitable to his birth and station. Having been well grounded in the various branches of classical knowledge, he added to these an attentive perusal of the Holy Scriptures, in consequence of which his mind became at an early period deeply imbued with a sense of religion, which became stronger and stronger till his dying day. There had long been a hereditary feud between his family and the clan of the Macdonalds, against whom he accompanied his father on an expedition in the year 1616, being then only in the eighteenth year of his age; and two years afterwards, his father having left the kingdom, the care of the Highlands, and especially of the Protestant interest there, devolved almost entirely upon him. In 1626 he was sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and in 1628 surrendered into the hands of the king, so far as lay in his power,

the office of justice-general in Scotland, which had been hereditary in his family, but reserving to himself and his heirs the office of justiciary of Argyle and the Western Isles, which was confirmed to him by act of parliament. In 1633 the Earl of Argyle, having declared himself a Roman Catholic, was commanded to make over his estate to his son by the king, reserving to himself only as much as might support him in a manner suitable to his quality during the remainder of his life. Lord Lorne, thus prematurely possessed of political and territorial influence, was, in 1634, appointed one of the extraordinary lords of session, and in the month of April, 1638, after the national covenant had been framed and sworn by nearly all the ministers and people of Scotland, he was summoned up to London, along with Traquair the treasurer, and Roxburgh, lord privy-seal, to advise his majesty under the existing circumstances. They were all equally aware that the covenant was hateful to the king; but Argyle alone spoke freely and honestly, recommending the entire abolition of those innovations which his majesty had recklessly made on the forms of the Scottish church, and which had been solely instrumental in throwing Scotland into its present hostile attitude. Traquair advised a temporizing policy, but the Bishops of Galloway, Ross, and Brechin were for strong measures, and suggested a plan for raising an army in the north sufficient for asserting the dignity of the crown, and repressing the insolence of the Covenanters. This advice was agreeable to his majesty, and he followed it out with a blindness alike fatal to himself and the kingdom. The Earl of Argyle, being at this time at court, a bigot to the Romish faith, and friendly to the designs of the king, advised his majesty to detain the Lord Lorne a prisoner at London, assuring him that, if he was permitted to return to Scotland, he would certainly do him a mischief. But the king, supposing this advice to be the fruit of the old man's irritation at the loss of his estate, and seeing no feasible pretext for such a violent step, allowed him to depart in peace. He returned to Edinburgh on the 20th of May, and was one of the last of the Scottish nobility that signed the national covenant, which he did not do till he was commanded to do it by the king. His father dying this same year, he succeeded to all his honours and the remainder of his property. During the time he was in London, Argyle was certainly informed of the plan that had been already concerted for an invasion in Scotland by the Irish, under the Marquis of Antrim, who for the part he performed in that tragical drama, was to be rewarded with the whole district of Kintyre, which formed a principal part of the family patrimony of Argyle. This arbitrary partitioning of his property, and for a purpose so nefarious, must have had no small influence in alienating him from the court. He did not, however, take any decisive step till the assembly of the church that met at Glasgow, November 21st, 1638, under the auspices of the Marquis of Hamilton, as lord high commissioner. When the marquis, by protesting against every movement that was made by the assembly, and finally by attempting to dissolve it the moment it entered upon business, discovered that he was only playing the game of the king, Argyle, as well as several other of the young nobility, could no longer refrain from taking an active part in the work of reformation. On the withdrawal of the commissioner, all the privy council followed him except Argyle; and at the close of the assembly, Mr. Henderson the moderator, sensible of the advantages they had derived from his presence, complimented him in a handsome speech, in which he regretted that his lordship had not joined with them

sooner, but hoped that God had reserved him for the best times, and that he would yet highly honour him in making him instrumental in promoting the best interests of his church and people. To this his lordship made a suitable reply, declaring it was not from want of affection to the cause of God and his country that he had not sooner come forward to their assistance, but from a fond hope that by remaining with the court, he might have been able to bring about a redress of their grievances, to the comfort and satisfaction of both parties. This assembly, so remarkable for the bold character of its acts, sat twenty-six days, and in that time accomplished all that had been expected from it. The six previous assemblies, all that had been held since the accession of James to the English crown, were unanimously declared unlawful, and by this sentence their proceedings in favour of Episcopacy were cancelled, and Episcopacy itself overthrown in Scotland. Two archbishops and six bishops were excommunicated, four bishops were deposed, and two, who made humble submission to the assembly, were simply suspended, and thus the whole Scottish bench was at once silenced. The assembly rose in great triumph on the 20th of December. "We have now," said the moderator, Henderson, "cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." While the assembly was thus doing its work, the time-serving Marquis of Hamilton was, according to the instructions of his master, practising every shift to give the king the better ground of quarrel, and allow him time to collect his forces. Preparations for an invasion of Scotland had for some time been in progress, and in May, 1639, Charles approached the border with about 16,000 men, while a large host of Irish Papists was expected to land in his behalf upon the west coast, and Hamilton entered the Firth of Forth with a fleet containing a small army.

During this first campaign, while General Leslie with the main body of the Scottish army marched for the border with the view of carrying the war into England, Montrose, at this time one of the most violent of the Covenanters, was sent to the north to watch over Huntly and the Aberdonians, and Argyle proceeded to his own country to watch the Macdonalds and the Earl of Antrim, who threatened to lay it waste. For this purpose he raised not less than 900 of his vassals, part of whom he stationed in Kintyre to watch the movements of the Irish, and part in Lorn to guard against the Macdonalds, while with a third part he passed over into Arran, which he secured by seizing upon the castle of Brodick, one of the strongholds belonging to the Marquis of Hamilton; and thus rendered the attempt on the part of the Irish at the time nearly impossible. On the pacification that took place at Birks, near Berwick, Argyle was sent for to court; but the Earl of Loudon having been sent up as commissioner from the Scottish estates, and by his majesty's order been committed to the Tower, where he was said to have narrowly escaped a violent death, the Earl of Argyle durst not, at this time, trust himself in the king's hands. On the resumption of hostilities in 1640, when Charles was found to have signed the treaty of Birks only to gain time, the care of the west coast, and the reduction of the northern clans, was again intrusted to Argyle. Committing, on this occasion, the care of Kintyre and the Islands to their own inhabitants, he traversed, with a force of about 5000 men attended by a small train of artillery, the districts of Badenoch, Athol, and Marr, levying the taxes imposed by the estates, and enforcing subjection to their authority. The Earl of Athol, having made a show of resistance at

the ford of Lyon, was sent prisoner to Stirling; and his factor, Stuart, younger, of Grantully, with twelve of the leading men in his neighbourhood, were commanded by Argyle to enter in ward at Edinburgh till they found security for their good behaviour, and he exacted 10,000 pounds Scots in the district, for the support of his army. Passing thence into Angus, Argyle demolished the castles of Airlly and Forthar, residences of the Earl of Airlly, and returned to Argyleshire, the greater part of his troops being sent to the main body in England.

In this campaign the king, finding himself unable to continue the contest, made another insincere pacification at Ripon, in the month of October, 1640. Montrose, who had been disgusted with the Covenanters, and gained over by the king, now began to form a party of loyalists in Scotland; but his designs were accidentally discovered, and he was put under arrest. To ruin Argyle, who was the object of his aversion, Montrose now reported, that at the ford of Lyon he had said that the Covenanters had consulted both lawyers and divines anent deposing the king, and had gotten resolution that it might be done in three cases—desertion, invasion, and vendition, and that they had resolved, at the last sitting of parliament, to accomplish that object next session. For this malicious falsehood Montrose referred to a Mr. John Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, who upon being questioned retracted the accusation, which he owned he had uttered out of pure malice. Stuart was, of course, prosecuted for *leasing-making*, and, though he professed the deepest repentance for his crime, was executed. The king, though he had made an agreement with his Scottish subjects, was getting every day upon worse terms with the English, and in the summer of 1641 came to Scotland with the view of engaging the affections of that kingdom, so that he might oppose the parliament with the more effect. On this occasion his majesty displayed great condescension; he appointed Henderson to be one of his chaplains, attended divine service without either service-book or ceremonies, and was liberal of his favours to all the leading Covenanters. Argyle was on this occasion particularly attended to, together with the Marquis of Hamilton and his brother Lanark, both of whom had become reconciled to the Covenanters, and admitted to their full share of power. Montrose, in the meantime, was under confinement, but was indefatigable in his attempts to ruin those whom he supposed to stand between him and the object of his ambition, the supreme direction of public affairs. For the accomplishment of this darling purpose he proposed nothing less than the assassination of the Earls of Argyle and Lanark, with the Marquis of Hamilton. Finding that the king regarded his proposals with horror, he conceived the gentler design of arresting these nobles during the night, after being called upon pretence of speaking with Charles, in his bed-chamber, when they might be delivered to a body of soldiers prepared under the Earl of Crawford, who was to carry them on board a vessel in Leith Roads, or to kill them if they made any resistance; but at all events, to detain them till his majesty had gained a sufficient ascendancy in the country to try, condemn, and execute them under colour of law. Colonel Cochrane was to have marched with his regiment from Musselburgh to overawe the city of Edinburgh; a vigorous attempt was at the same time to have been made by Montrose to obtain possession of the castle. In aid of this plot, an attempt was made to obtain a declaration for the king from the English army, and the Catholics of Ireland were to have made a rising, which they actually attempted on the same

day; all evidently undertaken in concert for the promotion of the royal cause—but all of which had the contrary effect. Some one, invited to take a part in the plot against Argyle and the Hamiltons, communicated it to Colonel Hurry, who communicated it to General Leslie, and he lost not a moment in warning its intended victims, who took precautions for their security the ensuing night, and, next morning, after writing an apology to the king for their conduct, fled to Kiniel House in West Lothian, where the mother of the two Hamiltons at that time resided. The city of Edinburgh was thrown into the utmost alarm, in consequence of all the leading Covenanters judging it necessary to have guards placed upon their houses for the protection of their persons. In the afternoon, the king, going up the main street, was followed by upwards of 500 armed men, who entered the outer hall of the parliament house along with him, which necessarily increased the confusion. The house, alarmed by this military array, refused to proceed to business till the command of all the troops in the city and neighbourhood was intrusted to General Leslie, and every stranger not particularly known ordered to leave the city. The three noblemen returned to their post in a few days, were to all appearance received into their former state of favour, and the whole matter seemed in Scotland at once to have dropped into oblivion. Intelligence of the whole affair was, however, sent up to the English parliament by their agents, who, under the name of commissioners, attended as spies upon the king, and it had a lasting and a most pernicious effect upon his affairs. This, and the news of the Irish insurrection, which speedily followed, caused his majesty to hasten his departure, after he had feasted the whole body of the nobility in the great hall of the palace of Holyrood, on the 17th of November, 1641, having two days before created Argyle a Marquis. Finding on his return to London that the parliament was getting more and more intractable, Charles sent down to the Scottish privy council a representation of the insults and injuries he had received from that parliament, with a requisition that they would send up to Westminster a declaration of the deep sense they entertained of the danger and injustice of their present course. A privy council was accordingly summoned, and a number of the friends of the court, Kinnoul, Roxburgh, and others, now known by the name of *Banders*, having assembled in the capital, strong suspicions were entertained of a design upon the life of Argyle. The gentlemen of Fife and the Lothians hastened to the scene of action, where the high royalists, who had expected to carry matters in the council against the English parliament, met with so much opposition, that they abandoned their purpose, and the king signified his pleasure that they should not interfere in the business.

When hostilities had actually commenced between the king and the parliament, Argyle was so far prevailed upon by the Marquis of Hamilton to trust the asseverations of his majesty for peace, that he signed, along with Loudon, Warriston, and Henderson, the invitation framed by the court party to the queen to return from Holland, to assist in mediating a peace between his majesty and the two houses of parliament. The battle of Edgehill, however, so inspired the king, that he rejected the offer on the pretence that he durst not hazard her person. In 1642, when, at the request of the parliament of England, troops were raised by the Scottish estates to aid the Protestants of Ireland, Argyle was nominated to a colonelcy in one of the regiments, and in the month of January, 1644, he accompanied General Leslie with the Scottish army into England as chief

of the committee of parliament, but in a short time returned with tidings of the defeat of the Marquis of Newcastle at Newburn. The ultra royalists, highly offended at the assistance afforded by the estates of Scotland to the parliament of England, had already planned and begun to execute different movements in the north, which they intended should either overthrow the estates or oblige them to recall their army from England for their own defence. The Marquis of Huntly had already commenced hostilities, by making prisoners of the provost and magistrates of Aberdeen, and plundering the town of all its arms and ammunition. He also published a declaration of hostilities against the Covenanters. Earl-marischal, apprised of this, summoned the committees of Angus and Mearns, and sent a message to Huntly to dismiss his followers. Huntly, trusting to the assurances he had obtained from Montrose, Crawford, and Nithsdale of assistance from the south, and from Ireland, sent an insulting reply to the committee, requiring them to disband, and not interrupt the peace of the country. In the month of April Argyle was despatched against him, with what troops he could raise for the occasion, and came unexpectedly upon him after his followers had plundered and set on fire the town of Montrose, whence they retreated to Aberdeen. Thither they were followed by Argyle, who, learning that the laird of Haddow, with a number of his friends, had fortified themselves in the house of Killie, marched thither, and invested it with his army. Unwilling, however, to lose time by a regular siege, he sent a trumpeter offering pardon to every man in the garrison who should surrender, the laird of Haddow excepted. Seeing no means of escape, the garrison accepted the terms. Haddow was sent to Edinburgh, brought to trial on a charge of treason, found guilty, and executed. Huntly, afraid of being sent to his old quarters in Edinburgh Castle, repaired to the Bog of Gight. In the meantime about 1200 of the promised Irish auxiliaries, under Alister Macdonald, landed on the island of Mull, where they captured some of the small fortresses, and sailing for the mainland, they disembarked in Knoydart, where they attempted to raise some of the clans. Argyle, to whom this Alister Macdonald was a mortal enemy, having sent round some ships of war from Leith, which seized the vessels that had transported them over, they were unable to leave the country; and he himself, with a formidable force, hanging upon their rear, they were driven into the interior, where they traversed the wilds of Lochaber and Badenoch, expecting to meet a royal army under Montrose, though in what place they had no knowledge. Macdonald, in order to reinforce them, had sent through the fiery cross in various directions, though with indifferent success, till Montrose at last met them, having found his way through the country in disguise all the way from Oxford, with only one or two attendants. Influenced by Montrose, the men of Athol, who were generally anti-covenanters, joined the royal standard, and he soon found himself at the head of a formidable army. His situation was not, however, promising. Argyle was in his rear, being in pursuit of the Irish, who had committed terrible ravages upon his estates, and there were before him 6000 or 7000 men under Lord Elcho stationed at Perth. Elcho's troops, however, were only raw militia, and their leaders were disaffected to the cause. As the most prudent measure, he did not wait to be attacked, but went to meet Montrose, who was marching through Strathearn. Elcho took up a position upon the plain of Tippermuir, where he was attacked by Montrose, and totally routed in the space of a few minutes. Perth fell at once into the hands

of the victor, and was plundered of money and whatever could be carried away. The stoutest young men he also impressed into the ranks, and seized upon all the horses fit for service. Thus strengthened, he poured down upon Angus, where he received numerous reinforcements. Dundee he attempted, but finding there were troops in it sufficient to hold it out for some days, and dreading the approach of Argyle, who was still following him, he pushed north to Aberdeen. Here his former covenanting rage had been bitterly felt, and at his approach the committee sent off the public money and all their most valuable effects to Dunnottar Castle. They at the same time threw up some rude fortifications, and had 2000 men prepared to give him a warm reception. Crossing the Dee by a ford, he at once eluded their fortifications and deranged their order of battle; and issuing orders for an immediate attack, they were defeated, and a scene of butchery followed which has few parallels in the annals of civilized warfare. In the fields, the streets, or the houses, armed or unarmed, no man found mercy: the ragged they killed and stripped; the well-dressed, for fear of spoiling their clothes, they stripped and killed.

After four days employed in this manner, the approach of Argyle drove them to the north, where they intended to take refuge beyond the Spey; but the boats were all removed to the other side, and the whole force of Moray was assembled to dispute the passage. Nothing remained for Montrose but to take refuge among the hills, and his rapid movements enabled him to gain the wilds of Badenoch with the loss only of his artillery and heavy baggage, where he bade defiance to the approach of anything like a regular army. After resting a few days, he again descended into Athol to recruit, and afterwards into Angus, where he wasted the estates of Lord Couper, and plundered the house of Dun, in which the inhabitants of Montrose had deposited their valuables, and which also afforded a supply of arms and artillery. Argyle, all this while, followed his footsteps with a superior army, but could never come up with him. He, however, proclaimed him a traitor, and offered a reward of £20,000 for his head. Having strengthened his army by forced levies in Athol, Montrose again crossed the Grampians, and spreading devastation along his line of march, attempted once more to raise the Gordons. In this he was still unsuccessful, and at the castle of Fyvie, which he had taken, was at last surprised by Argyle and the Earl of Lothian, who, with an army of 3000 horse and foot, were within two miles of his camp when he believed them to be on the other side of the Grampians. Here, had there been anything like management on the part of the army of the estates, his career had certainly closed, but in military affairs Argyle was neither skilful nor brave. After sustaining two assaults from very superior numbers, Montrose drew off his little army with scarcely any loss, and by the way of Strathbogie plunged again into the wilds of Badenoch, where he expected Macdonald and the Irish with what recruits they had been able to raise. Argyle, whose army was now greatly weakened by desertion, returned to Edinburgh and threw up his commission in disgust. The estates, however, received him in the most friendly manner, and passed an act approving of his conduct.

By the parliament, which met this year on the 4th of June, Argyle was named, along with the chancellor Loudon, Lord Balmerino, Warriston, and others, as commissioners, to act in concert with the English parliament in their negotiations with the king; but from the manner in which he was occu-

pled, he must have been able to overtake a very small part of the duties included in the commission. Montrose no sooner found that Argyle had retired, than, to satiate his revenge, he marched into Glenorchy, belonging to a near relation of Argyle, and in the depth of winter rendered the whole country one wide field of blood. Nor was this destruction confined to Glenorchy; it was extended through Argyle and Lorn to the very confines of Lochaber, not a house he was able to surprise being left unburned, nor a man unslaughtered. Spalding adds, "He left not a four-footed beast in the hail country; such as would not drive he houghed and slew, that they should never make stead." Having rendered the country a wilderness, he bent his way for Inverness, when he was informed that Argyle had collected an army of 3000 men, and had advanced as far as Inverlochy. Montrose no sooner learned this than, striking across the almost inaccessible wilds of Lochaber, he came, by a march of about six and thirty hours, upon the camp of Argyle at Inverlochy, and was within half a mile of it before they knew that there was an enemy within several days' march of them. The state of his followers did not admit of an immediate attack by Montrose; but everything was ready for it by the dawn of day, and with the dissolving mists of the morning. On the 2d of February, 1645, Argyle, from his pinnacle on the lake, whither he had retired on account of a hurt by a fall from his horse, which disabled him from fighting, beheld the total annihilation of his army, one half of it being literally cut to pieces, and the other dissipated among the adjoining mountains, or driven into the water. Unable to aid his discomfited troops, he immediately hoisted sail and made for a place of safety. On the 12th of the month he appeared before the parliament, then sitting in Edinburgh, to which he related the tale of his own and their misfortune, in the best manner no doubt which the case could admit of. The circumstances, however, were such as no colouring could hide, and the estates were deeply affected. But the victory at Inverlochy, though as complete as victory can well be supposed, and gained with the loss of only two or three men, was perhaps more pernicious to the victors than the vanquished. The news of it unhappily reached Charles at a time when he was on the point of accepting the terms of reconciliation offered to his parliament, which reconciliation, if effected, might have closed the war for ever; and he no sooner heard of this remarkable victory, than he resolved to reject them, and trust to continued hostilities for the means of obtaining a more advantageous treaty. Montrose, also, whose forces were always reduced after a victory, as the Highlanders were wont to go home to deposit their spoils, could take no other advantage of "the day of Inverlochy," than to carry on, upon a broader scale, and with less interruption, the barbarous system of warfare which political, religious, and feudal hostility had induced him to adopt. Instead of marching towards the capital, where he might have broken up the administration of the estates, he advanced into the province of Moray, and, issuing an order for all the men above sixteen and below sixty to join his standard, proceeded to burn the houses and destroy the goods upon the estates of Grangehill, Brodie, Cowbin, Innes, Ballendalloch, Foyness, and Pitchash. He plundered also the village of Garmouth and the lands of Burgie, Lethen, and Duffus, and destroyed all the boats and nets upon the Spey. Argyle having thrown up his commission as general of the army, which was given to General Baillie, he was now attached to it only as

member of a committee appointed by the parliament to direct its movements, and in this capacity was present at the battle of Kilsyth, August 15th, 1645, the most disastrous of all the six victories of Montrose to the Covenanters, upwards of 6000 men being slain on the field of battle and in the pursuit. This, however, was the last of the exploits of the great marquis. There being no more detachments of militia in the country to oppose to him, General David Leslie, with some regiments of horse, were recalled from the army in England, who surprised and defeated him at Philiphaugh, annihilating his little army, and, according to an ordinance of parliament, hanging up without distinction all the Irish prisoners.

In the month of February, 1646, Argyle was sent over to Ireland to bring home the Scottish troops that had been sent to that country to assist in repressing the turbulence of the Catholics. He returned to Edinburgh in the month of May following. In the meantime, Alister Macdonald, the coadjutor of Montrose, had made another tour through his country of Argyle, giving to fire and sword whatever had escaped the former inroads; so that upwards of 1200 of the inhabitants, to escape absolute starvation, were compelled to emigrate into Men-teith. But scarcely had they made the attempt, when they were attacked by Inchbrackie, with a party of Athol men, and chased beyond the Forth near Stirling, where they were joined by the marquis, who carried them into Lennox. So deplorably had his estates been wasted by Montrose and Macdonald, that a sum of money was voted for the support of himself and family, and for paying annual rents to some of the more necessitous creditors upon his estates. A collection was at the same time ordered through all the churches of Scotland, for the relief of his poor people who had been plundered by the Irish. In July, 1646, when the king had surrendered himself to the Scottish army, Argyle went to Newcastle to wait upon him. On the 3d of August following, he was sent up to London, to treat with the parliament of England concerning a mitigation of the articles they had presented to the king, with some of which he was not at all satisfied. He was also on this occasion the bearer of a secret commission from the king, to consult with the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford concerning the propriety of the Scottish army and parliament declaring for him. Both of these noblemen disapproved of the scheme, as it would be the entire ruin of his interests. In this matter Argyle certainly did not act with perfect integrity; and it was probably a consciousness of this that kept him absent from any of the committees concerning the king's person, or any treaty for the withdrawal of the Scottish army, or the payment of its arrears. The opinion of these two noblemen, however, he faithfully reported to his majesty, who professed to be satisfied, but spoke of adopting some other plan, giving evident proof that his pretending to accept conditions was a mere pretence—a put off—till he might be able to lay hold of some lucky turn in the chapter of accidents. It was probably from a painful anticipation of the fatal result of the king's pertinacity, that Argyle, when he returned to Edinburgh and attended the parliament which assembled on the 3d of November, demanded and obtained an explicit approval of all that he had transacted, as their accredited commissioner; and it must not be lost sight of, that, for all the public business he had been engaged in, except what was voted him in consequence of his great losses, he never hitherto had received one farthing of salary.

When the engagement, as it was called, was entered into by the Marquis of Hamilton, and other Scottish Presbyterian royalists, Argyle opposed it, because, from what he had been told by the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford, when he had himself been half embarked in a scheme somewhat similar, he believed it would be the total ruin of his majesty's cause. The event completely justified his fears. By exasperating the sectaries and republicans, it was the direct and immediate cause of the death of the king. On the march of the Engagers into England, Argyle, Eglinton, Cassilis, and Lothian marched into Edinburgh at the head of a multitude whom they had raised, before whom the committee of estates left the city, and the irremediable defeat of the Engagers threw the reins of government into the hands of Argyle, Warriston, Loudon, and others of the more zealous Presbyterians. The flight of the few Engagers who reached their native land, was followed by Cromwell, who came all the way to Berwick, with the purpose apparently of invading Scotland. Argyle, in the month of September or October, 1648, went to Mordington, where he had an interview with that distinguished individual, whom, along with General Lambert, he conducted to Edinburgh, where he was received in a way worthy of his high fame, and everything between the two nations was amicably settled. It has been, without the least particle of evidence, asserted that Argyle, in the various interviews he held with Cromwell at this time, agreed that Charles should be executed. The losses to which Argyle was afterwards subjected, and the hardships he endured for adhering to Charles' interests after he was laid in his grave, should, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, be a sufficient attestation of his loyalty, not to speak of the parliament, of which he was unquestionably the most influential individual, in the ensuing month of February proclaiming Charles II. King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, &c., than which nothing could be more offensive to the then existing government of England. In sending over the deputation to Charles in Holland in the spring of 1649, Argyle was heartily concurring, though he had been not a little disgusted with his associates in the administration, on account of the execution of his brother-in-law, the Marquis of Huntly, whom he in vain tried to save. It is also said that he refused to assist at the trial, or to concur in the sentence passed upon the Marquis of Montrose, in the month of May, 1650, declaring that he was too much a party to be a judge in that matter. Of the leading part he performed in the installation of Charles II., upon whose head he placed the crown at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651, we have not room to give any particular account. Of the high consequence in which his services were held at the time, there needs no other proof than the report that the king intended marrying one of his daughters. For the defence of the king and kingdom, against both of whom Cromwell was now ready to march, he, as head of the committee of estates, made the most vigorous exertions. Even after the defeat at Dunbar, and the consequent depression of the king's personal interests, he adhered to his majesty with unabated zeal and diligence, of which Charles seems to have been sensible at the time. When Charles judged it expedient to lead the Scottish army into England, in the vain hope of raising the cavaliers and moderate Presbyterians in his favour, Argyle obtained leave to remain at home, on account of the illness of his lady. After the whole hopes of the Scots were laid low at Worcester, September 3d, 1651, he retired

to Inverary, where he held out against the triumphant troops of Cromwell for a whole year, till, falling sick, he was surprised by General Dean, and carried to Edinburgh. Having received orders from Monk to attend a privy council, he was entrapped to be present at the ceremony of proclaiming Cromwell lord-protector. A paper was at the same time tendered him to sign, containing his submission to the government, as settled without king or house of lords, which he absolutely refused, though afterwards, when he was in no condition to struggle farther, he signed a promise to live peaceably under that government. He was always watched, however, by the ruling powers, and never was regarded by any of the authorities as other than a concealed loyalist. When Scotland was declared by Cromwell to be incorporated with England, Argyle exerted himself, in opposition to the council of state, to have Scotsmen alone elected to serve in parliament for North Britain, of which Monk complained to Thurlow, in a letter from Dalkeith, dated September 30, 1658. Under Richard he was himself elected for the county of Aberdeen, and took his seat accordingly in the house, where he wrought most effectually for the service of the king, by making that breach through which his majesty entered. On the restoration, Argyle's best friends advised him to keep out of the way on account of his compliances with the usurpation; but he judged it more honourable and honest to go and congratulate his majesty upon so happy a turn in his affairs. But when he arrived at Whitehall, July 8, 1660, the king no sooner heard his name announced, than, "with an angry stamp of the foot, he ordered Sir William Fleming to execute his orders," which were to carry him to the Tower. To the Tower he was carried accordingly, where he lay till the month of December, when he was sent down to Leith aboard a man-of-war, to stand his trial before the high court of parliament. While confined in the Tower, the marquis made application to have the affidavits of several persons in England taken respecting some matters of fact before the usurpation, which, had justice been the object of his persecutors, could not have been denied. Revenge, however, being the object, these facts might have proved inconvenient, and the request was flatly refused.

Argyle was brought before the Scottish parliament for trial on the 13th of February, 1661. His indictment, consisting of fourteen articles, comprehended the history of all the transactions that had taken place in Scotland since 1638. The whole procedure on one side of the question, during all that time, had already been declared rebellion, and each individual concerned was of course liable to the charge of treason. Middleton, lord high-commissioner to parliament, eager to possess his estate, of which he doubted not he would obtain the gift, conducted the trial in a manner not only inconsistent with justice, but with dignity and decency. From the secret conversations Argyle had held with Cromwell, Middleton drew the conclusion, that the interruption of the treaty of Newport and the execution of Charles had been the fruit of their joint deliberations. The marquis was defended on this point by Sir John Gilmour, president of the court of session, with such force of argument as to compel the reluctant parliament to exculpate him from all blame in the matter of the king's death; and, after having exhibited the utmost contempt for truth, and a total disregard of character or credit in the prosecution, the crown lawyers were at length obliged to fix on his compliance with the English during the usurpation, as the only species of treason that could at all be made

to affect him. Upon this point there was not one of his judges who had not been equally, and some of them much more, guilty than himself. "How could I suppose," said the marquis with irresistible effect in his defence on this point, "that I was acting criminally, when the learned gentleman who now acts as his majesty's advocate took the same oaths to the commonwealth with myself?" He was not less successful in replying to every iota of his indictment, in addition to which he gave in a signed supplication and submission to his majesty, which was regarded just as little as his defences. The moderation, the good sense, and the magnanimity, however, which he displayed, joined to his innocence of the crimes charged against him, wrought so strongly upon the house, that great fears were entertained that, after all, he would be acquitted. To counteract the influence of his two sons, Lord Lorne and Lord Neil Campbell, who were both in London, exerting themselves in his behalf, Glencairn, Rothes, and Sharpe were sent up to court, where, when it was found that the proof was thought to be defective, application was made to General Monk, who furnished them with some of the Marquis of Argyle's private letters, which were sent down post to Middleton, who laid them before parliament, and by this means obtained a sentence of condemnation against the noble marquis, on Saturday the 25th; and he was executed accordingly on Monday the 27th of May, 1661.

Than the behaviour of this nobleman during his trial, and after his receiving sentence of death, nothing could be more dignified or becoming the character of a Christian. Conscious of his integrity, he defended his character and conduct with firmness and magnanimity, but with great gentleness and the highest respect for authority. After receiving his sentence, when brought back to the common jail, his excellent lady was waiting for him, and, embracing him, wept bitterly, exclaiming, "The Lord will requite it;" but, calm and composed, he said, "Forbear; truly, I pity them; they know not what they are doing; they may shut me in where they please; but they cannot shut out God from me. For my part I am as content to be here as in the castle, and as content in the castle as in the Tower of London, and as content there as when at liberty, and I hope to be as content on the scaffold as any of them all." His short time till Monday he spent in serenity and cheerfulness, and in the proper exercises of a dying Christian. To some of the ministers he said that they would shortly envy him for having got before them, for he added, "My skill fails me, if you who are ministers will not either suffer much, or sin much; for, though you go along with those men in part, if you do it not in all things, you are but where you were, and so must suffer; and if you go not at all with them, you shall but suffer." On the morning of his execution he spent two hours in subscribing papers, making conveyances, and forwarding other matters of business relating to his estate; and while so employed, he suddenly became so overpowered with a feeling of divine goodness, according to contemporary authority, that he was unable to contain himself, and exclaimed, "I thought to have concealed the Lord's goodness, but it will not do: I am now ordering my affairs, and God is sealing my charter to a better inheritance, and saying to me, 'Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven thee.'" He wrote the same day a most affecting letter to the king, recommending to his protection his wife and children. "He came to the scaffold," says Burnet, "in a very solemn, but undaunted manner, accompanied with many of the nobility and some ministers.

He spoke for half an hour with a great appearance of serenity. Cunningham, his physician, told me that he touched his pulse, and it did then beat at the usual rate, calm and strong." It is related, as another proof of the resolution of Argyle, in the last trying scene, that, though he had eaten a whole partridge at dinner, no vestige of it was found in his stomach after death; if he had been much affected by the anticipation of death, his digestion, it may be easily calculated, could not have been so good. His head was struck off by the instrument called the maiden, and affixed on the west end of the Tolbooth, where that of Montrose had been till very lately perched; a circumstance that very sensibly marks the vicissitudes of a time of civil dissension. His body was conveyed by his friends to Dunoon, and buried in the family sepulchre at Kilmun.

Argyle, with few qualities to captivate the fancy, has always been esteemed by the Scots as one of the most consistent and meritorious of their patriots. For the sake of his exemplary character, and distinguished resistance to the measures of Charles I., as well as his martyrdom in that cause, they have overlooked a quality generally branded with their contempt—his want of courage in the field—which caused him, throughout the whole of the transactions of the civil war, to avoid personal contact with danger, though often at the head of large bodies of troops. The habits of Argyle in private life were those of an eminently and sincerely pious man. In Mr. Wodrow's diary of traditionary collections, it is related, under May 9, 1702, upon the credit of a clergyman, the last survivor of the General Assembly of 1651, that his lordship used to rise at five, and continue in private till eight: besides family worship, and private prayer, morning and evening, he prayed with his lady morning and evening, in the presence of his own *gentleman* and her *gentlewoman*; he never went abroad, though but for one night, without taking along with him his writing-standish, a Bible, and *Newman's Concordance*. Upon the same authority we relate the following anecdote:—"After the coronation of King Charles II. at Scone, he waited a long time for an opportunity of dealing freely with his majesty on religious matters, and particularly about his suspected disregard of the covenant, and his encouragement of malignants, and other sins. One Sabbath night after supper he went into the king's closet, and began to converse with him on these topics. Charles was seemingly sensible, and they came at length to pray and mourn together till two or three in the morning. When he came home to his lady, she was surprised, and told him she never knew him so untameous. He said he never had had such a sweet night in the world, and told her all—what liberty he had in prayer, and how much convinced the king was. She said plainly that that night would cost him his head—which came to pass." Mr. Wodrow also mentions that, during the Glasgow assembly, Henderson and other ministers spent many nights in prayer and conference with the Marquis of Argyle, and he dated his conversion, or his knowledge of it, from those times. His lordship was married to Margaret, second daughter of William, second Earl of Morton, and by her left two sons and three daughters.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, Ninth Earl of Argyle, son of the preceding, was an equally unfortunate, though less distinguished, political character, in the unhappiest era of Scottish history. He was educated under the eye of his father, and, at an early period of life, was highly distinguished for his personal accomplishments. After going through the schools,

he was sent to travel on the Continent, and, during the years 1647, 1648, and 1649, spent the greater part of his time in France and Italy. He appears to have returned to Scotland about the close of 1649, and we find him in 1650, after Charles II. had arrived in Scotland, appointed colonel of one of the regiments of foot-guards that were embodied on that occasion, holding his commission from the king instead of the parliament. He was present at the battle of Dunbar, fought in the month of September, 1650, when he displayed great bravery; and where his lieutenant-colonel, Wallace, who afterwards commanded the Covenanters at Pentland, was taken prisoner. After the battle of Worcester he still continued in arms, and kept up a party in the Highlands ready to serve his majesty on any favourable opportunity. Nor did he hesitate, for this purpose, to act along with the most deadly enemies of his house. In 1654 he joined the Earl of Glencairn with a thousand foot and fifty horse, contrary to the advice of his father, who saw no possibility of any good being done by that ill-advised armament. After having remained with these cavaliers for a fortnight, finding his situation neither safe nor comfortable among so many Murrays, Gordons, and Macdonalds, he withdrew from them, taking the road for the barracks of Ruthven, and was pursued by Macdonald of Glengary, who would certainly have slain him, had he not escaped with his horse, leaving his foot to shift for themselves. Glengary, having missed Lord Lorne, would have revenged himself by killing his people, but was prevented by Glencairn, who took from them an oath of fidelity, and carried them back to the camp; whence they in a short time found means to escape in small bodies, till there was not one of them remaining. On this occasion he held a commission of lieutenant-general from Charles II., which rendered him so obnoxious to Cromwell, that he excepted him from his act of grace, published in the month of April this year. Lord Lorne was soon after obliged to take refuge in one of his remote islands, with only four or five attendants, and, seeing no prospect of deliverance, submitted to the commonwealth government. In November of the following year, 1655, Monk compelled him to find security for his peaceable behaviour to the amount of £5000 sterling. He was, notwithstanding, constantly watched, particularly by the Lord Broghill, who had the meanness to corrupt even his body servants, and constitute them spies upon their master's conduct. In the spring of 1657 Monk committed him to prison, and Broghill was earnest to have him carried to England, for the more effectually preventing his intrigues among the royalists. Shortly after the restoration he waited on his majesty, Charles II., with a letter from his father, and was received so graciously, that the marquis was induced to go up to London upon the same errand as his son, but was sent to the Tower without an audience. During the time that Middleton was practising against his father the marquis, Lord Lorne exerted himself with great zeal, and though he failed in rescuing his beloved parent from the toils into which he had been hunted, he left a favourable impression on the mind of Charles with regard to himself, and, in place of bestowing the estates of Argyle upon Middleton, as that profligate fondly expected, he was induced to restore them, as well as the original title of earl, to the rightful heir. Nor was this all: when, to the astonishment of all the world, he was, by the Scottish parliament, condemned to death, under the odious statute respecting leasing-making, he was again saved by the royal favour, to the confusion of his enemies.

For some considerable time after this, there is little to be told of the Earl of Argyle. It was on the 29th of June, 1681, that he gave his vote in the council against Donald Cargill; and the very next day the parliament sat down which framed, under the direction of the bigoted James VII., then Duke of York, and commissioner to the Scottish parliament, that bundle of absurdities known by the name of the test, which was imposed without mercy upon all, especially such as lay under any suspicion of Presbyterianism. This absurd oath was refused by many of the Episcopal ministers, who relinquished their places rather than debase their consciences by swearing contradictions. Some took it with explanations, among whom was Argyle, who added the following: that, as the parliament never meant to impose contradictory oaths, he took it as far as consistent with itself and the Protestant faith, but that he meant not to bind or preclude himself in his station in a lawful manner from wishing or endeavouring any alteration which he thought of advantage to the church or state, and not repugnant to the Protestant religion and his loyalty; and this he understood to be a part of his oath. This explanation he submitted to the Duke of York, who seemed to be perfectly satisfied; but he had no sooner put it in practice than he was indicted for his explanation, as containing treason, leasing, and perjury, and, by a jury of his peers, brought in guilty of the two first charges. This was on the 13th of December, 1681, and on the night of the 20th, fearing, as he had good reason, that his life would be taken, he made his escape out of the castle, disguised as a page, and bearing up the train of his step-daughter, Lady Sophia Lindsay, sister to the Earl of Balcarras. On the third day after sentence of death was pronounced upon him, Fountainhall says, "There was a great outcry against the criminal judges and their timorous dishonesty. The Marquis of Montrose was chancellor of this assize. Sir George Lockhart called it lucrative treason to the advantage of church and state; and admired how a man could be condemned as a traitor for saying he would endeavour all the amendment he can to the advantage of church and state." Even those who thought the words deserved some lesser punishment, called it diabolical alchemy, to screw them into treason. Lord Halifax told Charles himself, that he knew not the Scottish law, but the English law would not have hanged a dog for such a crime.

On his escape from the castle, Argyle, by the direction of Mr. John Scott, minister of Hawick, rode straight to the house of Pringle of Torwoodlee, who sent his servant along with him to the house of Mr. William Veitch, who conducted him to Clapwell, in Derbyshire; where, becoming afraid from the alarm that had been everywhere given, Mr. Veitch thought it prudent to advise with Lockyer, an old Cromwellian captain, who generously offered his services to conduct Argyle safely to London; which he did, bringing him first to Battersea, four miles above London, to Mr. Smith's, a sugar-baker's house, whose wife was a very pious and generous gentlewoman. They were rich, and had no children; of course they were able to do a great deal in the way of charity, without hurting themselves. They acquainted the lady with the earl's secret, but concealed it from her husband, and his lordship passed for an ordinary Scottish gentleman of the name of Hope. The lady, however, in a day or two sent to one of her agents in the city to provide two chambers, at a good distance from one another, where two friends of her's might be quiet and retired for a while; and Argyle and Veitch were sent to town by night to the

house of Mr. Holmes, the lady's agent, to be directed to their lodgings. None of them knew Holmes; but the moment Holmes came into the room which they had been shown, he took Argyle in his arms, saying, "My dear Lord Argyle, you are most welcome to me." Argyle, in astonishment, and not without some visible concern, inquired how he knew him. "I knew you," said Holmes, "since that day I took you prisoner in the Highlands, and brought you to the castle of Edinburgh. But now we are on one side, and I will venture all that is dear to me to save you." So he carried them to their several lodgings; those of Argyle being known to no one but Mr. Veitch and Holmes. As soon as the noise about his escape was over, Mrs. Smith brought them both out to a new house they had moved to at Brentford, Argyle passing for a Mr. Hope, and Veitch for a Captain Fabes. Here there were frequent meetings of noblemen, gentlemen, and rich merchants, with a view of devising means for preventing the nation from falling into slavery; but the whole ended in the discovery of the Rye-house Plot, which occasioned the apprehending of Mr. William Carstairs, Mr. Spence, and Baillie of Jerviswood—the two former of whom were put to the torture, and the latter executed in the most cruel manner. Upon the appearance of the plot being discovered, Argyle went over to Holland; and Mrs. Smith, who was deep in the plot also, persuaded her husband to emigrate to that country from general motives, for he was ignorant of the plot; and they continued to live together, taking up their abode at Utrecht. Veitch, happily, when the search was made for them in London, had departed for Scotland; and, after hiding for some time in the best manner he could, he also stole over to Holland. There he met with Monmouth, Argyle, the Earl of Melville, Lord Polwart, Torwoodlee, James Stuart, and many others similarly situated, who all took a deep interest in the plan now formed for invading both kingdoms at the same time, Monmouth to lead the attack upon England, and Argyle that upon Scotland. "Both of them," says Veitch, who seems to have been quite familiar with the whole plan, "had great promises sent them of assistance, but it turned to nothing, and no wonder; for the one part kept not their promises, and the other followed not the measures contrived and concerted at Amsterdam, April the 17th, 1685." The persons present at this meeting were Argyle, and his son Charles Campbell, Cochrane of Ochiltree, Hume of Polwart, Pringle of Torwoodlee, Denholm of West-shields, Hume of Bassendean, Cochrane of Waterside, Mr. George Wisheart, William Cleland, James Stuart, and Gilbert Elliot. Mr. Veitch says he brought old President Stairs to the meeting with much persuasion; and he gave bond for £1000 to Madam Smith, whose husband was now dead; and she lent out £6000 or £7000 more to Argyle and others for carrying on the enterprise.

Having made all necessary arrangements, so far as was in their power, and despatched Messrs. Barclay and Veitch, Cleland and Torwoodlee, to different parts of Scotland to prepare for their reception, Argyle and his company went on board their fleet of three ships, the *Anna*, *Sophia*, and *David*, lying off the Vlie, on the 28th of April, and, with a fair wind, set sail for Scotland, and in three days approached the Orkneys. At Kirkwall, most unfortunately, Spence, Argyle's secretary, and Blackadder, his physician, went on shore, were instantly apprehended by the bishop and sent up to Edinburgh, which alarmed the government, and gave them time to prepare for the attack which they had heard of, but of which they were now certain. Sailing round to Argyle's country, his son was landed, who sent through the fiery cross,

but with no great effect. Finding that they were pursued by a frigate, they put into a creek and landed their arms and stores at the old castle of Allangreg. In the meantime the Marquis of Athol came against them with a considerable force, by whom they were drawn away from the castle, leaving only 150 men to defend it in case of an attack. Being attacked, the small garrison fled, and the whole of their provisions and stores fell into the hands of the enemy. All this was discouraging enough; but, what was worse, they were not agreed among themselves, nor was the country agreed to take part with them. The suffering Presbyterians would have nothing to do with Argyle, with whom they were highly offended for the part he had hitherto acted, and the declaration he emitted did not give them great hopes of that which was yet to come. In short, it was soon evident that they would be obliged to separate, and every man to shift for himself in the best manner he could. Disappointed in the Highlands, it was proposed to try the Lowlands; but they had wandered in the Highlands till the government forces, under Athol, Gordon, and Dumbarton, had cut off their communication with the disaffected parts of the country, and even cut them off from the possibility of escape. It was at last, however, resolved that they should march upon Glasgow; and they crossed the water of Leven three miles above Dumbarton, on the night of the 16th of June. Marching next morning towards Kilmaronock, in the hope of finding some provisions, of which they were in absolute want, they discovered a party of horse, and stood to their arms, but the party they had observed being only a small body of horsemen not sufficiently strong to attack them, they passed on. On setting their watch the same night, they were alarmed again by a party of the king's forces. Attempting a night march to Glasgow, they wandered into a moss, where they were so broken and scattered, that, in the morning there were not above 500 of them together.

All hope of success was now over. Sir John Cochrane and Sir Patrick Hume crossed the Clyde with about 150 men; and Argyle refusing to follow them, marched to Muirdyke, where his troops were attacked by Lord Ross, whom they repulsed in a very gallant manner, but were under the necessity of separating shortly after. Argyle, thus left to himself, despatched Sir Duncan Campbell and two Duncansons, father and son, to his own country, to attempt raising new levies, and repaired himself to the house of an old servant, where he calculated upon a temporary asylum, but was peremptorily denied entrance. In consequence of this he crossed the Clyde, attended only by one companion. At the ford of Inchinnan they were stopped by a party of militiamen. Fullarton, the name of Argyle's companion, used every means he could think of to save his general, who was habited as a plain countryman, and whom he passed for his guide. Seeing them determined to go after his guide, as he called him, he offered to surrender without a blow, provided they did not hurt the poor man who was conducting him. These terms they accepted, but did not adhere to; two of their number going after Argyle, who, being on horseback, grappled with them till one of them and himself came to the ground. He then presented his pocket-pistol, when the two retired, but other five advancing, knocked him down with their swords and seized him. When they found who it was they had made prisoner they were exceedingly sorry, but they durst not let him go. Fullarton, perceiving the stipulation on which he had surrendered broken, snatched at the sword of one of them in order to take vengeance upon his perfidious opponents, but, failing in his at-

tempt, he too was overpowered and made prisoner. Renfrew was the first place that was honoured with the presence of this noble captive; whence, on the 20th of June, he was led in triumph into Edinburgh. The order of the council was particular and peremptory, that he should be led bareheaded in the midst of Graham's guards, with his hands tied behind his back, and preceded by the common hangman; and the more to expose him to the insults of the mob, it was specially directed that he should be led to the castle, which was to be the place of his confinement, by a circuitous route. All this, however, only served to display more strongly the heroic dignity, the meekness, the patience, and the unconquerable fortitude that animated their unfortunate victim; and it tended in no small degree to hasten that catastrophe which all this studied severity was intended to avert. The Scottish parliament on the 11th of June sent an address to the king; wherein, after commending his majesty in their usual manner for his immeasurable gifts of prudence, courage, and conduct, and loading Argyle, whom they style an hereditary traitor, with every species of abuse, and with every crime, particularly that of ingratitude for the favours which he had received, as well from his majesty as from his predecessor, they implore his majesty to show him no favour, and that his family, the heritors, the preachers, &c., who have joined him, may for ever be declared incapable of mercy, or of bearing any honour or estate in the kingdom, and all subjects discharged under the pains of treason, to intercede for them in any manner of way. Accordingly, the following letter, with the royal signature, and countersigned by Lord Milford, secretary of state for Scotland, was despatched to the council at Edinburgh, and by them entered and registered on the 29th of June. "Whereas, the late Earl of Argyle is, by the providence of God, fallen into our power, it is our will and pleasure that you take *all ways* to know from him those things which concern our government most; as, his assistants with men, arms, and money,—his associates and correspondents,—his designs, &c.; but this must be done so as no time may be lost in bringing him to condign punishment, by causing him to be denounced as a traitor within the space of three days after this shall come to your hands, an account of which, with what he shall confess, you shall send immediately to our secretaries, for which this shall be your warrant." James, who, while he was viceroy in Scotland, attended the infliction of torture upon the unhappy victims of his tyranny, and frequently called for another touch, watching, at the same time, the unhappy victim with the eager curiosity of a philosophical experimenter, evidently, by this letter, intended that it should have been applied to Argyle. "It is our will and pleasure that you take all ways to know from him," &c., seems positively to enjoin it; and when we reflect that torture was at the time in common use, and that the men to whom this order was addressed were in the habit of practising it, we might almost say it is somewhat of a mystery how he escaped it. Certain it is, however, that he did escape it, but how will, in all probability, never be known. That he did not escape it by any undue disclosures, is equally certain. That they had received such orders he was told, and of their readiness to obey them he had too many proofs; yet, when examined in private by Queensberry, he gave no information with respect to his associates in England; he also denied that he had concerted his design with any persons in Scotland; but he avowed boldly, and with the utmost frankness, that his hopes of success were founded on the cruelty of the administration, and such a dis-

position in the people to revolt as he conceived to be the natural consequence of oppression. He owned, at the same time, that he had laid too much weight upon this principle. Writing also to a friend, just before his examination, he has these words: "What may have been discovered from any paper that may have been taken, he knows not. Otherwise, he has named none to their disadvantage." Perhaps it was to atone for their neglect with regard to the torture, that the council ordered his execution on the very next day, although they had three to choose upon; and, to make the triumph of injustice complete, it was ordered upon the iniquitous sentence of 1682. The warning was short, but it must have been, in some degree, anticipated; and he received it with the most perfect composure. He possessed a faith full of assurance that triumphed over all his afflictions, and a hope that breathed immortality.

The morning of his execution was spent in religious exercises and in writing short notices to friends. He had his dinner before he left the castle, at the usual hour, at which he discoursed with those that were along with Mr. Charteris and others with cheerful and becoming gravity. After dinner he retired, as was his custom, to his bedchamber, where it is recorded he slept quietly for about a quarter of an hour. While he was in bed one of the members of the council came and wished to speak with him. Being told that the earl was asleep, and had left orders not to be disturbed, he seemed to think that it was only a shift to avoid further questionings, and the door being thrown open, he beheld, in a sweet and tranquil slumber, the man who, by the doom of himself and his fellows, was to die within the space of two short hours. Struck with the sight, he left the castle with the utmost precipitation, and entering the house of a friend that lived near by, threw himself on the first bed that presented itself. His friend naturally concluding that he was ill, offered him some wine, which he refused, saying, "No, no, that will not help me; I have been at Argyle, and saw him sleeping as pleasantly as ever man did, but as for me—" The name of the person to whom this anecdote relates is not mentioned, but Wodrow says he had it from the most unquestionable authority. After his short repose Argyle was brought to the high council-house, from which is dated the letter to his wife, and thence to the place of execution. On the scaffold he discoursed with Mr. Annand, a minister appointed by the government to attend him, and with Mr. Charteris, both of whom he desired to pray for him. He then prayed himself with great fervency. The speech which he made was every way worthy of his character—full of fortitude, mildness, and charity. He offered his prayers to God for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that an end might be speedily put to their present trials. Having then asked pardon for his own failings, both of God and man, he would have concluded, but being reminded that he had said nothing of the royal family, he prayed that there never might be wanting one in it to support the Protestant religion; and if any of them had swerved from the true faith, he prayed that God might turn their hearts, but at any rate to save his people from their machinations. Turning round, he said, "Gentlemen, I pray you do not misconstrue my behaviour this day. I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done against me, as I desire to be forgiven of God." Mr. Annand said, "This gentleman dies a Protestant," when he stepped forward and said, "I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever." He then embraced

his friends, gave some tokens of remembrance to his son-in-law, Lord Maitland, for his daughter and grandchildren, stripped himself of part of his apparel, of which he likewise made presents, and laying his head upon the block, repeated thrice, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," when he gave the signal, and his head was severed from his body. Thus died Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyle, on the 30th of June, 1685, of whom it has been said, "Let him be weighed never so scrupulously, and in the nicest scales, he will not be found in a single instance wanting in the charity of a Christian, the firmness and benevolence of a patriot, nor the integrity and fidelity of a man of honour."

CAMPBELL, SIR ARCHIBALD, Bart., G.C.B., &c., was a son of Archibald Campbell, lieutenant in the army, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Captain James Small. Having taken up the military profession like a family inheritance, Archibald entered the army in 1787, with the rank of ensign, in consequence of having raised twenty recruits for the service. Early in the following year he embarked with his regiment, the 77th, for India, and was employed in active service in the successful campaign against Tippoo Sultaun, and upon the coast of Malabar in 1790. In the following year he rose to the rank of lieutenant and adjutant, and served in the campaigns of the Mysore, and the first siege of Seringapatam. In 1795 he accompanied his regiment in the reduction of the Dutch garrison of Cochin and its dependencies on the coast of Malabar; and in 1796 he was employed in the successful enterprise that reduced the island of Ceylon. After various changes connected with these leading events in our Indian warfare, he served as major of brigade to the European brigade of the Bombay army in 1799, and was present at the battle of Saduceer and the capture of Seringapatam. Having procured during this year, by purchase, the rank of captain in the 67th regiment, he exchanged into the 88th, that he might continue upon foreign service, as the last-mentioned corps had just arrived in India; but he was disappointed in his purpose by ill health, which compelled him, in 1801, to return home.

After having been employed in England chiefly in the recruiting service, and upon the staff of the southern district as major of brigade, he was subsequently appointed major in the 6th battalion of reserve, and was stationed in Guernsey till 1805, when he joined the 71st regiment, with which he continued in Scotland and Ireland until 1808: he then joined the 1st battalion on its embarkation for Portugal. Here Major Campbell saw service such as he had not witnessed in India, having been present in the battles of Rolicca and Vimeira, as well as in the disastrous campaign in Spain under Sir John Moore, and the battle of Corunna. In February, 1809, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and appointed to assist Marshal Beresford in organizing and disciplining the Portuguese army. This was a service in which Colonel Campbell was associated with some of the best officers of the British army, and the value of their endeavours was well attested by the high state of efficiency to which the Portuguese soldiers were brought, and the important aid they rendered during the Peninsular war. In this auxiliary army Campbell rose to the rank of full colonel, and in 1811 to that of brigadier-general, and was present at the battles of Busaco, Albuera, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, the Nivelle, and the Nive, and several sieges, especially that of Badajoz. After having thus passed through the brunt of the war in the Peninsula and south of France, he was appointed to the rank

of major-general by the Prince Regent of Portugal in 1813, and to the command of the Lisbon division of the Portuguese army in 1816. In this capacity he continued till 1820, when the revolution of Portugal restored him to the service of his own country. He had offered, as soon as the insurrectionary movement commenced, and during the absence of Marshal Beresford, to march with his division and quell the rising at Oporto; but in consequence of the refusal of the regency, he gave in his resignation and returned to England.

General Campbell, now a well-tried and war-worn veteran, might, like many of his brethren of the Peninsular campaigns, have fought over his Indian and European battles at a peaceful fireside at home, and "showed how fields were won" to the rising generation whom their country was about to summon into action. But the best and most important part of his military career was still to come, and in India, where he had first learned the profession of arms. Not long after his return to England, he joined the 38th regiment, of which he was appointed colonel, at the Cape, and proceeded with it to India, whither it had been ordered. On arriving in India he was stationed at Berhampore, but was soon appointed by Sir E. Paget to take the command of the expedition fitted out against the Burmese. Of all the many nations of India, these people were reckoned among the bravest and most formidable; and their valour had already been shown in several severe repulses which they had given to the British troops with whom they had but lately come in contact. The great aim of the expedition which General Campbell commanded was to take possession of Rangoon, the chief seaport of Burmah; and for this quarter he set sail, and anchored within the bar off the town on the 10th of May, 1823. The landing and capture of Rangoon were effected in twenty minutes with scarcely any resistance. A defensive war of stockades on the part of the Burmese followed, which they maintained with much spirit, and occasionally with success, until the close of the year, when they were emboldened to abandon their guerilla warfare, for which their country was highly favourable, for the precarious chances of a battle. They accordingly assembled a large army of between 50,000 and 60,000 strong, with 300 pieces of cannon, and came down upon the British, who did not exceed 6000. This was what Campbell desired; the enemy were now before him in a fair field, instead of being entrenched behind stockades, or in the jungle, where they could not be reached except at great disadvantage. He saw at once that their wings were too far asunder, and he resolved to encounter them separately and in quick succession. His plan was effectual; the enemy thus attacked were defeated in detail, and so completely, that they fled in wild disorder, leaving behind them their artillery and throwing away their muskets. On the following day this crowd of fugitives was rallied, and incorporated with a new Burmese army that advanced to the scene of action; but Campbell defeated them in a second encounter that was as successful as the first. In these two engagements the Burmese sustained a loss of more than 5000 men, while that of the British was only 30 killed and 230 wounded. Undismayed, however, by such disasters, the enemy rallied for a third attempt, and this time were entrenched to the number of 20,000 behind a strong stockade. Here they were attacked by General Campbell, and routed with such slaughter, that the war, for the time at least, was terminated by the submission of Burmah and the occupation of Rangoon. Few of our Indian campaigns were more glorious, if we take into account

the obstacles which Campbell had to overcome, the smallness of his force as compared with that of the enemy, and the three decisive victories which he gained in such rapid succession. A full sense of his merit was manifested both in India and at home by the thanks of the governor-general in council and the two houses of the British Parliament, while the court of East India directors voted him a gold medal and a pension of £1000 per annum for life as the reward of his important services.

At the close of the Burmese war General Campbell was appointed commander of the forces in the provinces on the coast of Tenasserim, which the enemy had ceded, and civil commissioner in the Company's affairs in relation to the kingdoms of Burmah and Siam. But the fatigues of the campaign had so permanently affected his health, that he was compelled to resign his command and return to England in 1829. In the spring of 1831 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, and in this province he continued nearly six years, conducting the administration of its affairs not only to the satisfaction of the home government, but that of the colonists. In 1839 he was offered the appointment of commander-in-chief in Bombay, which he accepted, such an office being, of all others, the most congenial to his wishes; but almost immediately after, a fresh attack of ill health obliged him to resign it. After a few years of retirement from active life, which the increasing infirmities of old age rendered necessary, he died at Edinburgh on the 6th of October, 1843.

The value of Sir Archibald Campbell's military services, and especially those in India, were justly and gratefully appreciated. Besides his merited rise in the service, which went steadily onward, he was invested with the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword in 1813; knighted by the prince-regent, and appointed aide-de-camp to his royal highness in 1814; appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath in 1815, and G.C.B. in 1827; and in 1831 created a baronet of the United Kingdom. He was also, at various times, presented with the freedom of the cities of Perth, Strabane, and Cork. Sir Archibald Campbell married Miss Helen Macdonald of Garth, Perthshire, by whom he had two sons and three daughters.

CAMPBELL, COLIN (Lord Clyde). This gallant soldier and skilful leader, who established for himself so high a reputation in our recent wars in the Crimea and India, was born in Glasgow, October 20, 1792. His origin was sufficiently humble, his father, John M'Liver, a native of Mull, being nothing more than a working cabinet-maker in that city. While he thus had only a mechanic for his father, it was fortunate for Colin that his mother was of a better grade; her maiden name was Campbell, and she was the daughter of a small proprietor in the island of Islay. She had also sisters in good circumstances living in Glasgow, who assisted in procuring a suitable education for the future hero, first at the high-school of Glasgow, and afterwards at a military academy in Gosport. This adoption of a military life as his profession by young Colin was influenced by the counsel and aid of his mother's brother, an officer in the army, who in the campaign of 1793-94 had obtained the favourable notice of the Duke of York. These were causes sufficient for the adoption of the maternal name, by which Colin M'Liver was transformed into Colin Campbell. But this change of name had no effect upon his filial gratitude; and having lost his mother in early life, he continued, when he became an officer, to support his father out of his scanty pay until the latter died.

Having finished his military education at Gosport, and shown his eligibility for a commission, Colin Campbell was gazetted as ensign in the 9th (or East Norfolk) regiment of foot, in the summer of 1808, when he had reached the age of sixteen, and his commencement of the hardships of a military uniform. Old men can still remember the visions of their youthful wonderment when soldiers paraded before them so buckramed, so stiffened and pipe-clayed, that it seemed impossible they could either march or fight; and of these gratuitous difficulties of the Prussian school our young ensign was wont in after-years to make many a humorous complaint. Before his excoriated limbs, however, had lost their epidermis, and got the new enduring skin of the soldier, he was sent out on foreign service, and was present at the battle of Vimeira, where for the first time he stood under fire. He then followed the disastrous fortunes of the army of Sir John Moore both in its advance and retreat, until the campaign was finished by the battle of Corunna; but scarcely had he landed in England, when he was sent off, in 1809, upon the still more disastrous expedition to Walcheren. In this fatal enterprise, after enduring his full share of service and privations, he was struck down by the Walcheren fever; and although cured, the disease was so deeply seated in his system, that until he went to China, thirty years afterwards, it never failed to make yearly its periodic return. "Walcheren," he was wont to say, "was with me every season." Nothing but a constitution of iron could have survived such inflictions, and nothing but an equally indomitable will and devoted love of his profession have retained him in the service.

After this furnace of Walcheren had seasoned those whom it failed to destroy, Campbell in 1810 returned with his regiment to Spain, under better auspices than those of the Corunna campaign, and was present in most of the great actions that distinguished the Peninsular war. He shared in the battle of Barossa in March, 1811, and the defence of Tarifa on January 5th, 1812, and during the same year he was transferred to a corps of the Spanish army under General Ballasteros, with which he was present in several battles and skirmishes which our British historians have not recorded, or only passed lightly over. Among these was the expedition for the relief of Tarragona, which was a disastrous failure, and the affair for relieving the posts in the valley of Malaga. In 1813 he rejoined the army of the Duke of Wellington, and accompanied it through all the trying actions of that memorable year, distinguishing himself at every opportunity by his ardent courage, and establishing a high character throughout the army, by his resolution and deeds of active daring. Through the fire of Vittoria, which he entered with his wonted intrepidity, he passed unscathed, but was not so fortunate at the siege of San Sebastian, for in leading a forlorn hope to the aid of the neglected stormers, he received in this perilous service two severe wounds. At the passage of the Bidassoa he was again severely wounded by a musket shot, which passed through his right thigh. In the meantime his promotion had been going on, although slowly, and in a measure inadequate to his services. During the first year of his military career he had risen to the rank of lieutenant, and in 1813 he became a captain by brevet, in which rank he remained ten long years. Having neither fortune, nor family, nor political interest to promote his advancement, he was obliged to depend solely upon his merits, although these were so slow in obtaining recognition. Early in 1814 he was transferred to the 60th rifle regiment, in which he served in the American war of that

period, and was present in the battles of Bladensburg and New Orleans. Some years later he was sent to the West Indies, where he discharged the duties of brigade-major, and while he was very active in quelling the slave insurrection in Demerara he sustained a fresh return of the Walcheren fever, which still lurked in his constitution, and now broke out with somewhat of its former virulence. After this period, Britain being in a state of profound peace, Major Campbell was employed in an inglorious service, which was, to protect by military force the ejections and sales for the recovery of tithes in Ireland. He often spoke afterwards of this part of military duty as the most revolting of all in which he had been employed.

After some years had been thus spent in Ireland and elsewhere, in services which history does not condescend to notice, Colin Campbell, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, to which he had been appointed ten years earlier, was sent out to China in 1842, in command of the 98th regiment, and during this short Chinese war took an active part in the capture of Chin-kiang-fou, and the subsequent operations of our forces near Nankin. When this war had terminated, he was sent onward with his regiment to India, China being but a stepping-stone in its destination; and in India Colonel Campbell had little active employment, until the breaking out of the Sikh war in 1848. It was an occasion to test the military experience of Campbell acquired in long service and important action, especially in the Peninsula; and as, in consequence of seniority, he commanded the third division of the army of the Punjab, his worth was more likely to be seen and appreciated. Through all the difficulties of this trying campaign, conducted by the British against the most formidable enemy they had yet encountered in India, the effective services of Campbell, now serving as brigadier-general under Lord Gough, were conspicuous. This was especially the case at the battle of Ramnagur, the passage of the Chenab, the affair of Sadoolapore, and the decisive conflict of Chillianwallah, at which he was wounded, in directing a most opportune movement by which the British army was probably saved from destruction. Such was the testimony of the Duke of Wellington, who declared that the 61st regiment, which was under the leading of General Campbell, had performed in this battle one of the most brilliant exploits that had ever signaled a British regiment. At the battle of Goojerat, also, his worth as a skilful leader was so efficient, that he was created a K.C.B., and received the thanks of parliament and of the East India Company. After the suppression of the Sikhs, and the arrival of Sir Charles Napier in India as commander-in-chief, Campbell served under that distinguished warrior as brigadier-general, and in 1851 and the following year, while commander of the Peshawur district, he was employed in constant operations against the hill tribes, whom he defeated and reduced to subjection. Among these, his principal expedition was against the Ootmankbail and Ranazai tribes, whom, with 3000 bayonets, he completely defeated at Isakote, although they were 8000 strong. He was thus rapidly acquiring a military reputation only second to that of Napier himself, when his Indian services for the time were brought abruptly to a close. The operations in India at this period were subject to the interference of the political agents of the governor-general, who were too prone to dictate the mode in which a campaign should be carried out, as well as the terms of peace should it prove successful; and thus a commander found his movements hampered, and his authority over the troops controlled by a

civilian. Sir Colin Campbell would not permit the dictation of such men, who perhaps knew little or nothing of war; and who, in the event of success, might arrogate the whole glory to themselves, and in failures throw the whole blame upon the commander; and, finding that his remonstrances on the subject were ineffectual with the governor-general, he resigned his command, and returned to England in the summer of 1853. At his return he was nothing more than colonel, for his rank in India as brigadier-general had been only temporary. Thus slowly had his promotion gone on, notwithstanding forty-six years of active service, his brilliant deeds, his sufferings and wounds, and when he had reached his sixty-second year, at which time the fire and energy of life, especially in a war-worn soldier, is generally well-nigh exhausted. But as yet his career had but commenced, and his long endurance was to be crowned with success at last. Although thus late, a reward awaited him that might well compensate for such a wearying delay, and the scanty measure in which his services had been required.

Sir Colin remained unattached for some months until the war with Russia broke out in 1854, when he was appointed to the command of the Highland brigade that was to serve in the Crimea. It was a happy appointment by which Highlanders were to be commanded by a Highlander—one who combined with their native fire and daring an amount of military experience and skill that could turn their soldierly qualities to the best account. This the soldiers of the brigade felt; and they obeyed Sir Colin not merely as their general, but also as their patriarchal chief: they were ready to follow him to the death, or to die in his defence. The first of the Crimean battles in which Sir Colin signalized himself, was that of the Alma. On this occasion he was a conspicuous figure to friend and enemy as he rushed up with his battalion to the aid of the light division on the heights of the Alma; his repeated attacks upon the Russian masses were skillfully and successfully delivered; and at the critical moment, when the conflict seemed to be doubtful, he electrified his troops with new life by the short, pithy saying, "Highlanders never retire." Wherever they attacked, the Russian squares were broken and put to the rout; and in the despatches which Lord Raglan transmitted to the secretary of war of the battle of the Alma, the conduct of Major-general Sir Colin Campbell, with that of other distinguished personages, was recommended to particular notice. At Balaklava Sir Colin won additional distinction. His post on this occasion was to protect the earthworks that had been thrown up for the defence of the British portion of the allied encampment, and for this purpose he was stationed at the entrance of the valley with the 93d Highlanders. About 3000 Turkish irregulars, chiefly Tunisians, were added to this small force; but they were an aid upon which no dependence could be placed. This key to the British position was so inadequately secured, in consequence of the necessity of occupying the whole valley. Encouraged by this circumstance, the Russians, on the 25th of October, issued out of Sebastopol, in the hope of carrying the British encampment by storm. In their advance they easily dislodged the Turks from three redoubts which they occupied, and, following up their success, would soon have been in the midst of our camp, but for the vigilance and courage of Sir Colin. He ordered the 93d Highlanders to draw up in line two deep in front of the road leading to Sebastopol, to oppose a charge of heavy Russian cavalry. The enemy saw this extended but slender thread of defence, a "thin red streak topped with a line of steel,"

and thinking they could break through it as if it were a cobweb, a body of about 1500 Russian horse came down upon it with loosened rein. Calmly Sir Colin ordered the regiment to "prepare to receive cavalry," and with equal coolness the order was obeyed. The coming attack was checked for a moment by a volley of musketry from the 93d at the distance of 600 yards, which, however, did little execution. On came the Russian cavalry again with double confidence, but not with equal fortune, for, when within about 150 yards, another volley met them with such effect, that they broke their ranks and took to flight. The courage manifested in such an arrangement of Sir Colin, and the success that crowned it, excited the admiration of the army; and when, after the battle, Lord Raglan expressed his admiration of the former receiving a cavalry charge with so thin a line, the other replied, "I did not think it worth while to form them four deep."

During the remainder of the Crimean war Sir Colin Campbell took part in its proceedings, with the exception of a short period during which he visited England. The value of his services during the Russian campaign was so justly appreciated, that honours and promotions flowed upon him in full tide. In 1854 he had been gazetted a major-general. In October of the same year he was appointed colonel of the 67th regiment. In 1856 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and during the same year created a D.C.L. by the university of Oxford. In addition to these, he had conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Bath, the French Order of the Legion of Honour, the Sardinian Order of Saint Maurice and Saint Lazarus, and the Turkish Order of the Medjidie, 1st class, with a medal; the Crimean medal with clasps for Alma, Balaklava, and Sebastopol, and the war medal with five clasps, and was made military aide-de-camp to the queen. Nor were civic honours wanting, among other distinctions, to indicate the popular sense of his worth. He was presented with the freedom of the city of London; and a splendid sword of the value of 280 guineas was conferred upon him by the citizens of Glasgow, who were now proud of the fame of their fellow-townsmen.

It might have been thought that the war-worn veteran had by this time earned a right to repose, and that any further task awaiting him would only be to fight all his battles o'er again in description amidst the festive society of his friends, or over the comforts of his fireside. But scarcely had he begun to rest after the excitement of the Crimean war, when a still more important event summoned him once more into the field. It was the terrible Indian mutiny of 1857, by which the loss of our empire in the East was regarded as all but certain. The natives of its many kingdoms had broke out into open rebellion; the sepoys, whom we had trained to war, had banded themselves against their instructors; and while General Anson, the commander of the British forces in the East, had sunk and died under difficulties too great for him to surmount, our Indian generals, with their armies reduced to companies, were everywhere making head against the universal tide, and attempting with scanty means to suppress, or at least to hold in check, the overwhelming masses of the insurgents. In this difficulty all eyes at home were turned upon Sir Colin Campbell; it was felt that he and he alone was adequate for such a crisis; and the satisfaction was universal that hailed his appointment by our government to be commander-in-chief of the British armies in India. He readily responded to this new call of duty, and in less than twenty-four hours after his appointment he had left London on his way

to the East. Travelling by express, he was in time for the Indian mail at Marseilles, and arrived in Calcutta on the 29th of August, only thirty-one days after he had left London, so that he was the first to bring the tidings of his own appointment and arrival.

The great interest of the Indian war had now concentrated around Lucknow. That important city was in possession of the rebels, while a small military force of British soldiers, with a crowd of civilians, women and children, had taken refuge within the residency, which the rebels had closely invested, and would soon have reduced, but for the opportune arrival of General Havelock, who, after a series of victories scarcely paralleled in Indian warfare, had broke through Lucknow, and entered the residency. But this diversion, instead of raising the siege, was only sufficient to reinforce the all but overpowered garrison, and protract the resistance of the residency under the able superintendence of Outram and Havelock, who the while were cheered by the arrival of Sir Colin in India, and the prospect of his coming to their relief. This, however, could not be done without the arrival of reinforcements from England, so that it was not until the 12th of November that he could set out upon this critical enterprise. It was one that demanded consummate judgment; for a single false step or disaster in the attempt would have fearfully imperilled the loss of our only Indian army, and our hold of India. Setting out from Cawnpore, where he had concentrated his forces, he advanced upon the Alumbagh, an isolated building with grounds and inclosures, about three miles from the residency to the south-east of Lucknow, which Havelock had captured and garrisoned in his approach to the city. He reached the Alumbagh in the evening after a sharp attack of the rebels upon his vanguard, in which they were routed with the loss of their guns; after which the question was to be settled how he should reach the residency and raise the siege.

This was a question of no small difficulty, considering the smallness of his force, and the necessity of preserving it unbroken for the further necessities of the campaign. Lucknow, also, a city of great extent, was held by a numerous army of rebels, who occupied the whole of it, while every street was defended, and every house loopholed and converted into a fortress, so that to approach the residency by the direct road through the city, would have been to march through a fire in which half of his army would have been swept away. Sir Colin wisely resolved to adopt a more circuitous but safer route, by making a detour to the right, forcing his way through the park of the ancient Dilkoosha palace, and through the Martinière, an establishment for the education of Europeans and half-castes, crossing the canal on the east side of Lucknow, and then reaching the residency by a deflection round the north-east corner of the city. This plan, the perfection of caution, was executed in all its parts with not less courage and daring. Ordering his soldiers to march without baggage, and with three days' provision in their haversacks, and reinforcing his troops by fresh companies from the garrison at the Alumbagh, and leaving there instead of them the 75th regiment, that had been exhausted by its previous exertions, he commenced his route for the residency on the 14th of November, and advanced upon Dilkoosha. As soon as they reached the park, they were met by a heavy fire and desperate resistance from the rebels; but, after a fight of two hours, the British drove them first from the Dilkoosha park, and then from the Martinière, and pursued them across the canal.

This was but the first step in the path of difficulty, and the next was to assail and carry the Secunder Bagh, a plantation north of the canal, having a high wall of strong masonry, 120 yards square, occupied by the rebels in strong force, and loopholed all round; while only a hundred yards distant was a village, the houses of which were also loopholed, and occupied by mutinous sepoys in great numbers. On the morning of the 16th the British advanced to the attack; but no sooner had the head of the column advanced up the lane to the left of the Secunder Bagh, than a quick and heavy fire was opened upon it, which was continued on both sides for an hour and a half without intermission. It was at last determined to carry it by storm through a small breach that had been made in the wall, and this desperate service was gallantly performed by the remainder of the Highlanders, the 53d regiment, the 4th Punjab infantry, and a battalion of detachments from various regiments; and the desperate nature of the enemy's resistance may be estimated by the fact, that more than 2000 of their slain were found within the walls. After the storming of the Secunder Bagh, it was necessary to carry the Shah Nujeeff, a domed mosque which the enemy had converted into a strong fortress by blocking up the entrance to the building with regular masonry, and piercing the walls with loopholes, while the defences of the garden were also filled with soldiers. This formidable position was stormed after a heavy cannonade of three hours from the naval brigade conducted by Captain Peel, supported by the 93d regiment of Highlanders, and a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston. However briefly these successes are stated, the difficulties they presented, and the resistance they offered, it would not be easy to estimate. The ground thus won in the onward advance to the residency was every inch contested with a pertinacity which Sir Colin, now a gray-haired veteran, and trained in the wars of the Peninsula, had seldom witnessed, and he was obliged to bring up the same men over and over again to fresh attacks before the sepoys would give way. These sepoys indeed were rebels who had proved false to their rulers and their military allegiance, and knowing what they had to expect if conquered, they fought with the desperation of fiends. It was only by the highest kind of courage and endurance that such resistance could be overcome; and nobly did this small army of British soldiers vindicate their established reputation. "The storming of the Secunder Bagh and the Shah Nujeeff," said Campbell in his order of the day, "has never been surpassed in daring, and the success of it was most brilliant and complete." No further obstacle interposed between the besieged garrison and their countrymen coming to their aid, except a mess-house of considerable size defended by a ditch and a loopholed mud wall; and this was attacked and stormed on the following day after an hour of desperate conflict. And now the communication between the victorious army and the residency was so complete, that Outram and Havelock came out to welcome Sir Colin before the mess-house was carried. It was a proud moment to the latter when he saw the relief of the garrison accomplished, after so long a period of agonizing suspense, and so many desperate conflicts. What would the people in England say of him after such a wonderful achievement?

The cares of Sir Colin Campbell, however, were not ended when he stood as a conqueror within the walls of the residency. Lucknow was still in the hands of the rebels, who might at any time return to the attack, and the relief of the garrison could only be temporary so long as the helpless crowd that

composed so large a portion of it were still immured in the building. The place must not only be evacuated, but the women, the children, the sick, and the wounded removed, and protected upon a perilous retreat. They must be conveyed away by easy stages, and sheltered from the fire of the maddened enemy. A retreat of this kind might be more difficult and dangerous than the advance itself had proved. To accomplish such a delicate movement, Sir Colin opened a vigorous cannonade upon the Kaiserbagh or king's palace in Lucknow, so that the rebels in the city might think they were about to be attacked in earnest, and while their attention was thus withdrawn, he formed a line of posts on the left rear of his position sufficiently strong to resist the enemy's attacks. While the rebels were thus occupied with the cannonade upon Lucknow, and preparing to resist an attempt to storm the city, the ladies, their families, and the invalids were silently conveyed along the line of posts on the night of the 22d of November, and after them the garrison, the retreat being protected by judicious arrangements of the army—and to close the whole, Sir Colin himself went out with the last line of infantry and guns, as the body most likely to be attacked, and with which he intended to crush the enemy if they dared to follow up his piquets. These precautions were indeed necessary, as the only line of retreat lay through a long and crooked line; but, strange to tell, no interruption was offered: still expecting an attack on Lucknow, the rebels opened a fire upon the residency, and continued it for hours after the place was evacuated. Like a well-organized machine, every part of this retreating army moved according to appointment, and on the 23d the whole of the troops and their helpless convoy, comprising about 2000 souls, reached Dilkosha in safety.

The ultimate destination of this retreat was Cawnpore, now in possession of the British, and where the safety of the invalids might in some measure be secure; but here an unexpected event had occurred which disturbed Sir Colin's calculations. General Windham, who occupied its military cantonments, had been attacked by an overwhelming force of the rebels, and driven out of the city into his intrenchments, where he was closely besieged, and in the utmost danger. The first intimation which Sir Colin received of the danger in his march to Cawnpore, was from a sound of heavy firing in that direction; but on continuing his march on the following day, messenger after messenger came to him with tidings of Windham's disaster, upon which he hastened to the scene of action. On seeing that Cawnpore was in possession of the enemy, his first care was for the wounded, sick, and non-combatants from the residency, and these he managed to convey across the Ganges on their way to Allahabad—a tedious and dangerous operation which occupied several days, and was not fully effected until the 3d of December. Being thus lightened for action, and having completed his arrangements for an attack, he advanced on the 6th of December against the enemy, who were 25,000 strong, and had thirty-six guns—and he gave them such a defeat that they were pursued nearly fourteen miles, leaving behind them all their guns and ammunition.

After this the dispositions of Sir Colin for the suppression of the rebellion were so judicious, that at the close of the year [1857] the final issue could be no longer doubtful. In the greater part of the country the British ascendancy was restored, and the rebels, instead of mustering armies, could only continue the war in light predatory bands, which were crushed as often as they were en-

countered. Sir Colin Campbell's name was one of dread to the natives, who trembled at the thought of his invincible success, and believed him to be invincible. The great capital and centre of the rebellion, however, still continued to be Lucknow, and upon this the bands of mutineers were converging from every quarter, as if a fatality brought them together that they might be involved in a common doom.

Nor was that doom long delayed. After repairing the effects of General Windham's disaster, and establishing the British authority in Cawnpore, Sir Colin Campbell made preparations for ending the rebellion by the capture of Lucknow. The troops employed over the wide extent of country in putting down the rebels were moved to Lucknow as their place of united action; and on the 2d of March, 1858, the siege was commenced by the capture of the Dilkosha palace. All the fortified places in the suburbs were successively attacked, stormed, and occupied, and on the 19th everything was in readiness for a combined attack upon the city itself. Here, although the resistance was terrible, the result could not be doubtful, and in a short time Lucknow, the queen of Indian cities, was stormed and given up to plunder, while such of the rebels as had the good fortune to escape from its walls, were fleeing in thousands along the neighbouring highways. The punishment of the guilty city, which had been merited by its crimes, was now complete, as the following short description by an eyewitness will testify:—"Those stately buildings, which had never before been entered by European foot except by a commissioner of Oudh on a state day, were now open to the common soldier, and to the poorest camp follower of our army. How their splendours vanished like snow in sunshine! The destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives, were oppressive. I was glad to get away just as our mortars began to thunder away at the enemy's works again. . . . It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least 20,000 camp followers, all staggering under loads of plunder—the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld—Coolies, syces, kitmutgars, dhooly bearers, Sikhs, grass-cutters, a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass-pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, all the 'loot' of ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal to camp, and the wild Ghoorkas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth."

After the fall of Lucknow little more remained to be done except to tread down and extinguish the smouldering embers of rebellion, lest they should rekindle a new flame, and to this task Sir Colin addressed himself with his wonted resolution and perseverance. He therefore again took the field on the 2d of November for a winter campaign, and advanced against a jungle fort lying midway between the rivers Gogra and Sye, and occupied by an Oudh chief of great power and resources; but instead of resisting, the chief yielded his fortress at the first summons to surrender. On the 12th Sir Colin marched to Shunkerpore, where there was another jungle fort held by an Oudh chief, Bainie Mudhoo, who seemed disposed to try the fortune of war; but on the place being invested, he stole out at midnight with all his troops, and escaped beyond pursuit. Other encoun-

ters followed with the rebellious chiefs of the revolted province of Oudh, and in every instance Campbell was successful, while the rebels were either compelled to surrender or save themselves by flight. It was a campaign so rapidly conducted and successfully finished, that before the year had ended Sir Colin was enabled to announce that the last rallying of the mutiny in Oudh had been suppressed—that "the resistance of 150,000 armed men had been subdued with a very moderate loss to her majesty's troops, and the most merciful forbearance towards the misguided enemy"—that "the last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents has been hopelessly driven across the mountains which form the barrier between the kingdom of Nepal and her majesty's empire of Hindostan."

These were joyful tidings for Britain, which they were not long in reaching, and in proportion to the dread of losing our empire in the East, was the exultation at its entire recovery. It was also felt that although much was owing to those gallant chiefs who had borne the first brunt of so unequal an encounter, and whose victories had raised it to a conflict on equal terms—yet that it was the rare combination of prudence and valour possessed by Sir Colin Campbell that had turned the scale, restored our Indian ascendancy, and established our rule in India more securely than ever. Nor was it long before these grateful feelings had an appropriate outlet. The conqueror of Lucknow and the Indian mutiny was, in August 16, 1858, created a peer, and as he had not a foot of land of his own on which to rest his designation, he was invested with the title of Baron Clyde of Clydesdale, from the name of the river on the banks of which he had been born. During the same year he was promoted to the rank of full general. In 1859 he received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and had a pension of £2000 assigned to him. In 1861 he was nominated a Knight of the Star of India, and in November, 1862, on the occasion of the Prince of Wales having attained his majority, he was promoted to the highest grade of his profession, that of a field-marshal of the army. As there was no further work for him to accomplish, the veteran retired into private life universally honoured and beloved. His appearance at his final return from India is thus described in the leading journal of the day, and the correctness of the sketch can still speak to the hearts of the living generation: "In person Lord Clyde was well knit, symmetrical, and graceful; but of late years his shoulders became somewhat bowed, though he lost little of the activity which was remarkable in so old a man. To the last his teeth remained full and firm in the great square jaws, and his eye pierced the distance with all the force of his youthful vision. His crisp gray locks still stood close and thick, curling over the head and above the wrinkled brow, and there were few external signs of the decay of nature which was, no doubt, going on within, accelerated by so many wounds, such fevers, such relentless exacting service. When he so willed it, he could throw into his manner and conversation such a wondrous charm of simplicity and vivacity as fascinated those over whom it was exerted, and women admired and men were delighted with the courteous, polished, gallant old soldier." After alluding to his patriotism, his attachment to the duties of his profession, and his uncomplaining devotedness to these through years of tardy promotion or unmerited neglect, the same writer thus continues the portraiture of his moral character:—

"Looking at his whole career, Lord Clyde was a remarkable instance of the way in which sterling qualities of head and heart may win their way even

in the ranks of the British army. We are accustomed to pride ourselves on the fact that the highest honours of the two learned professions are open to the attainment of the humblest Englishman; but there is a prejudice, not perhaps unfounded, that it is otherwise in the army, and that money or interest, or both, are essential to high military rank. Yet Lord Clyde commenced his service as unassisted by wealth or friends as the most unknown and penniless barrister or curate. Nor did he owe his ultimate reputation and success to the opportunity for any very extraordinary services. He rose by the mere force of sterling ability, complete knowledge of his profession, sound sense, high honour, and an honest, industrious, and laborious performance of duty. These qualities, alone and unaided, made him a field-marshal, a member of the most distinguished orders in Europe, and raised him to the English peerage. He had to wait long—too long, it is true—and often had reason for just indignation at undeserved neglect; but his perfect modesty kept him true to his work, and gave opportunity for his real value to compel his rise. Perhaps he owed as much to the qualities of his heart as to those of his head and his will. The positions he won are hardly open to equal abilities if marred by an impracticable or ungenerous nature. But men will rarely refuse to recognize true talent when its force is softened by modesty, and its claims made welcome by unselfishness. A merely personal ambition in Sir Colin Campbell might have met with the angry repulse of proud or interested feelings. But his nature was so retiring, and his modesty so complete, that he excited no personal envy or jealousy. His rise was felt to be simply the natural recognition of talents which the country could not spare; and, at the same time, his entire generosity prevented his retaining any grudge at past disappointments, and made him always ready to serve others whenever and wherever he was wanted."

It was when he thus ended his work and shown his worth, and when the admiration and gratitude of his country were at their height, that Lord Clyde passed away. His decease occurred in August 14, 1863, when he was in the seventy-first year of his age, and by his death his title became extinct, as he had never been married. His remains were interred in Westminster Abbey, not far from the grave in which Sir James Outram, his friend and companion in arms, had recently been buried; and although, with the unostentatious simplicity that marked his character, he had wished that his funeral should be a private one, it was attended by the carriages of the royal family, and by a long train of distinguished mourners, the friends and companions of the deceased.

CAMPBELL, DR. GEORGE, an eminent theological writer, was born on Christmas day, 1719. His father was the Rev. Colin Campbell, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, a man whose simplicity and integrity of character were well known throughout the country, and the cause of his being held in general esteem. While the theological sentiments of this respectable person were perfectly orthodox, his style of preaching was very peculiar: it no doubt partook of the fashion of the times, but he seems to have also had a singular taste of his own. Dr. Campbell frequently spoke of his father; and though his connection with so excellent a man afforded him great pleasure, he sometimes amused himself and his friends by repeating anecdotes respecting the oddity of his conceits in preaching. He delighted much in making the heads and particulars of his discourses begin with the same letter of the alpha-



THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

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bet. Some very curious examples were in the possession of his son, which he related with great good humour, and which no one enjoyed more than himself. He had followed the fortunes and adhered to the principles of the Argyle family. He was therefore a decided Whig, and was very active in promoting, in 1715, among his parishioners, the cause of the Hanoverian succession, and in opposing the powerful interest of the numerous Tory families in Aberdeen. This worthy man died suddenly, on the 27th of August, 1728, leaving a widow, with three sons and three daughters. The subject of this memoir was the youngest of the sons.

The grammar-school of Aberdeen has long maintained a high rank among the Scottish seminaries; and it now enjoyed more than its usual reputation from the connection of Mr. Alexander Malcolm, the author of by far the most extensive and philosophical system of arithmetic in the English language, besides an excellent treatise on music. Such a man produces a strong sensation wherever the sphere of his exertions happens to be, but in a provincial town like Aberdeen, where almost all the youth are his pupils, the impression he makes is naturally much greater. George Campbell, though said to have been a lively and idle, rather than a studious boy, made a respectable appearance in this school. He was afterwards enrolled a member of Marischal College, and went through the common course. A senior brother, whose name was Colin, had been devoted to the church, and George therefore proposed to study law. He was bound apprentice to Mr. Stronach, W.S., Edinburgh, and regularly served the stipulated time. But he does not seem to have entered upon this line of life with any ardour. Before he had finished his apprenticeship, his resolutions were fixed for another profession, and in 1741 he attended the prelections of Professor Goldie, who then held the theological chair in the Edinburgh university. The celebrated Dr. Blair began about this time, as minister of the Canongate, to attract public attention by his discourses; and Campbell became a devoted admirer of the style of that great divine, with whom he, at the same time, formed an intimate personal friendship.

At the conclusion of his apprenticeship, Mr. Campbell returned to Aberdeen, and concluded his education as a clergyman in the divinity halls of that university. His superior intellect was now marked among his fellows, and he became the leader of a debating society which was instituted by them in 1742, under the name of the *Theological Club*. Being licensed in 1746, he soon attracted attention by his discourses; yet in 1747 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the church of Fordoun, in the Meams. When his reputation had acquired more consistency, he was presented to the church of Banchory Ternan, a few miles from Aberdeen, under circumstances of a somewhat extraordinary nature. Neither the patron nor those who recommended Campbell were aware of his Christian name. It therefore happened that Colin, his elder brother, a man of great worth, but comparatively slender abilities, was applied to, and invited to preach at Banchory, as a prelude to his obtaining the living. Colin's public exhibitions did not equal the expectations which had been formed; and, in the course of conversation, the sagacity of the patron, Sir Alexander Burnett, discovered that it was his brother whose recommendations had been so ample. George Campbell was afterwards invited, and the satisfaction which he gave insured success, for he was ordained minister of that parish June 2, 1746. He was not long in this situa-

tion when he married a young lady of the name of Farquharson.

Though Mr. Campbell did not, at this early period of his life, give token of that power of intense application which he manifested in his later years, it is supposed that he formed, in the solitude of Banchory, the original ideas of all his great works. He here composed the most important parts of his *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. This admirable and truly classical work, in which the laws of elegant composition and just criticism are laid down with singular taste and perspicuity, originally formed a series of detached essays, and contains, with a few exceptions, the outlines of all the works he ever published. At this time also he began his great work, the *Translation of the Gospels*;¹ though it is probable that he did not make much progress until his professional duties directed his attention more forcibly to the same subject. His character as a country clergyman was established in a very short time. The amiable simplicity of his manners, the integrity and propriety of his behaviour, conjoined with his extensive knowledge, and the general esteem in which he was held by literary men, very soon brought him into notice. He was consequently induced to relinquish his charge in the country, and comply with the invitation of the magistrates of Aberdeen, to take charge of one of the *quarters* of that city. Here he derived great advantage from the society of literary men, and the opportunity of consulting public libraries. Mr. Campbell joined the Literary Society of Aberdeen, which had been formed in the year 1758, and which comprehended many men afterwards eminent in literature and philosophy. The subjects discussed in this association were not confined to those coming strictly within the category of the belles lettres; all the different branches of philosophy were included in its comprehensive range. Campbell took a very active part in the business of the society, and delivered in it the greater part of his *Philosophy of Rhetoric*.

Principal Pollock of Marischal College died in 1759, and it was supposed at the time that the chance of succeeding him was confined to two gentlemen possessed of all the local influence which in such cases generally insures success. Mr. Campbell, who was ambitious of obtaining the situation, resolved to lay his pretensions before the Duke of Argyle, who for many years had dispensed the government patronage of Scotland. It happened that one of Mr. Campbell's ancestors, his grandfather or great-grandfather, had held the basket into which the Marquis of Argyle's head fell when he was beheaded. Mr. Campbell hinted at this in the letter he addressed to his grace, and the result was his appointment to the vacant place.

Shortly after this Mr. Campbell received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from King's College, Aberdeen; and in 1763 he published his celebrated *Treatise on Miracles*, in answer to what was advanced on that subject by David Hume; a work which has been justly characterized as one of the most acute and convincing treatises that has ever appeared upon the subject. A condensed view of the respective

¹ When Mr. Alexander Fraser Tytler (afterwards Lord Woodhouselee) published his *Essay on the Principles of Translation*, a correspondence ensued betwixt him and Dr. Campbell, in consequence of the latter asserting that many of the ideas contained in the *Essay* had been appropriated without acknowledgment from his *Translation of the Gospels*, published a short time previously. It was, however, satisfactorily established by Mr. Tytler, that the supposed plagiarism was in reality the result of coincidence of opinion. Of this the doctor became thoroughly satisfied, and a warm friendship grew up between the parties.

arguments of these two philosophers, on one of the most interesting points connected with revealed religion, is thus given by the ingenious William Smellie, in the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article "Abridgment:"—

Mr. Hume argues, "That experience, which in some things is variable, in others uniform, is our only guide in reasoning concerning matters of fact. A variable experience gives rise to probability only; a uniform experience amounts to a proof. Our belief of any fact from the testimony of eye-witnesses is derived from no other principle than our experience in the veracity of human testimony. If the fact attested be miraculous, here arises a contest of two opposite experiences, or proof against proof. Now, a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as complete as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined; and, if so, it is an undeniable consequence, that it cannot be surmounted by any proof whatever derived from human testimony."

Dr. Campbell, in his answer, aims at showing the fallacy of Mr. Hume's argument by another single position. He argues, "That the evidence arising from human testimony is not solely derived from experience; on the contrary, testimony hath a natural influence on belief, antecedent to experience. The early and unlimited assent given to testimony by children gradually contracts as they advance in life: it is therefore more consonant to truth to say that our diffidence in testimony is the result of experience, than that our faith in it has this foundation. Besides, the uniformity of experience in favour of any fact, is not a proof against its being reversed in a particular instance. The evidence arising from the single testimony of a man of known veracity will go far to establish a belief in its being actually reversed: if his testimony be confirmed by a few others of the same character, we cannot withhold our assent to the truth of it. Now, though the operations of nature are governed by uniform laws, and though we have not the testimony of our senses in favour of any violation of them, still, if in particular instances we have the testimony of thousands of our fellow-creatures, and those, too, men of strict integrity, swayed by no motives of ambition or interest, and governed by the principles of common sense, that they were actual eye-witnesses of these violations, the constitution of our nature obliges us to believe them."

Dr. Campbell's essay was speedily translated into the French, Dutch, and German languages.

The activity and application of Dr. Campbell received an impulse in 1771, from his being appointed professor of divinity in Marischal College, in place of Dr. Alexander Gerard, who had removed to the corresponding chair in King's. These two eminent men had been colleagues, and preached alternately in the same church. They were now pitted against each other in a higher walk, and there can be no doubt, that, as the same students attended both, a considerable degree of emulation was excited betwixt them. Gerard was perfectly sensible of the talents of his new rival. His friends had taken the freedom of hinting to him that he had now some reason to look to his laurels; in answer to which he remarked carelessly, that Dr. Campbell was indolent. An unfortunate misunderstanding had existed between these two excellent men for many years: it was now widened by the report of Gerard's trivial remark, which some busy person carried to Dr. Campbell's ears, probably in an exaggerated shape.

This circumstance is said, however, to have had the beneficial effect of stimulating Dr. Campbell's exertions. The manner in which he discharged his duties was most exemplary; and the specimens which he has given in his *Preliminary Dissertations to the Translation of the Gospels*, in his lectures on ecclesiastical history, and on theology, afford abundant proofs of his high qualifications as a public lecturer. It will be at the same time observed, from the list of his works immediately to be submitted, that the vacations of his professional labours were most sedulously employed for the advantage of the public and posterity.

Dr. Campbell appears to us to have been one of the most splendidly gifted men that appeared during the course of the last century. His body was remarkably feeble; his stature greatly below that of ordinary men in this country. His health was extremely delicate, and required for the long period of threescore years and ten the utmost care and attention. Yet his powers of application were above those of most men, and, what is strange, were exemplified chiefly in his later and feebler years. He was a man of the utmost simplicity of manners and naïveté of character, and remarkably pleasant in conversation. The works which he has published prove, in the most indisputable manner, that he was possessed of true philosophical genius. His powers of abstraction appear to have been greater than those of most men of ancient or modern times. The study of languages was employed by him to the best advantage; and the accuracy of his disquisitions throws a light upon the nature of the human mind, while it discovers a habit of attention to the actings of his own mind, which has certainly not been surpassed by any of those who have cultivated the science of morals.

As a minister of religion he was no less eminent than in any other situation which he ever filled. He was esteemed by his hearers as an excellent lecturer; but his lectures were perhaps a little superior to his ordinary sermons. As the head of his college, he appeared to the greatest advantage—unassuming, mild, and disposed to show the greatest kindness and tenderness to those who were his inferiors, both in regard to rank or to literary reputation. As professor of divinity his fame was unrivalled. Many of his pupils have expressed in the warmest language the pleasure they derived from his prelections. There was a peculiar unction in his manner which charmed every one. He encouraged those whom he conceived to be diffident, and equally discountenanced those who appeared to him to be forward or conceited. In church-courts he never aimed at shining; but he was sometimes roused to great extemporaneous exertion in that field, and it was remarked that his replies were generally better than his introductory speeches. He was a zealous advocate for liberty of conscience, and lent all his influence to his friend Principal Robertson respecting the Popish bill. His preponderance in the town of Aberdeen was never great in public questions; and indeed he never aimed at such an object: but in private society he was always esteemed the life of the company, and never failed to make a strong impression.¹

¹ The following is a list of his writings:—*The Character of a Minister as a Teacher and Pattern; Dissertation on Miracles; The Spirit of the Gospel; The Philosophy of Rhetoric; The Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Duty of Allegiance; The Success of the First Publishers of the Gospel, a Proof of its Truth; Address to the People of Scotland on the Alarms raised by the Bill in Favour of the Roman Catholics; The Happy Influence of Religion on Civil Society; Translation of the Gospels, with Preliminary Dissertations and Explanatory Notes; Lectures on Ecclesiastical History; Lectures on Theology.*

Dr. Campbell died April 6, 1796, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

CAMPBELL, JOHN, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, a distinguished soldier and statesman, was the son of Archibald, first Duke of Argyle, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmas of Helmingham, by Elizabeth, afterwards Duchess of Lauderdale, daughter of William Murray, Earl of Dysart. His grace was born October 10, 1678. On the day in which his grandfather Archibald, Earl of Argyle, fell a sacrifice to the tyranny of James VII. (some say at the very moment of his execution), the subject of this narrative, being then in his seventh year, fell from a window in the third story of the house of Dunybrissel, then possessed by his aunt, the Countess of Murray, and, to the astonishment of the whole household, was taken up without having suffered any material injury—a circumstance which his relatives and friends considered as indicating not only future greatness, but that he was destined to restore the lustre of the house of Argyle, which at that moment was under a melancholy eclipse. The care of his education was confided to a licentiate of the Scottish church named Walter Campbell, who for his diligence was afterwards rewarded by the family with a presentation to the parish of Dunoon. Under this gentleman he studied the classics, and some branches of philosophy. But he was distinguished by a restless activity rather than a fondness for study, and his father, anxious to place him in a situation where he might have it in his power to retrieve the fortunes of the family, took an early opportunity of presenting him to King William, who, in 1694, bestowed upon the young nobleman the command of a regiment, he being yet in his sixteenth year. In this situation he continued till the death of his father, in the month of December, 1703, when, succeeding to the dukedom, he was sworn of his majesty's privy-council, and appointed captain of the Scots horse-guards, and one of the extraordinary lords of session. In 1704 the order of the Thistle being revived in Scotland, his grace was installed one of the knights, which dignity he subsequently exchanged for the order of the Garter.

In 1705, being exceedingly popular among his countrymen, the Duke of Argyle was appointed her majesty's high commissioner to the Scottish parliament, in order to prepare the way for the treaty of union which her majesty Queen Anne, in concert with her English counsellors, had now determined to carry into effect. For his services in this parliament he was created an English peer by the titles of Baron of Chatham and Earl of Greenwich. His grace after this served four campaigns in Flanders, under the Duke of Marlborough, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, and was honourably distinguished in the battles of Ramilies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, in the last of which he narrowly escaped, having a number of balls shot through his coat, hat, and periwig. He was also employed at the sieges of Ostend, Menin, Lisle, Ghent, and Tournay.

On the change of ministry in 1710, Argyle veered with the wind of the court, and having become a declaimer against the Duke of Marlborough, was by the Tories appointed generalissimo in Spain, where there were great complaints of mismanagement on the part of the former ministry, and where it was now proposed to carry on the war with more than ordinary vigour. Here, however, his grace was completely overreached, the ministry having no intention of carrying on the war anywhere. On his arrival in Spain he found the army in a state of perfect disorganization, without pay and without necessaries, and though the parliament had voted a large sum for its

subsistence, not one farthing was sent to him. He was under the necessity of raising money upon his plate and personal credit for its immediate wants, and in a short time returned to England, having accomplished nothing. This treatment, with a report that a design had been laid to take him off by poison while he was on his ill-fated journey, and, above all, the superior influence of the Earl of Mar, who, as well as himself, aspired to the sole administration of Scottish affairs, totally alienated him from his new friends the Tories. He became again a leading Whig, and a violent declaimer for the Protestant succession, in consequence of which he was deprived of all his employments. His grace had been a principal agent in accomplishing the union, by which his popularity was considerably injured among the lower orders of his countrymen; this he now dexterously retrieved by joining with Mar and his Jacobite associates at court for the dissolving of that treaty which he now pretended had completely disappointed his expectations. A motion for this end was accordingly made in the House of Lords on the 1st of June, 1713, by the Earl of Seafield, who also had been one of the most forward of the original supporters of the measure. The motion was seconded by the Earl of Mar, and urged by Argyle with all the force of his eloquence. One of his principal arguments, however, being the security of the Protestant succession, he was led to speak of the Pretender, which he did with so much acrimony, that several of the high Jacobites fled the house without waiting for the vote. This was the means of disappointing the project, which otherwise had most certainly been carried, it having been lost after all by no more than four voices.

On the illness of the queen in the following year, the zeal of his grace for the Protestant succession was most conspicuous as well as most happy. Nobody at the time entertained any doubt that Bolingbroke and his party had an intention at least to attempt the Pretender's restoration on the death of the queen; and to prevent any undue advantages being taken of circumstances, Argyle no sooner was apprised of her dangerous situation than, along with the Duke of Somerset, he repaired to the council-board, and prevailed to have all the privy-councillors in and about London, without any exception, summoned to attend, which, with the sudden death of the queen, so completely disconcerted the Tories, that for the time there was not the smallest manifestation of one discordant feeling. The queen was no sooner dead than the seven lords who had by a previous act of parliament been appointed to the regency, together with sixteen additional personages nominated by the heir-apparent, in virtue of the same act of parliament, proclaimed the Elector of Hanover king of Great Britain. They at the same time took every precaution for preserving tranquillity, and preparing for his majesty's being peacefully and honourably received on his arrival. The services of Argyle on this occasion were not overlooked: he was made groom of the stole to the prince, when his majesty had advanced no further than Greenwich, and two days after was appointed commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces for Scotland.

Though by this strange combination of circumstances—viz. the sudden demise of the queen, the disunion of the Jacobites, with the prompt decision of the Whigs, among whom the subject of this memoir was a most efficient leader—the accession of the new dynasty was to all appearance easy and peaceable, the baffled faction very soon rallied their forces, and returned to the charge with an energy and a perseverance worthy of a better cause. The cry of "church

in danger" was again raised, and for some weeks England was one scene of universal riot. Many places of worship belonging to Dissenters were thrown down, and in several places most atrocious murders were committed. Through the energy of the government, however, open insurrection was for a while prevented, and tranquillity in some measure restored. Still the activity of the Pretender at foreign courts, and the restlessness of his adherents at home, created strong suspicions that an invasion on his behalf was intended, and every preparation that could be thought of was taken to defeat it. A number of new regiments were raised, officers of doubtful character were displaced, suspected persons taken into custody, and lords-lieutenant, with the necessary powers, everywhere appointed. In the meantime Scotland, where the friends of the exiled family were proportionally much more numerous than in England, was by a strange fatality neglected. In the southern and western shires, through the influence of the Hanoverian club, at the head of which was the Earl of Buchan, the attention of the people had been awakened, and right feeling to a considerable extent excited; yet even there Jacobitism was not a rare thing, and in the north, through the influence of the Earl of Mar, it was altogether triumphant. That nobleman, indeed, had cajoled into his views almost all the clans, at the head of whom, to the amount of 12,000 men, he had taken possession of Perth, and was ready to seize upon the fords of the Forth before the government had observed his manoeuvres, or taken any proper precautions to counteract them. Sensible at last of the danger, they proclaimed the law for encouraging loyalty in Scotland, summoned a long list of suspected persons to deliver themselves up to the public functionaries; and, to call forth those supplies of men and money which they had hitherto shown a disposition to forbid rather than to encourage, sent down the Duke of Argyle, who had already been constituted commander-in-chief of the forces, with all the necessary powers for that purpose. His grace arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th of September, 1715, where his first care was to inspect the garrison, the fortifications, and the magazines, from the last of which he ordered thirty cartloads of arms and ammunition to be sent to Glasgow and Stirling for the use of the inhabitants. He then proceeded to review the army which had been assembled at Stirling, General Wightman having there formed a camp of all the disposable forces in Scotland, which fell short of 2000 men, a number altogether inadequate to the arduous duties they had to perform. The first care of his grace was, of course, to augment the forces by every possible means, for which end he wrote to the magistrates of Glasgow, and through them to all the well-affected in the west of Scotland, to forward such troops as they might have in readiness, without loss of time, and to have as many more provided against a sudden emergency as possible. Glasgow, which had been in expectation of such a catastrophe for a considerable time, immediately forwarded to Stirling upwards of 700 men, well equipped, under the command of Provost Aird, with whom they joined Colonel John Blackadder, governor of Stirling Castle. These 700 were instantly replaced at Glasgow by detachments from Kilmarnock, Irvine, Greenock, and Paisley, where, with the exception of detachments sent out to garrison the houses of Drummakill, Gartartan, and Cardross, they were allowed to remain for the convenience of provisions, which were rather scarce at Stirling. He also ordered levies to fill up every company in the regular regiments to fifty men, and to add two fresh companies to each regiment. But though he offered a strictly limited term of ser-

vice and a liberal bounty for that period (£2 sterling for each man), he does not appear to have been successful in adding to his numbers. Nor, with all his earnestness of application, could he prevail on the government to spare him from England, where troops were plentiful, a single man. One regiment of dragoons and two of foot from Ireland were the utmost he could obtain, which, till he should be able to ascertain the intentions of the Earl of Mar, were also stationed at Glasgow. While Argyle was thus struggling with difficulties, and completely hampered in all his operations, Mar had greater means than he had genius to employ, and could, without any exertion, keep his opponent in perpetual alarm. He had already, by a stratagem, nearly possessed himself of the castle of Edinburgh ere the magistrates of that city were aware of his being in arms. A detachment from his army, by a night march, descended upon Burntisland, where a vessel loaded with arms for the Earl of Sutherland had been driven in by stress of weather. This vessel they boarded, carrying off the arms, with as many more as could be found in the town. A still bolder project was about the same time attempted in the north-west, where a numerous party of the Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, under the orders of General Gordon, attempted to surprise the garrison of Inverlochy. They were, however, repulsed, after having made themselves masters of two redoubts and taken twenty men. They then turned south upon Argyshire for the purpose of raising men, and General Gordon, who had the reputation of an excellent officer, threatened to fall down upon Dumbarton and Glasgow. This was another source of distraction to Argyle, whose small army could not well admit of being divided. Gordon, however, met with little encouragement in the way of recruiting, and after alarming Inverary, where the duke had stationed his brother, Lord Ilay, dropped quietly into Mar's camp at Perth, where nearly the whole strength of the rebels was now concentrated.

Though Argyle was thus circumscribed in his means, he displayed ceaseless activity and considerable address in the application of them, and the great reputation he had acquired under Marlborough rendered him, even with his scanty means, formidable to his opponent, who was altogether a novice in the art military. One talent of a great general too his grace possessed in considerable perfection; that of finding out the plans and secret purposes of his adversary, of all whose movements he had generally early and complete intelligence: Mar, on the contrary, could procure no intelligence whatever. He knew that a simultaneous rising was to take place under Thomas Foster of Etherstane, member of parliament for the county of Northumberland, and another in Nithsdale under Viscount Kenmure; but how they were succeeding, or to what their attention had been more immediately directed, he was utterly ignorant. To ascertain these points, to stimulate his friends in their progress, and to open up for himself an easier passage to the south, he detached 2500 of his best troops under the laird of Borlum, the bravest and the most experienced officer perhaps in his whole army. This detachment was to force its way across the Firth below Edinburgh, and through the Lothians by the way of Kelso, till it should find Kenmure or Foster upon the English border. This romantic project the old brigadier, as he was called in the army, accomplished with great facility, one boat with forty men being all that in crossing the Firth fell into the hands of the enemy. A few, with the Earl of Strathmore, were cut off from the rest, but made their escape into the Isle of May, whence

in a day or two they found their way back to Perth. The principal part of the expedition, consisting nearly of 2000 men, landed between Tantalou, North Berwick, and Aberlady, and for the first night quartered in Haddington. Early next morning, the 13th of October, the whole body marched directly for Edinburgh. This threw the citizens into the utmost consternation, and an express was sent off directly to Stirling for troops to protect the city: 200 infantry mounted upon country horses and 300 cavalry arrived the same evening; but had Borlum persisted in his original design, they had certainly come too late. On his arriving, however, within a mile of the city, and meeting with none of the citizens, a deputation of whom he had expected to invoke his aid, and perhaps secretly dreading the movements of Argyle, Borlum turned aside to Leith, which he entered, as he would in all probability have entered Edinburgh, without the smallest opposition. Here the insurgents found and liberated their forty companions who had been taken the previous day in crossing the Firth. They also seized upon the custom-house, where they found considerable quantities of meal, beef, and brandy, which they at once appropriated to their own use; and possessing themselves of the citadel, with such materials as they found in the harbour, they fortified it in the best manner they could for their security through the night. Next morning Argyle, with his 300 cavalry, 200 infantry, and a few militia, marched against Borlum, accompanied by Generals Evans and Wightman, giving him a summons under pain of treason to surrender, adding that if he waited for an attack, he should have no quarter. The laird of Kynnachin, who was spokesman for the rebels, haughtily replied, that the word surrender they did not understand, quarter they would neither take nor give, and his grace was welcome to force their position if he could. Sensible that without artillery no attack could be made upon the place, barricaded as it was, with any prospect of success, the duke withdrew to prepare the means of more efficient warfare, and Borlum, disappointed in his views upon Edinburgh, and perhaps not at all anxious for a second interview with the king's troops, took the advantage of an ebb-tide and a very dark night to abandon his position, marching round the pier by the sands for Seton House, the seat of the Earl of Winton, who was in the south with Kenmure and his associated rebels. This place, after sundry accidents, they reached in safety about two o'clock in the morning. Here they were joined by a number of their companions, who, having crossed the Firth further down, were unable to come up with them on the preceding day. Forty of their men, who had made too free with the custom-house brandy, some stragglers who had fallen behind on the march, with a small quantity of baggage and ammunition, fell into the hands of a detachment of the king's troops. Argyle, in the meantime, aware of the strength of Seton House, sent off an express to Stirling for cannon to dislodge its new possessors, when he was informed that Mar was on his march to force the passage of the Forth. This compelled him to hasten to Stirling, where he found that Mar had actually commenced his march, and had himself come as far south as Dunblane, whence, hearing of the arrival of the duke, he returned to Perth, having attained his object, which was only a safe retreat for his friends from Seton House.

On his sudden departure for Stirling, Argyle left the city of Edinburgh and Seton House to the care of General Wightman and Colonel Ker, with a few regular troops and the neighbouring militia. Finding Seton impregnable to any force they could

bring against it, they retired from it, to save themselves the disgrace of making an unsuccessful attack. Borlum finding himself unmolested, and in a country where he could command with ease all kinds of provision, proposed nothing less than to establish there a general magazine for the Pretender, and to enlist an army from among the Jacobites of Edinburgh and the adjacent country; but before he left the citadel of Leith, he despatched a boat with intelligence to Mar; and, firing after her, the king's ships took her for one of their own boats, and allowed her to pass without molestation. In consequence of this notice, Mar had made a feint to cross the Forth, merely to allow him to escape; and now he had an answer at Seton House, with express orders to proceed south, and to put himself under the orders of Kenmure or Foster, without a moment's delay. He accordingly proceeded next day towards Kelso, where he met with Foster and Kenmure on the 22d of October, when, after all the desertion they had experienced by the way, which was very considerable, the whole formed an army of 1400 foot, and 600 horse. Here they were threatened with an attack from General Carpenter, who was within a day's march of them, and became violently divided in opinion respecting the course they ought to pursue. Foster and his Northumbrian friends were anxious to transfer the scene of their operations to England, where they promised themselves a prodigious increase of numbers. The Highlanders, on the contrary, were anxious to return and join the clans, taking the towns of Dumfries and Glasgow in their way. The contention was so hot that it had almost come to blows, and it ended in 500 Highlanders adopting the latter plan, who, separating from their companions, and taking their route for the heads of the Forth, were either famished, killed, or taken prisoners by the way. The remainder followed the former, and proceeded as far as Preston, where on the 13th of November, the very day on which the main armies met on the Sheriff-muir, they were all made prisoners and delivered over, some to the executioner, and the remainder to be slaves in the plantations.

Argyle all this while continued at Stirling, and Mar at Perth, carrying on an insignificant war of manifestoes, equally unprofitable to both parties; and perhaps equally harassing to the country. On the 23d of October, however, the duke, having learned that a detachment of rebels was passing by Castle Campbell, towards Dunfermline, sent out a body of cavalry, which came up with the party, and defeated it, taking a number of gentlemen prisoners, with the trifling damage of one dragoon wounded in the cheek, and one horse slightly hurt. Nothing further occurred between the armies till Mar, finding that without action it would be impossible to keep his army together, called a council of all the chiefs on the 9th of November, in which it was resolved to cross the Forth without loss of time. Nor could this be, one would have supposed, to them anything like a difficult undertaking. After having disposed of 3000 men in the different garrisons along the coast of Fife, they had still 12,000 effective troops for the attack, which they proposed should be made in the following manner:—First, with one division of 1000 men, to attempt the bridge of Stirling; with a second of an equal number, the Abbey Ford, a mile below the bridge; with a third of an equal number, the ford called the Drip Coble, a mile and a half above the bridge. These three attacks, they supposed, would amply occupy the duke's whole army, which did not exceed 3000 men, and, in the meantime, with their main body, consisting of 9000 men,

they intended to cross the river still higher up, and push directly for England, leaving the other three divisions, after having disposed of the duke, to follow at their leisure. Argyle, however, having acquainted himself, by means of his spies, with the plan, took his measures accordingly. Aware that if he waited for the attack on the Forth, he would, from the nature of the ground, be deprived of the use of his cavalry, upon which he placed his principal dependence, he determined to take up a position in advance of that river, and for this purpose, having appointed the Earl of Buchan with the Stirlingshire militia, and the Glasgow regiment, to guard the town of Stirling, commenced his march to the north on the morning of Saturday the 12th of November, and in the afternoon encamped on a rising ground, having on his right the Sheriff-muir, and on his left the town of Dunblane.

Mar, having committed the town of Perth to the care of Colonel Balfour, on the 10th had come as far south as Auchterarder, with an effective force of 10,500 men, the cavalry in his army being nearly equal to Argyle's whole force. The 11th he devoted to resting the troops, fixing the order of battle, &c., and on the 12th, General Gordon, with eight squadrons of horse, and all the clans, was ordered to occupy Dunblane. The remainder of the rebel army had orders to parade early in the morning on the muir of Tullibardine, and thence to follow General Gordon. This part of the army, which was under the command of General Hamilton, had scarcely begun to move, when an express came to the general that the royal troops had already occupied Dunblane in great force. On this the general halted, and drew up his men in the order of battle on the site of the Roman camp, near Ardoch. Mar himself, who had gone to Drummond Castle, being informed of the circumstance, came up with all speed, and nothing further having been heard from General Gordon, the whole was supposed to be a false alarm. The troops, however, were ordered to be in readiness, and the discharge of three cannons was to be the signal for the approach of the enemy. Scarcely had these orders been issued, when an express from General Gordon informed the Earl of Mar that Argyle had occupied Dunblane with his whole force. The signal guns were of course fired, and the rebel army, formed in order of battle on the muir of Kinbuck, lay under arms during the night.

The Duke of Argyle, having certain intelligence before he left Stirling of Mar's movements, and aware that before his army had finished its encampment the watch guns of the rebels would be heard, disposed everything exactly in the order in which he intended to make his attack next morning; of course no tent was pitched, and officers and men, without distinction, lay under arms during the night, which was uncommonly severe. The duke alone sat under cover of a sheep-cote at the foot of the hill. Everything being ready for the attack, his grace, early in the morning of Monday the 13th, rode to the top of the hill, where his advanced guard was posted, to reconnoitre the rebel army, which, though it had suffered much from desertion the two preceding days, was still upwards of 9000 men, disposed in the following order—Ten battalions of foot, comprising the clans commanded by Clanronald, Glengary, Sir John Maclean, and Campbell of Glenlyon. On their right were three squadrons of horse—the Stirling, which carried the standard of the Pretender, and two of the Marquis of Huntley's; on their left were the Fifeshire and Perthshire squadrons. Their second line consisted of three battalions of Seaforth's, two of Huntley's, those

of Panmure, Tullibardine, Lord Drummond, and Strowan, commanded by their respective chieftains, Drummond's excepted, which was commanded by Strathallan and Logie Almond. On the right of this line were Marischal's dragoons, and on their left those of Angus. Of the left of their army his grace had a tolerable view, but a hollow concealed their right, and, being masters of the brow of the hill, he was unable to discover the length of their lines.

While the rebels, notwithstanding their great superiority of force, were losing their time in idle consultation whether they should presently fight or return to Perth, the duke had an opportunity of examining their dispositions, but for a considerable time could not comprehend what was their plan, and was at a loss how to form his own. No sooner had they taken the resolution to fight, however, than he perceived that they intended to attack him in front with their right, and in flank with their left, at the same time; the severity of the frost through the night having rendered a morass, which covered that part of his position, perfectly passable. He hastened to make his dispositions accordingly. Before these dispositions, however, could be completed, General Witham, who commanded his left, was attacked by the clans, with all their characteristic fury, and totally routed, Witham himself riding full speed to Stirling with tidings of a total defeat. In the meantime, Argyle, at the head of Stair's and Evans' dragoons, charged the rebel army on the left, consisting mostly of cavalry, which he totally routed in his turn, driving them, to the number of 5000 men, beyond the Water of Allan, in which many of them were drowned attempting to escape. General Wightman, who commanded the duke's centre, followed with three battalions of foot as closely as possible. The right of the rebels were all this time inactive, and seeing, by the retreat of Argyle's left, the field empty, joined the clans who had driven it off, and crossing the field of battle, took post, to the number of 4000 men, on the hill of Kippendavie. Apprised by General Wightman of his situation, which was now critical in the extreme, Argyle instantly wheeled round—formed the few troops he had, scarcely 1000 men, the Grays on the right, Evans' on the left, with the foot in the centre, and advancing towards the enemy, took post behind some fold dykes at the foot of the hill. Instead of attacking him, however, the rebels drew off towards Ardoch, allowing him quietly to proceed to Dunblane, where, having recalled General Witham, the army lay on their arms all night, expecting to renew the combat next day. Next day, finding the enemy gone, he returned to Stirling, carrying along with him sixteen standards, six pieces of cannon, four waggons, and a great quantity of provision, captured from the enemy. The number of the slain on the side of the rebels has been stated to have been 800, among whom were the Earl of Strathmore, Clanranald, and several other persons of distinction. Panmure and Drummond of Logie were among the wounded. Of the royal army there were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners upwards of 600. The Lord Forfar was the only person of eminence killed on that side.

The obvious incapacity of both generals, though, from his great superiority of forces, Mar's is by far the most conspicuous, is the only striking feature of this battle; both claimed the victory at the time, and both had suffered a defeat, yet the consequences were decisive. The rebels never again faced the royal troops, and for anything they effected might have separated that very day. The period indeed

was fatal in the extreme to the Pretender. The whole body of his adherents in the south had fallen into the hands of Generals Willis and Carpenter at Preston. Inverness, with all the adjacent country, had been recovered to the government, through the exertions of the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Lovat, the Rosses, the Monros, and the Forbeses, nearly on this same day; and though Mar, on his return to Perth, celebrated his victory with *Te Deums*, thanksgivings, sermons, ringing of bells, and bonfires, his followers were dispirited, and many of them withdrew to their homes in disgust. Owing to the paucity of his numbers and the extreme rigour of the season, Argyle was in no great haste to follow up his part of the victory, and the government, evidently displeased with his tardy procedure, sent down General Cadogan to quicken, and perhaps to be a spy upon his motions. He, however, brought along with him 6000 Dutch and Swiss troops, with Newton's and Stanhope's dragoons, by which the royal army was made more than a match for the rebels, though they had been equally strong as before the battle of Dunblane. On the arrival of these reinforcements, orders were issued to the commander in Leith Roads to cannonade the town of Burntisland, which was in possession of a large body of the rebels; and this he did with so much effect, that they abandoned the place, leaving behind them six pieces of cannon, a number of small arms, and a large quantity of provisions. Several other small garrisons on the coast were abandoned about the same time, and a detachment of the Dutch and Swiss troops, crossing over at the Queensferry, took possession of Inverkeithing, Dunfermline, and the neighbouring towns, in consequence of which Fife was entirely abandoned by the rebels. Some trifling skirmishes took place, but no one of such magnitude as to deserve a formal detail.

Cadogan, writing to the Duke of Marlborough at this period, says, that he found the duke anxious to invent excuses for sitting still and endeavouring to discourage the troops, by exaggerating the numbers of the enemy, and the dangers and difficulties of the service. Now, however, having received from London, Berwick, and Edinburgh, a sufficient train of artillery, pontoons, engineers, &c., no excuse for inaction was left, but the inclemency of the weather; and this, in a council of war, it was determined to brave. Colonel Guest was accordingly sent out, on the 21st of January, 1716, with 200 horse, to view the roads and reconnoitre the positions of the enemy. The colonel reported the roads impassable for carriages and heavy artillery, in consequence of which several thousands of the country people were called in and employed to clear them. A sudden thaw, on the 24th, followed by a heavy fall of snow, rendered the roads again impassable; but the march was determined upon, and the countrymen had to clear the roads a second time. But, besides the impassability of the roads, there were neither provisions, forage, nor shelter (frozen rocks and mountains of snow excepted) to be found between Perth and Dunblane, the Chevalier having ordered every village with all that could be of use either to man or beast, to be destroyed. Provisions and forage for the army were therefore to be provided, subsistence for twelve days being ordered to be carried along with them, and more to be in readiness to send after them when wanted. In the meantime, two regiments of dragoons and 500 foot were sent forward to the broken bridge of Doune, in case the rebels might have attempted to secure the passage; and, on the 29th, the main army began its march, quartering that night in Dunblane. On the night of the 30th

the army quartered among the ruins of Auchterarder, without any covering save the canopy of heaven, the night being piercingly cold and the snow upwards of three feet deep. On this day's march the army was preceded by 2000 labourers clearing the roads. Next morning they surprised and made prisoners fifty men in the garrison of Tullibardine, where the duke received, with visible concern, if we may credit Cadogan, the news that the Pretender had abandoned Perth on the preceding day, having thrown his artillery into the Tay, which he crossed on the ice. Taking four squadrons of dragoons, and two battalions of foot, whatever might be his feelings, Argyle hastened to take possession of that city, at which he arrived, with General Cadogan and the dragoons, about one o'clock on the morning of the 1st of February. The two colonels, Campbell of Finab, and Campbell of Lawers, who had been stationed at Finlrig, hearing of the retreat of the rebels, had entered the town the preceding day, and had made prisoners of a party of rebels who had got drunk upon a quantity of brandy, which they had not had the means otherwise to carry away. Eight hundred bolls of oatmeal were found in Mar's magazine, which Argyle ordered to be, by the miller of the mill of Earn, divided among the sufferers of the different villages that had been burned by order of the Pretender. Finab was despatched instantly to Dundee in pursuit of the rebels; and entered it only a few hours after they had departed. On the 2d his grace continued the pursuit, and lay that night at Errol. On the 3d he came to Dundee, where he was joined by the main body of the army on the 4th. Here the intelligence from the rebel army led his grace to conclude that they meant to defend Montrose, where they could more easily receive supplies from abroad than at Perth; and, to allow them as little time as possible to fortify themselves, two detachments were sent forward without a moment's loss of time—the one by Aberbrothick, and the other by Brechin. Owing to the depths of the roads the progress of these detachments was slow, being under the necessity of employing the country people to clear away the snow before them. They were followed next day by the whole army, the duke, with the cavalry and artillery, taking the way by Brechin, and Cadogan, with the infantry, by Aberbrothick. On this day's march they learned that the Chevalier, Mar, and the principal leaders of the rebel army had embarked the day before at Montrose, on board the *Maria Teresa*, and had sailed for France, while their followers had marched to Aberdeen under the charge of General Gordon and Earl Marischal. On the 6th the duke entered Montrose, and the same day the rebels entered Aberdeen. Thither his grace followed them on the 8th; but they had then separated among the hills of Badenoch, and were completely beyond the reach of their pursuers. A number of their chieftains, however, with some Irish officers, being well mounted, rode off in a body for Peterhead, expecting there to find the means of escaping to France. After these a party of horse were sent out, but they had escaped. Finab was also sent to Frazerburg in search of stragglers, but found only the Chevalier's physician, whom he made prisoner.

Finding the rebels completely dispersed, Argyle divided his troops and dispersed them so as he thought best for preserving the public tranquillity; and, leaving Cadogan in the command, set out for Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 27th of February, and was present at the election of a peer to serve in the room of the Marquis of Tweeddale, deceased. On the 1st of March, after having been

most magnificently entertained by the magistrates of the Scottish capital, his grace departed for London, where he arrived on the 6th, and was by his majesty, to all appearance, most graciously received. There was, however, at court a secret dissatisfaction with his conduct; and, in a short time, he was dismissed from all his employments, though he seems in the meantime to have acted cordially with the ministry, whose conduct was, in a number of instances, ridiculous enough. They had obtained an act of parliament for bringing all the Lancaster rebels to be tried at London, and all the Scottish ones to be tried at Carlisle, under the preposterous idea that juries could not be found in those places to return a verdict of guilty. Under some similar hallucination, they supposed it impossible to elect a new parliament without every member thereof being Jacobite in his principles; and, as the parliament was nearly run, they brought in a bill to enable themselves, as well as all other parliaments which should succeed them, to sit seven years in place of three. The bill was introduced into the House of Lords on the 10th of April, by the Duke of Devonshire, who represented triennial parliaments as serving no other purposes than the keeping alive party divisions and family feuds, with a perpetual train of enormous expenses, and particularly to encourage the intrigues of foreign powers, which, in the present temper of the nation, might be attended with the most fatal consequences. All these dangers he proposed to guard against, by prolonging the duration of parliaments from three to seven years. He was supported by the Earls of Dorset and Buckingham, the Duke of Argyle, the Lord Townshend, with all the leaders of the party; and though violently opposed by the Tories, who very justly, though they have been its zealous advocates ever since, denounced it as an inroad upon the fundamental parliamentary law of the kingdom, the measure was carried by a sweeping majority.

Previously to this, Argyle had honourably distinguished himself by a steady opposition to the schism bill, against which, along with a number of the greatest names England has ever produced, he entered his protest upon the journals of the house. Subsequently, in a debate on the bill for vesting the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland in trustees for the public behoof, we find him speaking and voting against it with the Jacobite lords North and Gray, Trevor and Harcourt, but he was now out of all his employments and pensions, and the Jacobite Lockhart was every day expecting to hear that he had declared for James VIII., which there is every probability he would have done, had that imbecile prince been able to profit by the wisdom of his advisers. In the beginning of the year 1718, when the Pretender became again a tool in the hands of Cardinal Alberoni for disturbing the tranquillity of the British government, Argyle was restored to favour, appointed steward of the household, and created Duke of Greenwich, when he again lent his support to the ministry in bringing forward the famous peerage bill—another insane attempt to subvert the balance of the constitution. By this bill the peerage was to be fixed so as that the number of English peers should never be increased above six more than their number at that time, which, on the failure of heirs male, were to be filled up by new creations. Instead of the sixteen elective Scottish peers, twenty-five were to be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom, to be also kept up by naming other Scottish peers on the failure of heirs male. This bill was introduced by the Duke of Somerset, seconded by Argyle, and being also re-

commended by his majesty, could not fail of passing the lords, but met with such violent opposition in the commons that it was found expedient to lay it aside for the time. When again brought forward it was rejected by a great majority. After this his grace seems for a long period to have enjoyed his pensions, and to have lived for the most part on peaceable terms with his colleagues. Only, in the year 1721, we find him, in order to supplant the *Squadrons* and secure to himself and his brother the sole and entire patronage of Scotland, again in treaty with Lockhart of Carnwath and the Tories, in consequence of which, Lockhart assures the king [James] that if there is to be a new parliament, the Tories will have the half of the sixteen peers, and Argyle's influence for all the Tory commons they shall be able to bring forward as candidates. "I also inserted," he adds, "that matters should be made easy to those who are prosecuted for the king's [James'] sake, and that Argyle should oppose the peerage bill, both of which are agreed to." The ministry, however, contrived to balance the *Squadrons* and his grace pretty equally against one another, and so secured the fidelity of both, till 1725, when the *Squadrons* were finally thrown out, and the whole power of Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and his brother Ilay; they engaging to carry through the malt-tax, as the other had carried through the forfeiture of the rebels' estates. From this, till the affair of Captain Porteous, in 1737, we hear little of his grace in public. On that occasion we find him again in opposition to the ministry; defending the city of Edinburgh, and charging the mob upon a set of upstart fanatical preachers, by which he doubtless meant the seceders. The effect, however, was only the display of his own ignorance, and the infliction of a deeper wound upon the Scottish church, by the imposition of reading what was called Porteous' Paper upon all her ministers. Edinburgh, however, contrary to the intentions of the court, was left in the possession of her charter, her gates, and her guards; but the lord-provost was declared incapable of ever again holding a civil office, and a mulct of £2000 sterling was imposed upon the city funds for the captain's widow. In the succeeding years, when the nation was heated into frenzy against Spain, his grace made several appearances on the popular side; and, in 1740, after an anti-ministerial speech on the state of the nation, he was again deprived of all his employments. On the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, his grace was, by the new ministry, once more restored to all his places. The ministry, however, were unable to maintain their popularity, and Argyle finally quitted the stage of public life. From this time forward he affected privacy, and admitted none to his conversation but particular friends.

The Jacobites were now preparing to make a last effort to destroy that spirit of freedom which was so rapidly annihilating their hopes. They had all along believed that Argyle, could he have reconciled them with his own, was not unfriendly to their interests; and now that he was old, idle, and disgusted, hoping to work upon his avarice and his ambition, at the same time they prevailed upon the Chevalier, now also approaching to dotage, to write him a friendly letter. The time, however, had been allowed to go by. Argyle had acquired a high reputation for patriotism—he was now old and paralytic, utterly unfit for going through those scenes of peril that had been the pride of his youth; and he was too expert a politician not to know, that from the progress of public opinion, as well as from the state of property and private rights, the cause of the Stuarts was utterly hopeless. The letter was certainly be-

neath his notice; but, to gratify his vanity, and to show that he was still of some little consequence in the world, he sent it to his majesty's ministers. The Jacobites, enraged at his conduct, and probably ashamed of their own, gave out that the whole was a trick intended to expose the weakness of the ministry, and to put an affront upon the Duke of Argyle. The loss to either party was not considerable, as his grace's disorder now began rapidly to increase. He fell by degrees into a state of deep melancholy, and departed this life on the 3d of September, 1743, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

His grace was twice married—first to Mary, daughter of John Brown, Esq., and niece to Sir Charles Duncombe, lord-mayor of London, by whom he had no issue. Secondly to Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton, of Winnington, in Cheshire, by whom he had four daughters. He was succeeded in his Scottish titles and estates by his brother Lord Ilay, but wanting male issue his English titles became extinct.

From the brief sketch we have given of his life, the reader, we apprehend, will be at no loss to appreciate the character of John, Duke of Argyle. Few men have enjoyed such a large share of popularity—fewer still have, through a long life, threaded the mazes of political intrigue with the same uniform good fortune. The latter, however, illustrates the former. He who has had for life the sole patronage of a kingdom, must have had many a succession of *humble servants* ready to give him credit for any or for all perfections; and he must have exercised that patronage with singular infelicity, if he has not benefited many individuals who will think it a duty they owe to themselves, if not to extenuate his faults, to magnify his virtues. Such a man can never want popularity, especially if he has an assistant upon whom he can impose the drudgery and the less dignified duties of his place, reserving to himself more especially the performance of those that flatter public opinion, and conciliate public affection. Such a man was Argyle, and such an assistant he had in his brother, Lord Ilay, who, supported by his influence, had the reputation for upwards of thirty years of being the *king* of Scotland. In early life he acquired considerable military reputation under the Duke of Marlborough; and when he was paying court to the Tories had the temerity, on a military question, to set up his opinion in the House of Lords, in opposition to that most accomplished of all generals. How justly, let Sherifmuir and the hill of Kippendavie say! Happily for his grace, there was no Lord George Murray with the rebels on that occasion. His eloquence and his patriotism have been highly celebrated by Thomson, but the value of poetical panegyric is now perfectly understood; besides, he shared the praises of that poet in common with Bubb Doddington, the Countess of Hertford, and twenty other names of equal insignificance. General Cadogan, who accompanied him through the latter part of his northern campaign, seems to have made a very low estimate of his patriotism. He charges him openly with being lukewarm in the cause he defended, and of allowing his Argyleshire men to go before the army and plunder the country, "which," says he, "enrages our soldiers, who are not allowed to take the worth of a farthing out of even the rebels' houses." What was taken out of houses by either of them we know not; but we know that our army in its progress north, particularly the Dutch part of it, burnt for fuel ploughs, harrows, carts, cart-wheels, and barn-doors indiscriminately, so that many an honest farmer could not cultivate his fields in the spring for the want of these necessary implements,

which to us proves pretty distinctly, that there was a very small degree of patriotism felt by either of them. Of learning, his grace had but an inconsiderable portion; still he had a tolerable share of the natural shrewdness of his countrymen; and though his speculative views were narrow, his knowledge of mankind seems to have been practically pretty extensive. His disgraceful truckling to, and trafficking with the Tories and the Jacobites, at all times when he was out of place, demonstrates his principles to have been sordid, and his character selfish. His views of liberty seem to have been very contracted—the liberty of lords and lairds to use the people as might suit their purposes and inclinations. In perfect accordance with this feeling, he was kind and affectionate in domestic life, particularly to his servants, with whom he seldom parted, and for whom, in old age, he was careful to provide. He was also an example to all noblemen in being attentive to the state of his affairs, and careful to discharge all his debts, particularly tradesmen's accounts, in due season. We cannot sum up his character more appropriately than in the words of Lockhart, who seems to have appreciated very correctly the most prominent features of the man, with whom he was acquainted. "He was not," says he, "strictly speaking, a man of sound understanding and judgment, for all his natural endowments were sullied with too much impetuosity, passion, and positiveness, and his sense lay rather in a flash of wit, than a solid conception and reflection—yet, nevertheless, he might well enough pass as a very well-accomplished gentleman."

CAMPBELL, JOHN, LL.D., an eminent miscellaneous writer, was born at Edinburgh, March 8, 1708. He was the fourth son of Robert Campbell, of Glenlyon, by Elizabeth Smith, daughter of — Smith, Esq., of Windsor. By his father, Dr. Campbell was connected with the noble family of Breadalbane, and other distinguished Highland chiefs; by his mother, he was descended from the poet Waller. If we are not much mistaken, this distinguished writer was also allied to the famous Rob Roy Macgregor, whose children, at the time when Dr. Campbell enjoyed a high literary reputation in the metropolis, must have been passing the lives of outlaws in another part of the country, hardly yet emerged from barbarism. When only five years of age he was conveyed from Scotland, which country he never afterwards saw, to Windsor, where he received his education under the care of a maternal uncle. It was attempted to make him enter the profession of an attorney; but his thirst for knowledge rendered that disagreeable to him, and caused him to prefer the precarious life of an author by profession. It would be vain to enumerate the many works of Dr. Campbell. His first undertaking of any magnitude was *The Military History of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene*, which appeared in 1736, in two volumes folio, and was well received. He was next concerned in the preparation of the *Ancient Universal History*, which appeared in seven folios, the last being published in 1744. The part relating to the cosmogony, which is by far the most learned, was written by Dr. Campbell. In 1742 appeared the two first volumes of his *Lives of the Admirals*, and in 1744 the remaining two: this is the only work of Dr. Campbell which has continued popular to the present time, an accident probably arising, in a great measure, from the nature of the subject. The activity of Dr. Campbell at this period is very surprising. In the same year in which he completed his last-mentioned work, he published a *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, in two volumes folio. In 1745

he commenced the publication of the *Biographia Britannica*, in weekly numbers. In this, as in all the other works of Dr. Campbell, it is found that he did not content himself with the ordinary duties of his profession as exercised at that time. While he wrote to supply the current necessities of the public, and of his own household, he also endeavoured to give his works an original and peculiar value. Hence it is found that the lives composing his *Biographia Britannica* are compiled with great care from a vast number of documents, and contain many striking speculations on literary and political subjects, calculated to obtain for the work a high and enduring character. The candour and benevolent feelings of Dr. Campbell have also produced the excellent effect of striking impartiality in the grand questions of religious and political controversy. Though himself a member of the Church of England, he treated the lives of the great nonconformists, such as Baxter and Calamy, with such justice as to excite the admiration of their own party. Dr. Campbell's style is such as would not now perhaps be much admired; but it was considered by his own contemporaries to be superior both in accuracy and in warmth of tone to what was generally used. He treated the article "Boyle" in such terms as to obtain the thanks of John, fifth Earl of Orkney, "in the name of all the Boyles, for the honour he had done to them, and to his own judgment, by placing the family in such a light as to give a spirit of emulation to those who were hereafter to inherit the title." A second edition of the *Biographia*, with additions, was undertaken, after Dr. Campbell's death, by Dr. Kippis, but only carried to a fifth volume, where it stopped at the letter F. It is still in both editions one of the greatest works of reference in the language. While engaged in these heavy undertakings, Dr. Campbell occasionally relaxed himself in lighter works, one of which, entitled *Hermippus Redivivus*, is a curious essay, apparently designed to explain in a serious manner an ancient medical whim, which assumed that life could be prolonged to a great extent by inhaling the breath of young women. It is said that some grave physicians were so far influenced by this mock essay, as to go and live for a time in female boarding-schools, for the purpose of putting its doctrine to the proof. In reality the whole affair was a jest of Dr. Campbell, or rather perhaps a sportive exercise of his mind, being merely an imitation of the manner of Bayle, with whose style of treating controversial subjects he appears to have been deeply impressed, as he professedly adopts it in the *Biographia Britannica*. In 1750 Dr. Campbell published his celebrated work, *The Present State of Europe*, which afterwards went through many editions, and was so much admired abroad, that a son of the Duke de Belleisle studied English in order to be able to read it. The vast extent of information which Dr. Campbell had acquired during his active life by conversation, as well as by books, and the comprehensive powers of arrangement which his profession had already given him, are conspicuous in this work. He was afterwards employed in writing some of the most important articles in the *Modern Universal History*, which extended to sixteen volumes folio, and was reprinted in a smaller form. His last great work was the "*Political Survey of Britain*, being a series of Reflections on the Situation, Lands, Inhabitants, Revenues, Colonies, and Commerce of this Island," which appeared in 1774, in two volumes 4to, having cost him the labour of many years. Though its value is so far temporary, this is perhaps the work which does its author the highest credit. It excited the admiration of the world to such a degree as caused

him to be absolutely overwhelmed with new correspondents. He tells a friend in a letter that he had already consumed a ream of paper (nearly a thousand sheets) in answering these friends, and was just breaking upon another, which perhaps would share the same fate.

Dr. Campbell had been married early in life to Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Robe, of Leominster, in the county of Hereford, gentleman, by whom he had seven children. Though it does not appear that he had any other resources than his pen, his style of life was very respectable. His time was so exclusively devoted to reading and writing, that he seldom stirred abroad. His chief exercise was an occasional walk in his garden, or in a room of his house. He was naturally of a delicate frame of body, but strict temperance, with the regularity of all his habits, preserved his health against the effects of both his sedentary life and original weakness, till his sixty-eighth year, when he died, December 28, 1775, in full possession of his faculties, and without pain.

It would only encumber our pages to recount all the minor productions of Dr. Campbell. A minute specification of them is preserved in the second edition of his *Biographia Britannica*, where his life was written by Dr. Kippis. So multitudinous, however, were his fugitive compositions, that he once bought an old pamphlet, with which he was pleased on dipping into it, and which turned out to be one of his own early writings. So completely had he forgot everything connected with it, that he had read it half through before he had discovered that it was written by himself. On another occasion, a friend brought him a book in French, which professed to have been translated from the German, and which the owner recommended Dr. Campbell to try in an English dress. The doctor, on looking into it, discovered it to be a neglected work of his own, which had found its way into Germany, and there been published as an original work. Dr. Campbell, in his private life, was a gentleman and a Christian: he possessed an acquaintance with the most of modern languages, besides Hebrew, Greek, and various oriental tongues. His best faculty was his memory, which was surprisingly tenacious and accurate. Dr. Johnson spoke of him in the following terms, as recorded by Boswell: "I think highly of Campbell. In the first place, he has very good parts. In the second place, he has very extensive reading; not, perhaps, what is properly called learning, but history, politics, and, in short, that popular knowledge which makes a man very useful. In the third place, he has learned much by what is called the *voce viva*. He talks with a great many people." The opportunities which Dr. Campbell enjoyed of acquiring information, by the mode described by Dr. Johnson, were very great. He enjoyed a universal acquaintance among the clever men of his time, literary and otherwise, whom he regularly saw in *conversations* on the Sunday evenings. The advantage which a literary man must enjoy by this means is very great, for conversation, when it becomes in the least excited, strikes out ideas from the minds of all present, which would never arise in solitary study, and often brings to a just equilibrium disputable points which, in the cogitations of a single individual, would be settled all on one side. Smollett, in enumerating the writers who had reflected lustre on the reign of George II., speaks of "the merit conspicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and precision." It only remains to be mentioned, that this excellent man was honoured in 1754 with the degree of LL.D. by the university of Glasgow, and

that, for some years before his death, having befriended the administration of the Earl of Bute in his writings, he was rewarded by the situation of his majesty's agent for the province of Georgia.

CAMPBELL, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN, a distinguished soldier, was born at Edinburgh, December 7, 1753. He was second son of John Campbell, Esq., of Stonefield, one of the judges of the court of session, and Lady Grace Stuart, sister to John, third Earl of Bute. Lord Campbell was a judge of the supreme court for the long period of thirty-nine years, and died on the 19th of June, 1801. His son John received the greater part of his education in his native city, the high-school of which he attended from the year 1759 to 1763. When eighteen years of age, he entered the army as ensign in the 57th regiment of foot; and in three years afterwards, was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 7th foot, or royal fusiliers. With this regiment he served in Canada, and was made prisoner there, when that country was overrun by the American generals Montgomery and Arnold. Having obtained his release, he was two years afterwards, namely, in 1775, appointed to a captaincy in the 71st, or, as they were then called, Frazer's Highlanders; and with this corps he served in America, until towards the close of the war with that country, having been in the meantime appointed major of the 74th regiment, or Argyllshire Highlanders.

In February, 1781, Major Campbell exchanged into the 100th regiment, with which corps he embarked in the expedition fitted out by the British government against the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Commodore Johnston, and general, afterwards Sir William Meadows. On this occasion, the general orders bore that the troops on board of the *Porpoise* and *Eagle* transports were to receive their orders from Major Campbell. Circumstances, however, having subsequently rendered it advisable, in the opinion of the commodore and general, not to make any attempt on the Cape, but rather to proceed to the East Indies, to aid the British forces there, the transports proceeded to their new destination, and arrived in Bombay in January, 1782. In the February following, Major Campbell was appointed to command the flank corps of a small army assembled at Calicut, on the Malabar coast, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Humberston. This army marched into the interior, for the purpose of attacking Palagatcherry, an important stronghold of Hyder Ali; but it was found too strong to be assailed with any chance of success by so small a force as that which was now brought against it; Colonel Humberston, therefore, found it necessary to retreat, without attempting anything. During this retreat the British forces were for some time pursued by the enemy, who, however, were kept so effectually at bay by the retreating troops, that they were unable to obtain any advantage over them; and the sole merit of this was ascribed by the commanding officer to the able and soldier-like manner in which Major Campbell covered the retreat, in which service he had a horse shot under him.

The retreating army having reached Paniana, a British station, the command was assumed by Colonel Macleod, who made immediate preparations for receiving the enemy, who, though now left at some distance in the rear, were still advancing. In the disposition of his forces on this occasion, Colonel Macleod confided the command of the centre to Major Campbell, who had, in the interim, been appointed to the majority of the second battalion of the 42d regiment. The enemy, led by Tippoo Sultan, shortly

afterwards appeared, and attacked the posts where Major Campbell and Major Shaw, who commanded the left, were situated; but was repulsed with such loss, that he retreated with his army to a considerable distance, and did not again seek to renew the contest. In this engagement Major Campbell was wounded, but remained in the field till the enemy was defeated. The singular intrepidity and admirable conduct which he displayed throughout the whole of this affair, called forth the warmest encomiums from Colonel Macleod, who, in the general orders which he issued on the following day, bore the most flattering testimony to his merits.

The most important service in which Major Campbell was engaged was the siege of Annantpore, which he reduced and took from the enemy.

In May, 1783, he was appointed by the governor and select committee of Bombay to the provisional command of the army in the Bidnure country, in absence of Colonel Macleod, who was prisoner with the enemy. Soon after Major Campbell had assumed the command, Tippoo having got possession of Bidnure, meditated an attack on Mangalore, where Major Campbell was stationed; and with this view, and as a preparatory proceeding, he sent a detachment of his army, consisting of about 4000 horse and foot, and some field-pieces, in advance. Having been informed of the approach of these troops, Major Campbell marched from Mangalore at midnight, on the 6th of May, 1783, with 1400 men, with the intention of surprising them; and in this he was eminently successful. He reached the enemy's camp about daybreak, attacked them, and instantly put them to the rout, capturing four brass field-pieces and 180 draught bullocks—the latter a singularly valuable prize, as, from the country being in possession of the enemy, cattle was not to be had for the commissariat. This defeat of his detachment, however, instead of diverting Tippoo from his intended attack on Mangalore, had the effect only of urging him to hasten his proceedings; and on the 19th of May his vanguard appeared in sight of that place, which by the 23d was regularly invested by an army, computed at not less than 140,000 men, accompanied by 100 pieces of artillery.

Major Campbell's defence of this important fortress against such a prodigious force is justly reckoned one of the most remarkable achievements that ever distinguished the British arms in India. The garrison under his command consisted only of 1883 men, and of these not more than 200 or 300 were British soldiers, the remainder being sepoys or native infantry; and they were, besides, in want of almost every accommodation and comfort necessary to enable them to endure a siege. They were short of both provisions and medicine; and, from the insufficient shelter which the fort afforded, they were exposed to the inclemencies of the monsoon. Notwithstanding all this, however, this little garrison resisted all the efforts of Tippoo, who commanded at the siege in person, till the 2d of August, two months and a half, when, through the intervention of the envoy from the French court at Tippoo's durbar, a cessation of hostilities took place; but as neither side meant, notwithstanding this parley, to give up the contest, the siege was now converted into a blockade; and though the garrison was thus relieved from the danger of casualties by the hand of the enemy, it was not relieved from the miseries of famine, which had now reduced them to the last extremity of distress.

Soon after the cessation of hostilities took place, Tippoo expressed a wish to see Major Campbell, whose bravery, though an enemy, he had generosity enough to appreciate. Major Campbell accepted

the invitation, and had an audience of the eastern potentate, who received him with much politeness, and paid him many flattering compliments. The major was accompanied by several of his officers on this occasion, and amongst these by two captains of the 42d, in their full costume—a sight with which Tippoo was extremely delighted. To each of the officers he presented a handsome shawl; and after they had returned to the fort, he sent Major Campbell an additional present of a very fine horse, which the famishing garrison—such was the melancholy condition to which they were reduced—afterwards killed and ate.

By the assistance of occasional but extremely inadequate supplies of necessaries, which reached them from time to time by sea, the intrepid defenders of Mangalore held out till the 24th of January, 1784, by which time they were reduced to the most deplorable condition by disease and famine, when Major Campbell determined on calling a council of war, to consider whether they should continue the defence or capitulate. The council decided on the latter, and terms were accordingly submitted to Tippoo, who accepted them; and on the 30th January the troops evacuated the fort, and embarked for Tillicherry, one of the British settlements on the coast of Malabar, after enduring, under all the disadvantageous circumstances already related, a siege of eight months, and sustaining a loss in killed and wounded, besides other casualties, of no less than 749, nearly the half of the whole garrison.

Though thus eventually compelled to capitulate, the service performed by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell (a rank to which he was promoted, 19th February, 1783), by the determined and protracted resistance he had made, was of the last importance to the British interests in India, inasmuch as it concentrated and occupied all Tippoo's forces for eight entire months, at a most critical period, and prevented him from attempting any hostile operations in any other part of the empire during all that time. Of the value of that service the government of Bombay expressed itself deeply sensible; and there is no doubt that some especial marks of its favour and approbation would have followed this expression of its sentiments regarding the conduct of Colonel Campbell, had he lived to receive them; but this was not permitted to him. He was not destined to enjoy the fame he had won, or to reap its reward. The fatigue he had undergone during the siege of Mangalore had undermined his constitution, and brought on an illness, which soon terminated fatally.

Under this affliction he quitted the army on the 19th February, and proceeded to Bombay, where he arrived on the 13th March, past all hope of recovery; and on the 23d of the same month he expired, in the thirty-first year of his age. A monument was erected to his memory in the church at Bombay, by order of the court of directors of the East India Company, as a testimony at once to his merits, and of their gratitude for the important services he had rendered to the British interests in India.

CAMPBELL, REV. JOHN. This active missionary and enterprising traveller, whose many labours procured for him a high estimation in the Christian world, was born at Edinburgh in 1766. He was the youngest of three sons, and had the misfortune to lose his father when only two years old, and his mother four years afterwards. Being placed under the guardianship of Mr. Bowers, his uncle, a pious elder or deacon of the Relief church, John was educated at the high-school of Edinburgh, then under the rectorship of Dr. Adams; but he never in

after-life manifested any particular acquaintanceship with Latin and Greek. His restless temperament and enterprising spirit were more inclined to action than study, and might have led him headlong into evil, had they not been kept in check by the wholesome restraints and religious education established in his uncle's household. On finishing his education at the high-school, he was apprenticed to a goldsmith and jeweller in Edinburgh. Although at this early period he was deprived of the religious instructions he had hitherto enjoyed, in consequence of the death of his uncle, the loss was in some measure supplied by diligent reading and anxious reflection, combined with the intercourse of pious acquaintances, whose benevolence was awakened by his orphan condition. As his years and experience increased, he became a visitor of the sick and dying poor, to whom he imparted the consolations of religion; as well as of the ignorant and the dissolute, whom he was anxious to enlighten and convert. In this way he became a city missionary among the murky lanes and closes of Edinburgh, at a time when such an office was most needed, and, as yet, little thought of.

Mr. Campbell had now commenced that evangelistic public life which was to know neither rest nor interval; and while engaged in the shop of a hardware merchant, an occupation to which he had betaken himself, he was to become a correspondent of the principal characters of the religious world, and be connected with those great public enterprises in which they were the chief movers. But to a life of such varied action, notwithstanding its heroic disinterestedness and important results, we can only devote a very brief enumeration.

One of the earliest of these labours was the establishment of Sabbath-schools. At a time when domestic religious instruction was prevalent in Scotland, their introduction, instead of being a benefit, would have been a mischievous intrusion. But now that this patriarchal style of life was fast passing into a new phase, and that the present was a transition period, which is generally a period fraught with danger, the old system of religious tuition was woefully in abeyance, while nothing as yet had been brought forward to supplement the deficiency. Sabbath-schools, indeed, had even already been introduced into the country; but they were not only few, but regarded as a dangerous novelty—nay, a libel upon our covenanting and well-educated Scotland, whose religious character now stood so high among the nations of Christendom. And yet all the while there were thousands of children for whom no one cared, and who were growing up in ignorance and profligacy, while every year was increasing the evil. Scotland, as is too often the case, was contentedly reposing upon her past character, and therefore blind to the present emergency. To this educational plan, so ungracious, and yet so needful, John Campbell directed his efforts. He opened a large Sabbath-school in the old Archers' Hall; and, finding it succeed, he opened another in the hall of the Edinburgh dispensary. Encouraged by the success of this bold experiment upon the capital, and by the Countess of Leven and several of our Scottish aristocracy, whose religious patriotism was awake to the true interests of their country, he now turned his attention to the rural districts, and opened a school at the village of Loanhead, a few miles distant from Edinburgh. Here he took his station exclusively as teacher, and so effectually, that he soon had 200 pupils. His zealous missionary labours in these and similar undertakings, introduced him to the Haldanes, men of congenial spirit, who were eager to second his efforts; and accordingly, in company with Captain

James Haldane, the younger brother, he set off on a tour through the west of Scotland, partly for the distribution of tracts, but mainly for the establishment of Sabbath-schools. With this view they visited Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock; and although the trip occupied only a single week, the formation of sixty schools was the result within three months afterwards. A system of religious education was thus prosperously commenced that was soon to overspread the country, and which, we trust, will continue, until society, still better christianized than it is at present, will revert to the good old plan of having the Sunday-school at home, with the head of the house as its zealous affectionate teacher.

From Sabbath-school teaching to preaching was but a step, upon which Mr. Campbell next ventured; it was a change from growing to grown children, where the latter were to the full as unintelligent as the former, but with still greater need of the coercions of religion, while the kind of instruction which had been found so available with the one might be equally so with the other. He commenced in the first instance with Gilmerton, a village in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, chiefly inhabited by colliers, the despised Pariahs of British society; and, having opened a preaching station for Sabbath evening service, he was aided in his labours by students of divinity and lay-preachers; and especially by Rate, Aikman, and the Haldanes, the fathers of Scottish Independency. Encouraged by the success of this trial upon Gilmerton, Messrs. Campbell, Rate, and James Haldane resolved to attempt an itinerancy of lay-preaching over the whole of Scotland north of Edinburgh. It was a novel experiment, for, except the brief visits of Whitefield to Scotland, the practice of preaching in the open air had been discontinued there since the happy accession of William and Mary to the throne. In every town and village to which they came, they announced their purpose and the place of muster, and there the crowds who assembled were roused anew with proclamations of those evangelical doctrines to which very few pulpits of the day were wont to give utterance. This, indeed, was a sufficiently humble mode of preaching; but it was apostolic withal, and suited to the wants of the times; and one of the best fruits of this lay and out-of-door preaching was, that in the present day it is needed no longer. After he had toiled in the work until he broke down from sheer exhaustion, and resumed it as soon as his health had recovered, Campbell saw with satisfaction this field successfully occupied by the Haldanes, and those whom they had trained to an itinerant ministry.

Hitherto it had been the reproach of Protestantism, that it was not a missionary church. Now, however, the reproach was to be rolled away; and one of the first-fruits of this awakened sense of duty was the formation of the London Missionary Society, composed of Christians of all denominations, for a great united aggression upon the heathenism of the world. Similar institutions in connection with the parent branch began rapidly to be established in various cities; and among these, one of the first was in Edinburgh, of which Mr. Campbell was a director. In this way, while, to use the language of one of his biographers, "soldiers and sailors wrote to him for advice; the needy and greedy for money; the reclaimed outcasts for prayer and counsel; dark villages for itinerants; and chapel-builders for help;" and all this while undergoing the weekly cares and toils of a tradesman in the Bow, and those of a village lay-preacher at Gilmerton on the Sabbath, he had the complicated concerns of a new missionary society superadded to his manifold occupations. Zeal,

activity, sagacity, business-habits, prudence, persuasiveness, were all in requisition for the discharge of so many duties; and all these qualities he brought so fully to the task, as to show that he was now in his congenial element. The condition of Africa employed his attention with reference to the establishment of a mission at Sierra Leone; but the unhealthiness of the climate along the coast, and the "terrible unknown" of the interior, equally seemed to bid defiance to the enterprise. In this trying dilemma, an expedient suggested itself to his mind as sufficient to obviate every difficulty; it was to obtain from the British settlement there a number of native children of both sexes, and after educating them in Britain, to send them back as missionaries to their kindred and countrymen. The next step was to procure funds for such a costly but hopeful undertaking, and these were volunteered by Mr. Robert Haldane, who saw at once the soundness of the scheme. Twenty-four children were accordingly brought from Africa to London, and nothing remained but to forward them to Edinburgh, to be trained under the superintendence of those who had originated the plan. But here difficulties arose at the outset with which Mr. Campbell had nothing to do, and the children were educated in London. Still he had taught the way by which Africa was to be opened up, and its hitherto inaccessible regions evangelized; and every succeeding year has justified the sagacity with which the expedient was devised, by the happy results that have already crowned it. It is upon native missions, perhaps, that we must ultimately rely for the Christianization both of India and Africa.

Having been so successful as a home-missionary and lay-preacher, Mr. Campbell now thought it his duty to devote himself wholly to the ministerial work. He could accomplish this with greater facility, as the theological hall which the Independents had lately established required a shorter course of study than that prescribed by the regular colleges. This step also corresponded more fully with his views of church government, which accorded with Independency. He therefore repaired to Glasgow, and prosecuted his studies for the purpose under the Rev. Greville Ewing, who was at the head of the seminary. Here, also, he occasionally joined Mr. Haldane in his itinerant preaching tours; and on one occasion, in 1802, he carried his labours through a considerable part of England, and officiated during part of the summer at Kingsland Chapel, London. For two years after, Mr. Campbell itinerated through various parts of Scotland and the northern counties of England, when, in 1804, he received a regular call from the congregation of Kingsland Chapel to become their minister. He complied, and entered immediately with full ardour upon the sacred duties of his new office. Although now minister of a London chapel, the situation was by no means one either of distinction or emolument. On the contrary, the congregation were so poor, and his salary therefore so scanty, that he was obliged to open a day-school in Kingsland, in addition to his clerical duties. He was also editor of the *Youth's Magazine*, a small religious periodical which he commenced and superintended through the first ten volumes.

The remarkable activity of Mr. Campbell, and the energy with which he entered into the operations of the various religious societies with which he was engaged, besides discharging the offices of minister, schoolmaster, editor, and itinerant preacher, soon brought him into notice in London, and suggested to the London Missionary Society the idea of em-

ploying him in an enterprise of the utmost importance. This was a tour of exploration through Caffraria, for the purpose of examining the state of the Hottentot and Caffre missions, now left helpless by the death of the lamented Dr. Vanderkemp. It was a commission fraught not only with difficulty but peril, but Campbell cheerfully undertook it. He was solemnly set apart for this purpose in Miles' Lane Chapel, the venerable Dr. Waugh presiding on that occasion.

Losing no time, the minister of Kingsland Chapel left London on the 24th of June, 1812. Already he had confronted the fierce waves that girdle the Orkneys, and traversed its little islands to proclaim the gospel; but now he was to "brave the stormy spirit of the Cape," and explore its vast interior, upon a similar errand. His progress in South Africa fully justified the choice that had been made of him; for while no minister or missionary could have been more zealous, active, and efficient in the special duties of his calling among the Christian stations which he visited, he added to these the qualifications of an intrepid, diligent, and enterprising traveller, alive to the interests of general knowledge and science, and sharply observant of every object in his way. Three thousand miles were traversed by him in a country as yet but little known to the British public, and, after an absence of nearly two years, he returned to England in May, 1814. He was not yet done, however, with South Africa, for in little more than four years his services as a traveller, which already had been so useful, were again in requisition. A second journey over the same country was the consequence, which occupied two years and a half, and he returned to London in 1821, just in time for the missionary May meetings, which he gratified by the rich fund of intelligence which he brought from the land of his adventurous pilgrimage. Altogether his published account of these two journeys not only threw much light upon the interior of South Africa, but brought into full view whole towns and tribes whose existence had as yet been unknown in Europe. It was indeed a valuable addition to that portion of the map which had hitherto been little more than a blank, or a few conjectural lines. In consequence of these services, the London Missionary Society were anxious that he should resume his pilgrim's staff, and make a similar exploration of the stations they had established in the Polynesian Islands. But this application he respectfully declined. After his second return from Africa, in consequence of the death of his aunt, and marriage of his niece, who had hitherto been his housekeepers, he took to himself a partner of his home, and resumed his ministerial duties at Kingsland Chapel.

The rest of the life of Mr. Campbell, which was chiefly spent in London, was marked by the same earnest diligence and usefulness which had hitherto characterized it. Decidedly a man of action, his hours, his very minutes, were all turned to good account, while his cheerful lively humour continued to animate him to the last. His piety, his vigorous sound sense, his fluency as a speaker, and his jokes, always made him a favourite upon a London religious platform; and as soon as his little compact figure, dark complexion, and cheerful look, were presented to address them, the whole meeting brightened up with expectation, and hailed him with applauding welcome. Thus he continued unbent and unbroken until he had passed the boundary of threescore and ten, when he was attacked at the commencement of 1840 by his last illness. His end was one full of peace and hope, and his only disquietude was from the thought, that, in spite of all he had done, he had

not done enough—that he had not done what he *could*. A few hours before he died, the missionary spirit that had so essentially predominated during life was strongest within him, and in broken accents of prayer he exclaimed unconsciously, "Let it fly! let the gospel fly!" His death occurred on the 4th of April, 1840.

CAMPBELL, The RIGHT HON. JOHN, Lord-chancellor of England. The remarkable rise of this Scotsman, who, without the advantages of birth, rank, genius, or even polished manners and ingratiating address, fought his way from the humble condition of an unbefriended student of Lincoln's Inn to the highest office which the law can bestow—and this, too, in the nineteenth century, when men of the highest talent were so abundant—contains an important lesson which his countrymen would do well to study. It shows what a resolute unconquerable will, steady perseverance, and clear good sense can achieve, even although those higher qualities and advantages which are thought essential to success should be wanting.

His father, the Rev. Dr. Campbell, like all of his name, claimed a descent from the illustrious house of Argyll, through a junior branch of that family; but this was little better than a mythic distinction, as he held no higher situation than that of minister of the county town of Cupar, Fifeshire. In 1776 he married a Miss Halyburton, through whom he became connected, but distantly, with several noble families, among which was that of Wedderburn, the lord-chancellor. By this lady he became the father of five daughters, one of whom married Dr. Thomas Gillespie, minister of Cults, and professor of humanity in the university of St. Andrews; and two sons, the younger of whom, and subject of the present memoir, was born at Springfield, near Cupar, on September 15, 1779. After the ordinary education at the grammar-school of Cupar, John was sent at a very early age to the university of St. Andrews, with a view of being educated for the church; but after taking his degree of M.A., he resolved to adopt the profession of the law, and for this purpose went to London, and entered himself a student of Lincoln's Inn in November, 1800. Here he was fortunate to have for his guide and instructor in the study of special pleading, Mr. Tidd, whom his grateful pupil thus commemorates: "To the unspeakable advantage of having been three years his pupil, I chiefly ascribe my success at the bar. I have great pride in recording that, when at the end of my first year, he discovered that it would not be quite convenient for me to give him a second fee of 100 guineas, he not only refused to take a second, but insisted on returning me the first. Of all the lawyers I have ever known he had the finest analytical head, and, if he had devoted himself to science, I am sure he would have earned great fame as a discoverer. His disposition and his manners made him universally beloved."

On his arrival in London Campbell naturally associated with his own countrymen, and those especially who were in like circumstances with himself. There was at this time in the great metropolis a club of young Scottish adventurers who were sons of clergymen of the Church of Scotland, of which Serjeant Spankie and Wilkie the painter were members, and to this club Campbell joined himself, being delighted with its associating sentiment thus happily expressed by Wilkie, "Born in the manse, we have all a patent of nobility." This sentiment Campbell delighted to quote long afterwards, when he occupied a place among the British peerage. To

be enabled, however, to study law, and afterwards to await the coming of practice, was his most serious consideration; and to effect this, he supported himself, like many of his brethren in London, by contributing to the public prints. For this purpose he obtained an introduction to his countryman, the well-known Mr. Perry, proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*; and on this paper he was employed as a reporter as well as theatrical critic, which last office he continued to hold until 1810. These were curious occupations for a raw young Scotsman who could scarcely speak intelligible English; but Campbell had a fund of talent within himself, which was adequate for such work, and a resolution that soon surmounted its difficulties, and made the task an easy and agreeable occupation. Nor was the office of reporter to a London newspaper without its literary dignity, as considerable scholarship was required for it, while not a few who had held the office were among the best writers of the day.

Thus trained for his profession by careful study of the law, and the analytical practice of a literary critic, Campbell was called to the English bar in Michaelmas term, 1806. He travelled the Oxford circuit, where he soon obtained considerable practice, and formed an intimate acquaintance with the late Judge Talfourd, in consequence of their mutual sympathy for the drama. But London was his proper place of business, and it was to its practice that he looked for advancement in his profession. To succeed in this it was necessary to be in favour with the attorneys, and in one of his biographical sketches, he remarks of Pratt, that "he persevered for eight or nine years, but not inviting attorneys to dine with him, and never dancing with their daughters, his practice did not improve." Campbell wisely avoided this rock, and by more dignified methods than dancing and dinner-giving: between 1809 and 1816 he published a series of reports at Nisi Prius, extending to four volumes. No greater boon could have been conferred upon the attorneys, and especially on those who had personally to do with the trials; for at the end of each decision were the names of those attorneys who had been employed in the trial—a practice wholly new in the history of law-reporting. It was right that the man who thus honoured them should be favoured in return, and the leading solicitors gave him extensive practice, especially in shipping cases, and he was retained in nearly every important case tried before a special jury at the Guildhall sittings. But a higher popularity than that of the attorneys attended the publication of these four volumes; they were received as the admirably-reported decisions of Lord Ellensborough; and Campbell valued himself not without cause in having contributed to found that great lawyer's reputation.

In this way John Campbell continued his course from year to year, finding pleasure from that which to others is a toil and a weariness. But although his practice was constantly increasing, he had as yet received none of those honorary appointments that would have been conferred upon one still less distinguished in his profession—and for this neglect his political sentiments may account. He was a Whig, and the patronage of government was still confined to the opposite party. In 1821 he married Mary Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir James Scarlett, afterwards Lord Abinger—a lady who, to her other attractions, added that of being descended from the Campbells through her mother, the third daughter of Mr. Peter Campbell of Kilmorey, Argyllshire. In 1827, when the coalition ministry came into power, and lawyers of talent were favoured irrespective of their politics, John Campbell shared in the

new promotions, by obtaining the honour of a silk gown, and a seat within the bar. As the Whigs were now acquiring the ascendancy, he resolved to profit in the rise of his party by obtaining a seat in parliament; he accordingly became a candidate for Stafford, and was successful, in consequence of which he represented Stafford during 1830 and 1831. In November, 1832, Campbell was appointed solicitor-general, and in the following month was a member of the first reformed parliament, being returned for Dudley. "Plain John Campbell" was now Sir John, with the prospect of becoming something higher still; and in February, 1834, the way to this rise was opened by his appointment to the office of attorney-general; and although he was rejected in the re-election for Dudley, he was soon after representative in parliament for Edinburgh, in consequence of the retirement of Francis Jeffrey on being appointed a lord of session.

As attorney-general, Sir John Campbell conferred important and lasting services upon the country, by inaugurating a series of legal reforms, which has been continued from year to year. Among these services was the introduction of the act called "Lord Campbell's Act," for the amendment of the law of libel as it affects newspapers, by which the proprietor is permitted to pay a small sum into court, and to escape further damages by proving both that the libel had appeared without malice, and that it was followed by the insertion of an apology. Another beneficial measure of Sir John was the introduction of a bill to limit the powers of arrest, by which the judge was required to be satisfied on oath before the order was issued, and the defendant permitted, when arrested, to dispute the plaintiff's affidavit, and thereby obtain liberation. While thus employed as a legislator, Sir John's career as a barrister continued to acquire additional lustre, and his speeches upon the important trials in which he was engaged were reckoned master-pieces of that diligence, accuracy, and clearness of statement in which he excelled, and which had generally been found more available than the highest style of forensic eloquence. The chief of these occasions was in his defence of Lord Melbourne, in the action for damages raised by Mr. Norton, in a charge so damaging, that had it been established against the premier, it was thought that the stability of the Melbourne cabinet would have been seriously affected by the issue. Sir John so effectually rebutted the charge, and proved the innocence of the calumniated lady, that a unanimous acquittal was the result; and when Sir John, after the trial, entered the House of Commons near midnight, he was greeted by the cheers of the members present.

Notwithstanding his appointment to the high office of attorney-general, Sir John Campbell's merits had scarcely been adequately rewarded, and several law-officers were promoted over his head whose services were not equal to his own. Aware, indeed, of his worth, and that he might not be safely neglected, the Melbourne cabinet endeavoured to propitiate him by raising his lady to the peerage in her own right, under the title of Baroness Stratheden. Finding that this was not enough, they projected a bill "for facilitating the administration of justice in equity," under which he also would have been raised to the peerage. But the Melbourne ministry was already falling, and the opposition was unwilling to admit a bill that would have armed their opponents with fresh influence, through the power of creating new appointments. Thus matters continued from 1836 to 1841, when an opening appeared for Sir John Campbell's promotion, in consequence

of the retirement of Lord Plunkett from the office of chancellor of Ireland. Sir John was raised to the chancellorship, and also to the peerage towards the end of June, and went to Ireland as the head of the legal profession in that country. But there he did not stay one short month, or sit in court more than a day or two, and in the September following he resigned with the Melbourne ministry. "He retained," says his biographer in the *Times*, "the title and a pension of £4000 a year; but he declined the pecuniary reward, and lived for the next five years without office, profession, salary, or pension."

Lord Campbell was now in the miserable plight of a restless, active, laborious man, having nothing to do; and a leading part in a parliamentary debate, or a forensic duel with Lord Brougham, were the only safety-valves by which his superfluous energies could be let off. In this condition his mind turned to the happy days of his youth, when literary occupation was enough for his enjoyment, and he resolved to resume his pen, and console himself in its exercise until fresh paths for his activity should open up. His early aspirations after literary fame had never been extinguished, and now was the time to indulge them to the full. He cast about for a subject, and none appeared to him so fit, or so tempting, as *Lives of the Chancellors*. It was one best suited to his studies and professional knowledge—and it has been surmised that, in his choice of such a subject, he had himself an eye to the chancellorship, when his party should be recalled to office. The first series of the *Lives of the Chancellors* was published early in 1846. The work immediately became popular, and the public pleasure enjoyed in its perusal was enhanced by the wonder, that a lawyer so steeped in his profession could have produced such learned, vigorous, life-like sketches. They did not know that his early studies had all but introduced him into the office of a churchman, and that the career of a student at a Scottish university is peculiarly adapted for the study of biography. Perhaps they were equally unaware of the practice he had acquired as a journalist, when his slashing literary and political articles, and critiques on plays and actors, had enlightened and amused the early days of their fathers. This work Lord Campbell followed by *Lives of the Chief-Justices*, written in the same strain. Of these two biographical works, it would be too much to say that they are grave, elaborated, and elegant productions. Notwithstanding the liveliness of their style, they are carelessly and incorrectly written, and where effect was to be produced he has yielded too much to the gossip or the scandal of the period. But these disqualifications of the *Lives* are far more than counterpoised by their merits; and the following observations of the *Times* are as just as they are laudatory: "With all its defects, however, moral and critical, the portraiture in these volumes is sharp and life-like; there is very little of what he called 'fummery' in his observations; every page is full of interesting matter, displaying immense stores of information at once various and minute, while he deserves credit for the impartiality with which on the whole he has appreciated the characters and acts of politicians differing from him in opinion. The subject was most happily chosen, and the work has been executed with an ability which precludes any future biographer from lightly attempting the same theme."

In 1846, when Lord John Russell's cabinet was formed, it was expected that Lord Campbell would have obtained the great seal; but instead of this, he was offered nothing higher than the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. At this he demurred, but

finally closed with the offer, when the premier had said to him, "Remember, the office has been held by Sir Thomas More and by Dunning." Although he had thus a seat in the cabinet, his literary occupations went on without interruption, so that while he held the chancellorship of the duchy, he published several volumes of his biographical series. At length he was recalled from his studies to the work of active life in 1850, when Lord Denman having resigned the chief-justiceship of the Queen's Bench, Lord Campbell was appointed in his room. It was no light task to be the successor of Lord Denman, who, besides being an able and skilful lawyer, and eloquent orator, possessed a noble and commanding presence, which compelled respect, while Lord Campbell was neither dignified in appearance nor eloquent of speech, and laboured under the additional disadvantage that his judicial faculty had scarcely as yet been called into action. The contrast, indeed, was so striking, that Lord John Campbell's appointment excited great wonderment and considerable dissatisfaction. But even these obstacles he could surmount through that energy which had never failed him, so that he first equalled, and finally surpassed, the distinction of his illustrious predecessor. Having held the important office of lord chief-justice during nine years with a reputation that was growing every year, Lord Campbell attained his highest and last promotion in 1859, when, in consequence of Lord Palmerston's accession to power, he was selected to fill the office of lord-chancellor, while the appointment gave general satisfaction. In this manner, and step by step, the son of an obscure Scottish clergyman—without patronage, without family influence, without personal advantages, and even without pecuniary means to smooth the difficulties of the commencement—fought his way onward and upward from the condition of a lawyer's clerk dependent upon literary labour for his subsistence, to the highest office which a lawyer or a subject can attain. How ably and uprightly during the eleven last years of his life he discharged his duties as lord-chancellor the present generation has felt, and future years will commemorate.

The death of John Lord Campbell was not only sudden but startling. Living in an age distinguished by the number of its political octogenarians, his vigorous frame and healthy constitution, although he had reached the age of fourscore, seemed to hold out the promise of several years longer, closed by a gentle and gradual decay. On the day preceding his death he was engaged in his ordinary pursuits; in the afternoon he attended a meeting of the cabinet council at Downing Street; and in the evening he entertained a party of eighteen at dinner, where his conversation was of its usual lively character, without any symptom of illness. At one o'clock he bade his daughters good night in the drawing-room, and retired to rest; but in the morning at eight o'clock when the butler entered his lordship's bedroom, he found him seated insensible upon a chair, with his head thrown back, and blood oozing from his mouth. It was found that the rupture of a blood-vessel near the region of the heart had caused his death, which must have been instantaneous. Thus silently John Lord Campbell passed away on Sunday morning, the 23d of June, 1861. By Baroness Stratheden, who died about a year previously, the deceased left issue, three sons and four daughters. His remains were interred within the ruins of Jedburgh Abbey, near which he had purchased an estate.

CAMPBELL, THOMAS. This poet, so justly and poetically called the "Bard of Hope," was born at



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Glasgow on the 27th of July, 1777. Like many of his name, he could trace his descent through an illustrious ancestry; but to these genealogies he was indifferent, being contented to be known as the son of Alexander Campbell, merchant, Glasgow, and one of a family of eleven children. The poet was especially fortunate in the intellectual character of his parentage, his father being the intimate friend of Reid, author of the *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, while his mother was distinguished by her love of general literature, combined with sound understanding and a refined taste. Dull, indeed, would that mind naturally be, that could be nursed up under such guardianship to nothing better than mediocrity. Even at the early age of ten, Thomas Campbell had irrevocably become a poet, and such of his productions, composed at that season, as have been preserved, exhibit the delicate appreciation of the graceful flow and music of language for which his poetry was afterwards so highly distinguished. He entered the college of Glasgow in 1791, already a ripe scholar in Latin and Greek—an unwonted circumstance among the young students of our northern universities; and there he had the high privilege of studying under Richardson, the talented and elegant professor of humanity, and Young, one of the most enthusiastic Grecians and accomplished scholars of the day. The example of the latter was not lost upon the congenial mind of his pupil; and the poetical translations which Thomas Campbell produced at this period, as class exercises, from the *Medea* of Euripides, as well as other Greek poets, showed not only his mastery of the language in which they wrote, but the power he already possessed over his own. Some who are alive can still remember the pleasure with which Professor Young, in his college prelections, was wont to advert to these translations, and the pupil by whom they had been produced. Even in original poetry, also, Campbell was at this period distinguished above all his class-fellows, so that, in 1793, his *Poem on Description* obtained the prize in the logic class, although it was composed four years previous, and when he had not passed the age of twelve. Besides being distinguished as a poet and scholar at college, he was also well known as a wit and satirist, and his lampoons were as much dreaded as his lyrics were admired; while his *mots* were so plentiful, that the usual morning question of the students was, "What has Tom Campbell been saying?" Being of a slim delicate figure, and fond of a place near the class-room fire before the professor had entered, but finding it generally surrounded by a phalanx of Irish students, through which he could not break, he used often to disperse it, by causing their attention to be directed to some new roguish effusion he had written on the wall, which was certain to send them all scampering to the place of inscription. On one of these occasions, hearing that he had just written a libel against their country, they rushed away from the blazing grate in fervent wrath to the pencilled spot on the wall, and read, not in rage, but with roars of good-humoured laughter:—

"Vos, Hiberni, colloctis
Summum bonum in—potatoes!"

The great choice of life, whether as to occupation or principles, is often determined by some incident so minute as to escape notice. And such was the case with Thomas Campbell. In common with most youthful minds, before their classical impressions have come in contact with the stern realities of every-day life, his whole heart was with Greece and Rome, with Brutus and Cassius, with liberty and the

enemies of oppression. With him, as with others, all this might have faded away like a dream of boyhood, but for an event that indelibly stamped these feelings upon his mind, and made them become the regulating principles of his after-life. It was now the season when the example of the French revolution was at its height, so that even the grave and solid intellect of Scotland became giddy for a moment in the whirl; and the trials of Muir, Palmer, Gerald, and others, showed how narrowly our country had escaped the establishment of a convention modelled upon that of France. While these trials were going on, the young poet felt an impatient longing to visit Edinburgh, and witness the proceedings; to which his affectionate mother assented. He was to travel to the metropolis and return on foot, a journey of eighty-four miles; and to defray the expenses of such a pilgrimage, he thought himself richly furnished by the sum of 5*l.*, which she gave him for the purpose. He reached Edinburgh with a light foot and buoyant heart, and repaired to the parliament-house, where the trial of Gerald was going on; and it was easy for an imagination such as his to convert the eloquent and impassioned culprit at the bar into a patriot of the old heroic ages, pleading less for his own life than the liberties of his country. "Gentlemen of the jury," said Gerald, at the close of his appeal, "now that I have to take leave of you for ever, let me remind you that mercy is no small part of the duty of jurymen; that the man who shuts his heart on the claims of the unfortunate, on him the gates of mercy will be shut, and for him the Saviour of the world shall have died in vain." Campbell was deeply impressed by these thrilling words, and the universal unbreathing silence of the multitude that listened; and his emotion at last found vent in the exclamation, "By heavens, sir, that is a great man!" "Ay, sir," replied the man beside him, apparently a decent tradesman, to whom the remark was addressed, "he is not only a great man himself, but he makes every other man great who listens to him." Campbell returned to Glasgow, a sadder at least, if not a wiser man, and, to the astonishment of his companions, his jokes and flashes of merriment were now laid aside. He had imbibed those impressions in behalf of freedom, and that hatred of oppression, which burst forth so indignantly in the *Pleasures of Hope*—that ran like an electric gleam through the whole extent of his subsequent productions—and that finally, at his opened grave, called forth the tears of unhappy Poland, represented by the weeping group of her children who stood over it. He was now, and ever after, to be the poet of liberty.

When Campbell reached the age of twenty, he had completed five sessions at the university of Glasgow, during the greater part of which he had been obliged, through the mercantile losses of his father, to contribute to his own support by giving lessons in Latin and Greek as a private tutor. Long before this period he had endeavoured to make choice of a profession, but had been unable to settle upon any; law, medicine, merchandise, the church, had successively presented themselves, and been each in turn abandoned. Already, however, the idea of literature as a profession had occurred to him; and he was now in Edinburgh negotiating with the publishers of the day, and supporting himself, in the meantime, by the drudgery of private tuition, until some path could be struck out by his own talents, or some offer made to him by an Edinburgh bookseller. But even now, also, he was employed upon the *Pleasures of Hope*, and forming those beautiful episodes of the work which became all the brighter and more attractive in consequence of

the darkness that beset him. Such, at this period, was the condition of the young aspirant for literary and poetical fame. If to this the following sketch of him, by a lady, be added, the picture will be complete:—"Mr Campbell's appearance bespoke instant favour; his countenance was beautiful, and as the expression of his face varied with his various feelings, it became quite a study for a painter to catch the fleeting graces as they rapidly succeeded each other. The pensive air which hung so gracefully over his youthful features gave a melancholy interest to his manner, which was extremely touching. But when he indulged in any lively sallies of humour, he was exceedingly amusing; every now and then, however, he seemed to check himself, as if the effort to be gay was too much for his sadder thoughts, which evidently prevailed." "And now," he says of himself, "I lived in the Scottish metropolis by instructing pupils in Greek and Latin. In this vocation I made a comfortable livelihood as long as I was industrious. But the *Pleasures of Hope* came over me. I took long walks about Arthur's Seat, conning over my own (as I thought them) magnificent lines; and as my *Pleasures of Hope* got on, my pupils fell off." At last the work was finished and published, and the celebrity which it reached was sufficient to compensate the author for all his past anxieties. In fact, it took the public mind by storm; and while commendation in all its forms was exhausted in lauding it, the universal wonder was, that such a poem should have been produced by a youth not more than twenty-one years old. Several of the most distinguished of the Edinburgh literati had already been prepared to estimate its merits from quotations which they had heard from the manuscript. But with those who were not thus forewarned, the first sight of the work was irresistible. Among these was the learned and accomplished Dr. Gregory, who, in stepping into the shop of Mr. Mundell, the publisher, saw the volume, fresh from the press, lying on the counter. "Ah! what have we here?" he said, taking it up; "the *Pleasures of Hope*." He looked between the uncut leaves, and was so struck with the beauty of a single passage that he could not desist until he had read half the work. "This is poetry," he enthusiastically exclaimed; and added, "Where is the author to be found? I will call upon him immediately." The promise of the professor was quickly fulfilled, and from that period he became one of Campbell's warmest friends and admirers.

Having thus established for himself a high reputation by his first attempt, and being still in the opening of life, Thomas Campbell was impatient to see the world, and resolved, for this purpose, to take a trip into some foreign country. The proceeds of his work had furnished him with the means, and therefore he had only to select the route of his pilgrimage. His choice settled upon Germany, already become famous in Scotland by its rising literature, and the works of Wieland, Schiller, and Goethe. He crossed over to Hamburg, where his fame had already preceded him, so that he received an enthusiastic welcome from the British residents of that mercantile city. He soon found, however, that he had stumbled unexpectedly upon the outposts of a great and momentous war, so that he was obliged to direct his course according to its movements. But such was the rapidity of the French armies, that even an unencumbered traveller could scarcely avoid them; and on his arriving at Ratisbon, war was raging round its suburbs, and, finally, the French within its gates. Thus Campbell found himself in a situation that falls to the lot of few

poets; he was likely to be the witness, as well as the eulogist and recorder, of great military achievements. From the ramparts close to the Scotch monastery, he witnessed the conflict that gave to the French the possession of Ratisbon, and thus describes the spectacle in a letter to his brother: "Never shall time efface from my memory the recollection of that hour of astonishment and expended breath, when I stood, with the good monks of St. James, to overlook a charge of Klenau's cavalry upon the French under Grenier. We saw the fire given and returned, and heard distinctly the sound of the French *pas-de-charge* collecting the lines to attack in close column. After three hours, awaiting the issue of a severe action, a park of artillery was opened just beneath the walls of the monastery, and several drivers that were stationed there to convey the wounded in spring-waggons were killed in our sight." In a subsequent account of the event, he adds:—"This formed the most important epoch in my life, in point of impressions; but those impressions at seeing numbers of men strewn dead on the field, or, what was worse, seeing them in the act of dying, are so horrible to my memory that I study to banish them. At times, when I have been fevered and ill, I have awoke from nightmare dreams about these dreadful images."

Amidst these fluctuations produced by the war, the poet's rambles were brief and irregular. He returned to Hamburg, visiting Leipsic and a few other towns in his course northward, and finally settled for the winter at Altona. During his residence near the historic and picturesque banks of the Danube, he had composed, or revised for the press, fourteen poetical productions, of which, however, only four were ultimately published. His well-known delicacy, not to say fastidiousness of taste, will sufficiently account for this reticence. Altona was soon no safe residence, on account of Denmark's secret alliance with France; and the appearance of the British fleet off the Sound gave sudden warning to our traveller to provide for his safety. He therefore embarked in a small trading vessel bound for Leith; but in consequence of a chase from a Danish privateer, Campbell was landed at Yarmouth, to which the vessel fled for shelter. A trip to London naturally followed; and for the first time he visited the mighty metropolis, little guessing, as he paced along its apparently interminable streets, that he should afterwards see this vastness doubled. After a short stay in the capital, where his *Pleasures of Hope* was a passport to the best of London society, he directed his course homeward. Even yet the inconveniences of his visit to the seat of war had not ended. "Returning to Edinburgh by sea," he writes in his memoranda of 1801, "a lady, passenger by the same ship, who had read my poems, but was personally unacquainted with me, told me, to my utter astonishment, that I had been arrested in London for high treason, was confined to the Tower, and expected to be executed! I was equally unconscious of having either deserved or incurred such a sentence." He found, however, on reaching Edinburgh, that this ridiculous report was no matter to be laughed at, for it was already buzzed through the streets of the northern capital, and had reached the ears of his anxious mother, who now resided in the city. It was a wild period of rumour and suspicion; and he found that the fact of his having messed with the French officers at Ratisbon during the armistice, been introduced to the gallant Moreau, and sailed as fellow-passenger with an Irishman of the name of Donovan, had been amplified into a plot concerted between himself, Moreau, and the Irish at Hamburg, to land a French army in Ireland. He

waited upon Mr. Clerk, the sheriff of Edinburgh, to refute this report, and testify his loyalty at headquarters; but here he found, to his astonishment, that the sheriff believed in his guilt, and that a warrant was issued for his apprehension. This was intolerable, and Campbell could not help exclaiming, "Do I live to hear a sensible man like you talking about a boy like me conspiring against the British empire?" He offered himself for a strict examination previous to being sent to prison, and the inquisition was held amidst an array of clerks ready to note down his answers. A box of letters and papers which he had left at Yarmouth to be forwarded to Edinburgh, but which had been seized at Leith, was at the same time brought forward, opened, and carefully examined. But the contents soon put all suspicion to the rout: nothing in the whole collection could be found more treasonable than *Ye Mariners of England*, which was already prepared for the press, with a few others of its afterwards distinguished brethren. "This comes of trusting a Hamburg spy!" cried the discomfited sheriff; for it seems that a rogue in Hamburg had been manufacturing for the credulity of his employers on this side of the water such treason as he could not find ready-made, and had treasured up Campbell's movements there as a fit groundwork for his ingenuity. The whole inquest ended in a hearty laugh and a bottle of wine.

On returning to Edinburgh, Campbell found that instant action was necessary. His father had died during his absence in Germany; his widowed mother, now old and frail, was in necessitous circumstances; and his three sisters were all invalids under the maternal roof. It was also such a period of scarcity and mercantile depression over the whole island, that the prices of the common necessities of life were nearly doubled, so that famine-riots, popularly called meal-mobs, became the order of the day among the lower classes. Urged by present emergencies, he betook himself, in the first instance, to the precarious resources of miscellaneous authorship, until something more permanent could be adopted. This latter opportunity seemed to occur from an invitation he received from Lord Minto to visit him in London; and on Campbell's repairing thither, in 1802, he was employed by his lordship as private secretary, and afterwards as travelling companion to Scotland. During this temporary absence from Edinburgh he had composed *Lochiel's Warning* and the *Battle of Hohenlinden*. This, in the estimation of modern authorship, will appear to be very slow progress; but even in the most depressed period of his circumstances, his aim was to write for immortality, so that every expression was carefully considered, and every line touched and retouched, before it could satisfy that most severe of all critics—himself. Even that striking line—

"Coming events cast their shadows before,"

had cost him a whole week of study and anxiety. But who will say that the price of such a stanza was too high. Writing of the poet to a friend at this time, Telford, the celebrated engineer, asks, "Have you seen his *Lochiel*? He will surpass everything ancient or modern—your Pindars, your Drydens, and your Grays." A similar feeling, but in a more poetical fashion, was expressed of its merits by Mrs. Dugald Stewart, wife of the distinguished philosopher. When the poet read it to her in manuscript, she listened in deep silence, and when it was finished, she gravely rose, laid her hand upon his head, and said, "This will bear another wreath of laurel yet," after which she retired to her seat without uttering

another word. "This," said Campbell, "made a stronger impression upon my mind than if she had spoken in a strain of the loftiest panegyric. It was one of the principal incidents in my life that gave me confidence in my own powers."

After having laboured for some time in fugitive articles for the newspapers, and the compilation of history for the booksellers of Edinburgh, by which he managed to secure a respectable temporary livelihood, Campbell once more repaired to London. A poet by choice, he was now a prose author from necessity, and the British metropolis he knew to be the best mart in which his literary commodities could find a ready sale. Here, then, he was employed *fagging*, as he informs us, for ten hours a-day, and purloining the opportunity for calls and recreation from the hours of sleep. At this time, also, he published the seventh edition of the *Pleasures of Hope*, and several of his smaller pieces, in a quarto volume, which brought him such a profitable return as to relieve him from all his pecuniary embarrassments, as well as his anxieties about the future. This happy deliverance he forthwith proceeded to signalize in a fitting manner, by selecting for himself a permanent home, and a partner to gladden it. He married one who had been the object of his youthful admiration nine years before, and had latterly become the object of his more matured affections. This was Matilda Sinclair, daughter of his mother's cousin, a gentleman who had formerly been a wealthy merchant and provost in Greenock, and was now a trader in London. The prudent father demurred at the thought of bestowing his daughter upon one who, kinsman though he was, and now of high reputation, was still nothing more than a poet. It was indeed a perilous venture; but the ardour of the young couple overpowered the old man's scruples, and wrung from him a reluctant assent. They were married on the 10th September, 1803. It was a poetical union, for Campbell's whole fortune at this time amounted to the sum of £50; but he had fifty thousand pleasures of hope in perspective, and was therefore rich in his own imagination. At length he became a father; and here we cannot refrain from quoting his own account of feelings so common to every father at the arrival of his first-born, but which Campbell, in a letter announcing the event, has described with such beauty and tenderness:—"Our first interview was when he lay in his little crib, in the midst of white muslin and dainty lace, prepared by Matilda's hands long before the stranger's arrival. I verily believe, in spite of my partiality, that lovelier babe was never smiled upon by the light of heaven. He was breathing sweetly in his first sleep. I durst not waken him, but ventured to give him one kiss. He gave a faint murmur, and opened his little azure lights. . . . Oh, that I were sure he would live to the days when I could take him on my knee, and feel the strong plumpness of childhood waxing into vigorous youth! My poor boy! shall I have the ecstasy of teaching him thoughts, and knowledge, and reciprocity of love to me? It is bold to venture into futurity so far. At present, his lovely little face is a comfort to me; his lips breathe that fragrance which it is one of the loveliest kindnesses of nature that she has given to infants—a sweetness of smell more delightful than all the treasures of Arabia. What adorable beauties of God and nature's bounty we live in without knowing! How few have ever seemed to think an infant beautiful! But to me there seems to be a beauty in the earliest dawn of infancy, which is not inferior to the attractions of childhood—especially when they sleep. Their looks excite a more tender train of emotions. It is like

the tremulous anxiety we feel for a candle new lighted, which we dread going out." Such was an event, which, though an important era in the life of every man, is especially so in that of a poet; and such is the description, which none but a poet, and that of the highest order, could have so embodied. To our thinking, the above quotation may take its place in the highest rank of Campbell's poetical productions.

A happiness like this was not to be enjoyed without a due mixture of life's cares and anxieties; and at this period the income of the poet for the support of such a home and family consisted of the proceeds of his daily literary toil, which was so severe as seriously to injure his health. He had not, indeed, that slapdash facility of writing which characterizes most of those who follow literature as a profession; nor could he, when the hours of study were ended, abandon the subject of his thoughts as lightly as the man of business can leave his shop or counting-house, when he shuts it up for the evening, and repairs to the enjoyments of his fireside. Instead of this, the fastidious taste that abode with him through life, made him slow in the selection of ideas, as well as scrupulous in their expression; and thus, when the price of his labour was to be estimated by bulk, his toil was scarcely half paid. One of his resources at this time, in addition to periodical literature, was an engagement in the *Star* newspaper, which produced him four guineas a-week. At this time, also, he was willing to endure expatriation for the advantages of a permanent living; so that, when a regency in the university of Wilna had become vacant, he sent his name to the Russian minister as a candidate. But here his sentiments in favour of liberty, and his sympathy for Poland, which he had expressed in the *Pleasures of Hope*, intervened to damp the ardour of his application, which might otherwise have been successful. After having established himself in authorship as a profession, he removed from London to Sydenham, where he resided for the next seventeen years; and it was here, during the first summer after his removal, that, amidst many articles written for the *Philosophical Magazine* and the *Star*, upon every uncongenial subject, agriculture not excepted, he published "Lord Ulin's Daughter," the "Soldier's Dream," the "Turkish Lady," and the "Battle of the Baltic." But for one so delicately organized both in mind and body as Campbell, the daily hard work which he had to encounter was so exhausting that his health gave way; and in his letters at this period, we find him labouring under fits of gloomy despondency, alternated by attacks of sickness. To add also to his cares, the sole support of his aged mother, and partially of his sisters, was still devolved upon him, so that he had to maintain two household establishments, the one at Sydenham, and the other at Edinburgh. But just when it seemed inevitable that he must break down under the double pressure, relief was at hand. Some unknown but highly influential friend had interposed with royalty itself in his behalf, and the result was a pension of £200 per annum conferred by his majesty upon the Bard of Hope. His application of this munificent boon was truly honourable to the poet's heart and memory; for, after reserving only a portion to himself, he allotted the remainder to the support of his mother and sisters.

Four years went onward at Sydenham under these improved circumstances, but still the necessity for continued exertion was little abated; for the pension, comfortable as it looked in the abstract, underwent such mutilation, through fees of office and taxation, that it reached him in the shape of £140, while out

of this he paid an annuity of £70 to his mother. The comfort to be derived from it depended more upon its permanency, than its specific bulk. He therefore continued his toil, amidst alternate fits of lassitude and sickness. His contributions to the *Star*, which consisted chiefly of translations from foreign journals, occupied him four hours a-day, and the remainder of his time was filled up by a *History of the Reign of George III.*, in three volumes, for which he had contracted with an Edinburgh publisher before he left Scotland; and with his *Specimens of the British Poets*, a compilation in which the selection of materials for extracts, as well as the composition of biographical notices, cost him abundance of labour and anxiety. All this, however, was for mere daily subsistence, not future fame; and even to keep up the reputation which his first work had procured him, it was necessary to follow it with one of at least equal excellence. To this necessity he was far from being insensible; and therefore, amidst his seasons of intermission, he had devoted himself with all the ardour of a first and undiminished love to the production of *Gertrude of Wyoming*, which at length was published in London in 1809. It was much that it should have fully sustained the fame that had been acquired by the *Pleasures of Hope*; but it did more—it evinced equal poetical power, with a more matured judgment and better taste. Jeffrey, that prince of critics, who had seen the work while passing through the press, thus characterized its excellencies:—"There is great beauty, and great tenderness and fancy in the work, and I am sure it will be very popular. The latter part is exquisitely pathetic, and the whole touched with those soft and skyish tints of purity and truth, which fall like enchantment on all minds than can make anything of such matters. Many of your descriptions come nearer the tone of *The Castle of Indolence* than any succeeding poetry, and the pathos is much more graceful and delicate." After this commendation, which has been fully borne out by the admiration of the public for nearly sixty years, the talented critic introduces the emphatic "BUT," and proceeds to specify the faults which he found in *Gertrude of Wyoming*; and these, also, were such as the world has continued to detect. It consisted too much of finished episodes rather than a continuous poem. The language was still over-laboured, as if he had "hammered the metal in some places till it had lost all its ductility." These were faults, or blemishes, so inseparable from the mind of Campbell that they were part and parcel of his intellectual existence, and he could only have abandoned them by relinquishing his individual identity. After this affectionate chastisement, Jeffrey adds, "Believe me, my dear C., the world will never know how truly you are a great and original poet, till you venture to cast before it some of the rough pearls of your fancy. Write one or two things without thinking of publication, or of what will be thought of them, and let me see them, at least, if you will not venture them any farther. I am more mistaken in my prognostics than I ever was in my life, if they are not twice as tall as any of your full-dressed children." In the same volume were published several smaller poems, some of which had previously appeared before the public. Among these were "Lochiel" and "Hohenlinden," the first characterized by the *Edinburgh Review* as the most spirited and poetical denunciation of woe since the days of Cassandra, and the second as the only representation of a modern battle which possesses either interest or sublimity; and "Ye Mariners of England," and the "Battle of the Baltic," two songs that have justly ranked their author as the naval Alcæus of Britain.

In a subsequent edition of *Gertrude*, which appeared in the following year, the volume was enriched by the addition of "O'Connor's Child," the best, perhaps of all his minor poems. Its origin was in the highest degree poetical. A little flower called "love-lies-bleeding," grew in his garden, and the sentiments which it inspired, as he looked at it in his morning walks, gathered and expanded into the most beautiful of his ballads.

With a new task thus ended, relaxation was necessary; and with such an increase to his poetical reputation, it was natural that the society of Campbell, on re-entering the world, should be courted with renewed eagerness. Amidst the many introductions to the most distinguished of the day, there were two that gave him especial pleasure: the one was to Mrs. Siddons, the "Queen of Tragedy;" the other, to Caroline, Queen of Great Britain. He was now also to appear in a new literary capacity. This was as a lecturer on poetry at the Royal Institution, a task for which perhaps no poet of this period, so prolific of distinguished bards, was so well qualified. He commenced this course on the 24th of April, 1812, and had the gratification not only of numbering among his audience some of the most illustrious in the literary world, but of being crowned with their approbation. There was indeed only one dissenting voice that made itself be heard at the third lecture. "At the most interesting part," he says, "a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain came on. The window above me was open, and the rain poured down on my paper as it did on Leander in the Hellespont. The lightning had given me an electrical headache, and the thunder, aided by the pattering rain, being my competitor in my endeavours to gain the public attention, it required all my lungs to obtain a hearing." His lectures were so popular in London, that he resolved to repeat them in Edinburgh; but this purpose he could not at present find time to execute. The peace of 1814, that threw Paris open to the world, enabled Campbell to accomplish the design of visiting that wonderful city, which he had entertained in 1802, but was prevented from executing by the sudden renewal of war. He accordingly crossed the Channel, one of many thousands of visitors, and, amidst all the marvels of Paris, nothing seems to have delighted him so much as the Louvre. The great masterpieces of ancient art seemed to burst upon him like the creations of another world, and made him shed tears of mingled awe and delight. In describing, immediately afterwards, the effect they produced on him, although he tells us he was no judge in statuary, yet we at once see he was more—he was a poet, feeling the inspiration of a kindred spirit manifested in a different department of their common art. Of the Apollo Belvidere he says, "Oh how that immortal youth in all his splendour, majesty, divinity, flashed upon us from the end of the gallery! He seems as if he had just leaped from the sun." His visits, which were made to the Louvre in company with Mrs. Siddons, were of too transporting a character to be exclusively repeated, and therefore he gladly had recourse to the theatres, concerts, and conversaziones, the promenades, and public spectacles, with which the great metropolis of earth's pleasures is pervaded as its living principle. "But still," he adds, "after the Louvre, I know scarcely anything that is quite transcendent." After nearly two months that were spent well and happily in Paris, Campbell returned fresh with new sensations, that continued to animate him for years, and resumed his necessary studies at Sydenham. In 1815 an event also happened to alleviate the necessity of continual toil, and brighten the prospects of his future life.

This was a legacy bequeathed to him by his Highland cousin, M^r Arthur Stewart of Ascot, which, though nominally not more than £500, was increased to nearly £5000, through his share in the unappropriated residue bequeathed to the legatees by the testator.

The practice of public lecturing had now become so congenial to the mind of Campbell, and his course had been so popular, that he repeated it in Liverpool, Birmingham, and Edinburgh, to numerous and delighted audiences. The merits of these *Lectures on Poetry* are now familiar to the public, as they were afterwards published, as well as his *Specimens of the British Poets*, in which the germs of his prelections were first displayed. In 1820 he was enabled to revisit Germany with his family, and after a trip, in which the romantic scenery of the Rhine, and the distinguished literary societies of Germany, were enjoyed with equal pleasure, he returned with fresh zest to England and his literary engagements. The most important of these was the editorship of the *New Monthly Magazine*, which had been offered him on the most liberal terms. It was a wholly new task, and therefore he was anxious to gather from his more experienced literary friends such advice as might direct him in his course. Some of these admonitions could not have been very gratifying to a mind so sensitive and enthusiastic as his. In a letter written to him by the Rev. Sydney Smith upon the subject, that witty divine thus lectures him: "Remember that a *mag.* is not supported by papers evincing *wit* and *genius*, but by the height of the tide at London Bridge, by the price of oats, and by any sudden elevation or depression in the price of boiling pease. If your *mag.* succeeds, it will do so as much by the diligence and discretion you will impress upon your nature, as by the talents with which you are born." The *Magazine*, however, acquired a new impulse from his superintendence; and, among his own contributions, the poem entitled *The Last Man*, one of the happiest of his productions, was universally applauded. While thus employed, his *Theodoric* appeared at the end of 1824. The following year Campbell started the plan of the London University, which he calls "the only important event in his life's little history," and pursued the object with a life-and-death earnestness; and, aided by the practical minds of Brougham and Hume, the project, after much conflict, was brought to a successful termination. So earnest, indeed, did he labour in the whole affair, that, not contented with the experience he had already acquired of German colleges, he also travelled to Berlin, to study whatever was excellent in the university of the Prussian capital, and transplant it into London. And well did he evince his enthusiasm for the improvement of our national education by undertaking such a journey, for, although not more than forty-eight years of age, he was already a weakly old man. His indeed had been a premature decay; all the more, perhaps, because he had enjoyed a precocious intellectual manhood. But education rewarded him in return with one of the highest distinctions, and the most grateful to the mind of Campbell, which she had to bestow. In his own *alma mater*, the university of Glasgow, a canvass had for some time been going on to elect him to the honoured office of lord-rector; and in the winter of 1826, the students, by whom the election is made, had been so unanimous in their choice, that he was appointed to the office by unanimous vote of the "four nations." Nor did the honour conferred upon him stop here; for, in the following year, and also the one after, his appointment was renewed by the suffrages of the students. He was thus three times

successively lord-rector of the university of Glasgow, a repetition unusual among the holders of that high academic office. But, amidst all this distinction, the mind of the poet had much to grieve and try him. Of his two sons, the younger had died in childhood, while the elder, his first-born, who had opened such a fountain of tenderness within his heart, had for years been in a state of lunacy, and was obliged to be kept in confinement. He was thus even worse than childless. In 1826, also, his affectionate wife Matilda, in whom he had possessed so congenial a partner, died, and he found himself alone in the world. The *New Monthly Magazine*, too, that had prospered so greatly under his care, and been a comfortable source of emolument, passed from under his management by one of those unlucky accidents to which periodical literature is especially exposed. A paper was inserted by mistake in its pages, without having been subjected to his editorial examination, and as the article in question was offensive in the highest degree, Campbell in 1830 abandoned the *Magazine*, and a salary of £600 per annum which he derived from it. Soon after this, an event of a public and political nature moved him still more highly than any pecuniary loss could have done. This was the sanguinary capture of Warsaw in 1831, and the national miseries with which Poland was afterwards visited. He had embraced the cause of that most injured and most afflicted of the nations with a poet's enthusiasm; and now he predicted the final result of its wrongs with a poet's prophetic prescience. His words upon the subject are well worth considering—for are they not even at the present day, after a lapse of more than thirty years, undergoing their fulfilment? "All is over now; and a brave nation is thrust a second time, assassinated, into her grave. Mysterious are the ways of Heaven! We must not question its justice—but I am sick, and fevered with indignation at Germany, for suffering this foolish Emperor of Austria; he fears letting his people taste a little freedom, more than resigning his own freedom to Russia, for he will soon be the very vassal of the inhuman Slaves, which will be worse for him than if he had a free parliament under his nose—and so also will the King of Prussia be henceforth! All continental Europe, I distinctly anticipate, will be enslaved by Russia. France and Austria will worry each other till they are exhausted; and then down will Russia come on all the south of Europe, with millions and millions, and give law and the knout both to Germany and France." It is gratifying to add that when Campbell's heart was thus occupied, he did not, like too many, withdraw from the throng, that he might brood in solitude over the luxury of sensibility. Instead of this, he spoke, wrote, declaimed upon the miseries of Poland, pictured them in poetry and in prose, appealed against them in companies of every political shade of belief, exerted himself to make all feel that, instead of being a mere party question, it was the common cause of justice, honour, and humanity; and, to evince his sincerity, bestowed liberally, not only of his time and labour, but also of his money, in behalf of the Polish sufferers, at a season when money was the commodity which he least could spare. And his labours were not in vain. He awoke a deep sympathy in behalf of Poland wherever his influence extended, and succeeded in associating the Polish committee in London, which for years has been so successful in relieving thousands of the expatriated.

While employed in these avocations, the literary duties of Campbell still continued to be of a varied character. After his editorship of the *New Monthly*

Magazine had ceased, he was employed in the same capacity in the *Metropolitan*; and subsequently his attention was occupied with letters and pamphlets in support of the London University, and upon the subject of education in general; with reviews on works of classical history and fiction; and with a wide and laborious correspondence in French, German, and Latin, which employed him four hours every morning. To these, also, was added his *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, a work to which he devoted himself with all his characteristic enthusiasm, and finished in 1833. Thus, even when his name was least before the public, he was toiling generally in behalf of some great benevolent object with an earnestness under which his health frequently sank, and by which his final decay was accelerated. Still, however, he was earnest to produce one poem more—a closing work, by which his poetical reputation should be confirmed, and, if possible, extended—and as health was necessary for this purpose, he resolved to make the classical tour of Italy, by which mind and body should be braced alike for the contemplated enterprise. He therefore passed over to Paris in 1834; and although the Apollo Belvidere and Venus de Medicis were no longer there, he found the same cheerful society, and more than the same cordial welcome that had gladdened his visit of 1814. After having remained several weeks in the French capital, he resumed his journey, but with a very different destination; for, instead of Rome, he now embarked for Algiers. His friends at home were as much astonished at the tidings as if he had set off on a pilgrimage to Timbuctoo. But he had been poring in the king's library at Paris over books and maps of ancient geography, where the Roman city of Icosium, that had occupied the site of Algiers, met his eye; and the late changes by which this Mauritanian city of the waters had been converted into the capital of a French province, fired his imagination with pictures of the future civilization of Africa. This was enough to decide him on embarking at Toulon, on the 11th September, 1834, and seven days after he was traversing the crooked streets of Algiers, beneath the blaze of an African sun. But he was still among French society, to whom his literary reputation was a welcome passport; he even found one of the French officers there employed in a translation of his poems with a view to publication. New health, nay, a new life itself, was the reward of this journey, and he describes the scenery and his own feelings in the following buoyant style: "Oh, my old crony! it would do your heart good to see your friend prancing gloriously on an Arabian barb over the hills of the white city (for Algiers, with all its forts, battlements, mosques, and minarets, is as dazzling white as snow), and enjoying the splendid scenery. I have no words to convey the impression it has made on me. I felt, on my ride, as if I had dropped into a new planet! Some parts of the hills, it is true, are bare; but wherever there is verdure, it has a bold, gigantic richness, a brilliancy and odour, that mock even the productions of our hot-houses. Never shall I forget my first ride! It was early morning: the blue Mediterranean spread a hundred miles beneath—a line of flamingoes shot over the wave—the white city blazed in the rising sun—the Arabs, with their dromedaries loaded with fruits for the market, were coming down the steeps. Around, in countless numbers, were the white, square, castle-looking country-houses of the Moors, inclosed in gardens; the romantic tombs of the Marabouts, held sacred, and surrounded with trees and flowers, that are watered with a perpetual spring from marble fountains, where you see the palm towering with its feathery tufts as high as a

minaret. . . . Then the ravines that run down to the sea! I alighted to explore one of them, and found a *burn* that might have gurgled in a Scottish glen. A thousand sweet novelties of wild flowers grew above its borders; and a dear little bird sang among its trees. The view terminated in the discharge of the stream among the rocks and foam of the sea,—

‘And where this valley winded out below,
The murmuring main was heard—and scarcely heard to flow.’

In short, my dear John, I feel as if my soul had grown an inch taller since I came here. I have a thousand, and a thousand curious things to tell you; but I shall keep them all bottled up to tell you in Fludger Street—unless the cholera comes over me. If it should, I have at least had some happy days; and the little void that I leave in the world will be soon filled up.”

These “happy days” were extended over the two following months, during which the poet made short trips among the native tribes, and explored whatever was curious in the past and present history of these children of the desert, and the localities they occupied. And fortunately for him, the dreaded cholera did not come, so that he revelled uninterrupted amidst the healthy and spirit-stirring enjoyments of the new scenes into which he had entered. The consequence was, that on his return to London, his friends congratulated him on being several years younger than when he had set out on his travels. This healthy effect of a glowing Moorish atmosphere was afterwards improved and made permanent by a trip to his native north, that followed soon after—an alternation that resembled the sudden plunge from a hot bath into a cold. But where was the poem which was to be produced on his return? Let no poet say to himself, “Go to, I will sit down on such and such a day, and write an epic.” History and antiquity, past events and living realities, the rich landscapes around Algiers and Oran, and their stirring throng of Moors and Frenchmen, had so wholly occupied his thoughts, that laying aside his poetical purposes to an indefinite period, he devoted himself to the preparation of *Letters from Algiers*, which were afterwards published in two volumes. His financial affairs, too, notwithstanding his habitual disregard of money, and thoughtless facility in parting with it, were in a more prosperous condition than they had been at any former period. Such was the tranquil course of his life from 1835 to 1841, when a return of his former ailments so stirred his impatience, that without any previous notice or preparation, he suddenly started for Weisbaden, expecting to find a miraculous recovery among its Brunnen. Such, indeed, was his hurry, that he forgot to provide himself with money, so that on arriving at the baths, he was obliged to write to a friend in London, commissioning him to enter his house in Victoria Square, take out all the money he found there, and after remitting him a portion, to lodge the rest at his banker’s. It was truly marvellous that such a man should have money to leave behind him! Fortified with this authority, his friend, accompanied by a lawyer, went to Campbell’s house, opened the press-door in his bedroom, which did not seem to be even locked, and commenced his exploration. But though every shelf, drawer, cranny, every shirt-fold and coat-pocket of this poetical chaos was searched and rummaged, there was nowhere a token of money. The lawyer was grievously scandalized, and talked professionally of careless custody and burglary. At length, when closing the press-door in despair, the process was interrupted by the point of a red em-

broidered slipper, stuffed, as it appeared, with paper matches for lighting candles, and on unrolling these, they found that the apparently worthless papers consisted of bank-notes to the amount of more than £300! By an inconsistency not unusual in human nature, Campbell at this very period was grumbling at the rate of exchange in Weisbaden, where not more than 19s. 6d. was given for an English sovereign. His stay was only for six weeks, and during this period he composed the ballad of the *Child and Hind*. He published also *The Pilgrim of Glencoe*, with other poems, in which the *Child and Hind*, the *Song of the Colonists*, and *Moonlight*, appeared for the first time. Unfortunately, however, the *Pilgrim*, notwithstanding its excellencies, was felt to be inferior to his first productions, and was rated accordingly. But he was no longer the same youthful spirit that had produced the *Pleasures of Hope* and *Gertrude of Wyoming*. Flashes, indeed, of his former self would still break out from his poetry and conversation, but they were the fitful irradiations of a once steady but now departing sunshine. He had now reached the age of sixty-six, and perhaps he had drawn too fervently and fast upon the resources of a naturally delicate constitution, to be otherwise than a feeble broken-down man at such a period of life. To add also to his distresses, the sale of his poems, which for some years had produced him about £500 per annum, could not now realize above £60 or £70. From the double motive of health and economy, he resolved to make his future residence in Boulogne, to which he repaired in July, 1843. His friends—and few had more attached friends than Campbell—felt as if this was a final departure, to be followed by no happy return.

These mournful forebodings were too truly verified. His constitution was already so old, and so completely exhausted, that no change of climate could enable it to rally; and the winter of Boulogne, instead of alleviating his ailments, only seemed to aggravate them beyond the power of removal. Spring came, and summer succeeded; but their bright sunshine only half lighted the curtained sick-room, and finally flickered upon the death-bed of him who had so often watched its changes, and delighted in its beauty. But in his last hours he was not alone, for besides his affectionate niece, who attended him with a daughter’s solicitude, his bedside was solaced by the presence of Dr. Beattie, his faithful friend, physician, and biographer, who had crossed from London to Boulogne, to soothe the departing hours of his affectionate patient. Amidst such gentle guardianship, by which every aid and alleviation was administered, Thomas Campbell died without a struggle, and apparently without pain, solaced to the last moment by the consoling portions of Scripture that were read to him, in which he expressed his earnest faith and hope; and by the prayers, in which he joined in look and attitude when the power of speech had departed. His death occurred on the 15th of June, 1844, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. The body was removed from Boulogne to London, and interred in Westminster Abbey; a handful of earth from the tomb of Kosciusko, the Polish hero, that had been treasured for the purpose, was thrown into the grave of the poet who had written so eloquently and laboured so much in behalf of Poland; and his ashes now repose in the neighbourhood of the monuments erected to Addison, Goldsmith, and Sheridan.

CANT, ANDREW, a Presbyterian preacher of great vigour and eloquence at the period of the second reformation. In 1638 he was minister of Pitsligo in Aberdeenshire. Unlike the generality

of the clergy in that district of Scotland, he entered heartily into the national covenant for resisting the episcopalian encroachments of Charles I., and took an active part in the struggles of the time for civil and religious liberty. He was associated with the celebrated Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, the Earls of Montrose and Kinghorn, and Lord Cupar, in the commission appointed in July, 1638, by the tables or deputies of the different classes of Covenanters, noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, and ministers, to proceed to the north and endeavour to engage the inhabitants of the town and county of Aberdeen in the work of reformation. The doctors of divinity in the town had steadily resisted the progress of reforming principles, and were greatly incensed when they heard of this commission. They fulminated against it from the pulpit; and the town council, under their influence and example, enacted, by a plurality of votes, that none of the citizens should subscribe the covenant. The deputies arrived on the 20th of the month, and were hospitably received by the magistrates; but they declined their proffers of friendship, till they should first show their favour to the object of their visit. Montrose, "in a bold and smart speech," remonstrated with them on the danger of Popish and Prelatical innovations; but the provost excused himself and his coadjutors by pleading that they were Protestants and not Papists, and intimating their desire not to thwart the inclination of the king. Immediately after their interview with the magistrates, the deputies received from the doctors of the two universities a paper containing fourteen ensnaring propositions respecting the covenant, promising compliance should the commissioners return a satisfactory answer. These propositions had been carefully conned over previously, and even printed and transmitted to the court in England before the arrival of the deputies. They were speedily answered by the latter, who sent their replies to the doctors in the evening of the next day. Meanwhile the nobles applied to the magistrates for the use of the pulpits on the Sabbath following, for the ministerial commissioners, but this being refused, the three ministers preached in the open air, to great multitudes, giving pointed and popular answers to the questions of the doctors, and urging the subscription of the covenant with such effect that 500 signatures were added to it upon the spot, some of the adherents being persons of quality. On Monday the deputies went out into the country districts, and although the Marquis of Huntly and the Aberdeen doctors had been at pains to pre-occupy the minds of the people, yet the covenant was signed by about forty-four ministers and many gentlemen. Additional subscriptions awaited the deputies on their return to Aberdeen, where they preached again as on the former Sabbath; but finding that they could produce no effect upon the doctors of divinity whose principles led them to render implicit obedience to the court, they desisted from the attempt and returned to Edinburgh.

In the subsequent November, Mr. Cant sat in the celebrated Glasgow Assembly (of 1638), and took part in the abolition of Episcopacy with the great and good men whom the crisis of affairs had brought together on that memorable occasion. In the course of the procedure, the Assembly was occupied with a presentation to Mr. Cant to the pastoral charge of Newbattle:—"My Lord Lowthian presented an supplication to the Assemblie, anent the transportation of Mr. Andrew Cant from Pitsligo to Newbattle in the Presbitrie of Dalkeith. Moderatour (Henderson) said—It would seeme reasonable that your Lordship should get a favourable answer, considering your diligence and zeale in this cause above many others,

and I know this not to be a new motion, but to be concludit by the patron, presbitrie, and parochie. The commissioner of Edinr. alleaged that they had made an election of him twenty-four yeares since. Then the mater was put to voiting—Whither Mr. Andro Cant should be transported from Pitsligo to Edinburgh? And the most part of the Assembly voited to his transplantation to Newbotle; and so the Moderatour declaired him to be minister at Newbotle."

From his proximity to Edinburgh in his new charge, Mr. Cant was enabled to devote much of his attention to public affairs, with which his name is closely connected at this period. In 1640, he, and Alexander Henderson, Robert Blair, John Livingston, Robert Baillie, and George Gillespie, the most eminent ministers of the day, were appointed chaplains to the army of the Covenanters, which they accompanied in the campaign of that year. When the Scots gained possession of Newcastle, August 30, Henderson and Cant were the ministers nominated to preach in the town churches. In the same year the General Assembly agreed to translate Mr. Cant from Newbattle to Aberdeen. In 1641 we again find him at Edinburgh, where public duty no doubt often called him. On the 21st of August he preached before Charles I., on the occasion of his majesty's second visit for the purpose of conciliating his Scottish subjects. When the union of the church and nation, cemented by the covenant, was dislocated by the unhappy deed known as the Engagement, in 1648, Cant, as might have been expected from his zeal and fidelity, stood consistently by the covenanting as now distinguished from the political party. When General David Leslie was at Aberdeen in November, 1650, on an expedition against some northern insurgents, he was visited by Messrs. Andrew Cant, elder and younger, ministers of Aberdeen, who, amongst many other discourses, told the lord general, "that wee could not in conscience assist the king to recover his crowne of England, but *he thoughte one kingdome might serve him werry well, and one crowne was eneuhe for any one man; one kingdome being sufficient for one to reuell and governe*" (*Balfour's Annals*, iv. 161).

In the year 1660, a complaint was presented to the magistrates, charging Mr. Cant with having published Rutherford's celebrated book, entitled *Lex Rex*, without authority, and for denouncing *anathemas* and *imprecations* against many of his congregation, in the course of performing his religious duties. A variety of proceedings took place on this question before the magistrates, but no judgment was given; Mr. Cant, however, finding his situation rather unpleasant, withdrew himself from his pastoral charge, removed from the town with his wife and family, and died about the year 1644.

A clergyman, named Mr. Andrew Cant, supposed to have been son to the above, was a minister of Edinburgh during the reign of Charles II., and consequently must have been an adherent of Episcopacy. He was also principal of the university between the years 1675 and 1685. The same person, or perhaps his son, was deprived of his charge in Edinburgh, at the revolution, and, on the 17th of October, 1722, was consecrated as one of the bishops of the disestablished Episcopal church in Scotland. This individual died in 1728.

How far it may be true, as mentioned in the *Spectator*, that the modern word *Cant*, which in the beginning of the last century was applied to signify religious uncton, but is now extended to a much wider interpretation, was derived from the worthy minister of Aberdeen, we cannot pretend to deter-

mine. The more probable derivation is from the Latin *cantus*, singing or chanting.

CARDROSS, LORD. *See* ERSKINE.

CARGILL, DONALD, an eminent preacher of the more uncompromising order of Presbyterians in the reign of Charles II., was the son of respectable parents in the parish of Rattray, in Perthshire, where he was born about the year 1610.¹ We find the following account of the state of his mind in early life amongst the memoranda of Mr. Wodrow, who appears to have written down every tradition of the fathers of the church which came to his ears.² "Mr. Donald Cargill," says the pious historian, "for some twenty or thirty years before his death, was never under doubts as to his interest, and the reason was made known to him in an extraordinary way, and the way was this, as Mr. C. told my father. When he was in his youth he was naturally hasty and fiery, and he fell under deep soul exercise, and that in a very high degree, and for a long time after all means used, public and private; and the trouble still increasing, he at length came to a positive resolution to make away with himself, and accordingly went out more than once to drown himself in a water, but he was still scarred by people coming by, or somewhat or other. At length, after several essays, he takes on a resolution to take a time or place where nothing should stop, and goes out early one morning by break of day to a coal-pit; and when he comes to it, and none at all about, he comes to the brink of it to throw himself in, and just as he was going to jump in he heard an audible voice from heaven, 'Son, be of cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee,' and that stopped him, and he said to —, that he never got leave to doubt of his interest. But, blessed be God, we have a more sure word of prophecy to lean to, though I believe where such extraordinary revelations are, there is an inward testimony of the Spirit cleaving marks of grace to the soul too."

We learn from other sources that Mr. Cargill, having studied at Aberdeen, and, being persuaded by his father to enter the church, became minister of the Barony parish in Glasgow, some time after the division among the clergy, in 1650. He continued to exercise the duties of this situation in a very pious and exemplary manner, until the restoration of the Episcopal church, when his refusing to accept collation from the archbishop, or celebrate the king's birth-day, drew upon him the attention of the authorities, and he was banished, by act of council, to the country beyond the Tay. To this edict he appears to have paid little attention; yet he did not excite the jealousy of the government till 1668, when he was called before the council, and commanded peremptorily to observe their former act. In September, 1669, upon his petition to the council, he was permitted to come to Edinburgh upon some legal business, but not to reside in the city, or to approach Glasgow. For some years after this period he led the life of a field-preacher, subject to the constant vigilance of the emissaries of the government, from whom he made many remarkable escapes. So far from accepting the *indulgence* offered to the Presbyterian clergy, he was one of that small body who thought it their duty to denounce openly all who did so. In 1679 he appeared amongst the unfortunate band which stood forward at Bothwell Bridge in vain resistance to an overpowering tyranny. On this occasion he was wounded, but had the good fortune to make his escape. Subsequent to this

period, he took refuge for a short time in Holland. In the months of May and June, 1680, he was again under hiding in Scotland, and seems to have been concerned in drawing up some very strong papers against the government. He, and a distinguished lay member of the same sect, named Henry Hall, of Haughhead, lurked for some time about the shores of the Firth of Forth above Queensferry, till at length the Episcopal minister of Carriden gave notice of them to the governor of Blackness, who, June 3d, set out in search of them. This officer having traced them to a public-house in Queensferry, went in, and pretending a great deal of respect for Mr. Cargill, begged to drink a glass of wine with him. He had, in the meantime, sent off his servant for a party of soldiers. The two fugitives had no suspicion of this man's purpose, till, not choosing to wait any longer for the arrival of his assistants, he attempted to take them prisoners. Hall made a stout resistance, but was mortally wounded with the dog-head of a carbine by one George, a waiter. Cargill, escaping in the struggle, though not without wounds, was received and concealed by a neighbouring farmer. He even fled to the south, and next Sunday, notwithstanding his wounds, he preached at Cairn-hill, near Loudoun. A paper of a very violent nature was found on the person of the deceased Mr. Hall, and is generally understood to have proceeded from the pen of Mr. Cargill. It is known in history by the title of the QUEENSFERRY COVENANT, from the place where it was found. Mr. Cargill also appears to have been concerned, with his friend Richard Cameron, in publishing the equally violent declaration at Sanquhar, on the 22d of June. In the following September, this zealous divine proceeded to a still more violent measure against the existing powers. Having collected a large congregation in the Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling, he preached from I Corinth. v. 13, and then, without having previously consulted a single brother in the ministry, or any other individual of his party, he gave out the usual form of excommunication against the king, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie, and Sir Thomas Dalzell of Binns. His general reasons were their exertions against the supremacy of the pure church of Scotland. The privy-council felt that this assumption of ecclesiastical authority was not only calculated to bring contempt upon the eminent persons named, but tended to mark them out as proper objects for the vengeance of the ignorant multitude; and they accordingly took very severe measures against the offender. He was intercommunicated, and a reward of 5000 merks were offered for his apprehension. For several months he continued to exercise his functions as a minister when he could find a convenient opportunity; and many stories are told of hair-breadth escapes which he made on those occasions from the soldiers, and others sent in search of him. At length, in May, 1681, he was seized at Covington in Lanarkshire, by a person named Irving of Bonshaw, who carried him to Lanark on horseback, with his feet tied under the animal's belly. Soon after he was conducted to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh, where, on the 26th of July, he was tried and condemned to suffer death for high treason. He was next day hanged and beheaded, his last expressions being suitable in their piety to the tenor of his whole life. Cargill is thus described by Wodrow, who by no means concurred with him in all his sentiments: "He was a person of a very deep and sharp exercise in his youth, and had a very extraordinary outgate from it. Afterwards he lived a most pious and religious life, and

¹ Howie's *Scots Worthies*.

² Wodrow's *Analecta*.

was a zealous and useful minister, and of an easy sweet natural temper. And I am of opinion, the singular steps he took towards the end of his course were as much to be attributed unto his regard to the sentiments of others, for whom he had a value, as to his own inclinations."

CARLYLE, ALEXANDER, an eminent divine, was born about the year 1721. His father was the minister of Prestonpans, and he received his education at the universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Leyden. While he attended these schools of learning, the extreme elegance of his person, his manners, and his taste, introduced him to an order of society far above any in which such students as he generally mingle, and rendered him the favourite of men of science and literature. At the breaking out of the insurrection of 1745, he was an ardent youth of four and twenty, and thought proper to accept a commission in a troop of volunteers, which was raised at Edinburgh for the purpose of defending the city. This corps having been dissolved at the approach of the Highland army, he retired to his father's house at Prestonpans, where the tide of war, however, soon followed him. Sir John Cope having pitched his camp in the immediate neighbourhood of Prestonpans, the Highlanders attacked him early on the morning of the 21st of September, and soon gained a decided victory. Carlyle was awoke by an account that the armies were engaged, and hurried to the top of the village steeple in order to have a view of the action. He was just in time to see the regular soldiers fleeing in all directions to escape the broadswords of the enemy. This incident gave him some uneasiness on his own account, for there was reason to apprehend that the victors would not be over kind to one who had lately appeared in arms against them. He therefore retired in the best way he could to the manse of Bolton, some miles off, where he lived unmolested for a few days, after which he returned to the bosom of his own family. Having gone through the usual exercises prescribed by the Church of Scotland, Mr. Carlyle was presented, in 1747, to the living of Inveresk, which was perhaps the best situation he could have obtained in the church, as the distance from Edinburgh was such as to make intercourse with metropolitan society very easy, while, at the same time, he enjoyed all the benefits of retirement and country leisure. From this period till the end of the century, the name of Dr. Carlyle enters largely into the literary history of Scotland; he was the intimate associate of Hume, Home, Smith, Blair, and all the other illustrious men who flourished at this period. Unfortunately, though believed to possess talents fitting him to shine in the very highest walks of literature and intellectual science, he never could be prevailed upon to hazard himself in competition with his distinguished friends, but was content to lend to them the benefit of his assistance and critical advice in fitting their productions for the eye of the world. In his clerical character, Mr. Carlyle was a zealous moderate; and when he had acquired some weight in the ecclesiastical courts, was the bold advocate of some of the strongest measures taken by the General Assembly for maintaining the ascendancy of his party. In 1757 he himself fell under censure as an accomplice—if we may use such an expression—of Mr. Home, in bringing forward the tragedy of *Douglas*. At the first private rehearsal of this play, Dr. Carlyle enacted the part of Old Norval; and he was one of those clergymen who resolutely involved themselves in the evil fame of the author by attending the first representation. During the run of the play, while the general public, on the

one hand, was lost in admiration of its merits, and the church, on the other, was preparing its sharpest thunders of condemnation, Dr. Carlyle published a burlesque pamphlet, entitled *Reasons why the Tragedy of Douglas should be Burned by the Hands of the Common Hangman*; and afterwards he wrote another calculated for the lower ranks, and which was hawked about the streets, under the title, "*History of the Bloody Tragedy of Douglas*, as it is now performed at the theatre in the Canongate." Mr. Mackenzie informs us, in his *Life of Home*, that the latter pasquinade had the effect of adding two more nights to the already unprecedented run of the play. For this conduct Dr. Carlyle was visited by his presbytery with a censure and admonition. A person of right feeling in the present day is only apt to be astonished that the punishment was not more severe; for, assuredly, it would be difficult to conceive any conduct so apt to be injurious to the usefulness of a clergyman as his thus mixing himself up with the impurities and buffooneries of the stage. The era of 1757 was perhaps somewhat different from the present. The serious party in the church were inconsiderately zealous in their peculiar mode of procedure, while the moderate party, on the principle of antagonism, erred as much on the side of what they called liberality. Hence, although the church would not now, perhaps, go to such a length in condemning the tragedy of *Douglas*, its author and his abettors, neither would the provocation be now given. No clergyman could now be found to act like Home and Carlyle; and therefore the church could not be called upon to act in so ungracious a manner as it did towards those gentlemen. Dr. Carlyle was a fond lover of his country, of his profession, and, it might be said, of all mankind. He was instrumental in procuring an exemption for his brethren from the severe pressure of the house and window tax, for which purpose he visited London, and was introduced at court, where the elegance and dignity of his appearance are said to have excited both admiration and surprise. It was generally remarked that his noble countenance bore a striking resemblance to the Jupiter Tonans in the Capitol. Smollett mentions in his *Humphrey Clinker*, a work in which fact and fancy are curiously blended, that he owed to Dr. Carlyle his introduction to the literary circles of Edinburgh. After mentioning a list of celebrated names, he says, "These acquaintances I owe to the friendship of Dr. Carlyle, who wants nothing but inclination to figure with the rest upon paper." It may be further mentioned, that the world owes the preservation of Collins' fine ode on the superstitions of the Highlands, to Dr. Carlyle. The author, on his death-bed, had mentioned it to Dr. Johnson as the best of his poems; but it was not in his possession, and no search had been able to discover a copy. At last Dr. Carlyle found it accidentally among his papers, and presented it to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in the first volume of whose *Transactions* it was published.

Dr. Carlyle died August 25, 1805, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-eighth of his ministry. By his wife, who was a woman of superior understanding and accomplishments, he had had several children, all of whom died many years before himself. Dr. Carlyle published nothing but a few sermons and *jeux d'esprit*, and the statistical account of the parish of Inveresk in Sir John Sinclair's large compilation; but he left behind him a very valuable memoir of his own life and times, which has only been lately published.

CARRICK, JOHN DONALD. This excellent writer

in the comic and more humble departments of literature, was born at Glasgow in April, 1787. His parents being in limited circumstances, were unable to afford him more than the elements of an ordinary education; the rest he accomplished in after-years by his own application and industry. Apparently he was brought up to no particular trade or profession, for at one time we find him employed in the office of an architect in Glasgow, and at another as a clerk in a counting-house. As was natural for a bold independent spirit under such irregular training, he resolved to find or make a way for himself, and with this view he in 1807 set off to London. It was a daring adventure for a youth in his twentieth year, and with only a few shillings in his pocket; the distance was four hundred miles, and he resolved to travel the whole way on foot. A sound constitution, light heart, and active limbs enabled him to set at naught those difficulties by which most people would have been deterred; and after travelling all day upon scanty fare, he was wont at night to lodge in some cheap roadside alehouse, or bivouac on the leeward side of a hedge, or behind the sheaves of a corn-field. In this way he saw sights and learned lessons both of men and things which books could not have taught, and which he treasured in his memory for future description. On reaching Liverpool half-starved and wearied, and seeing a party of soldiers beating up for recruits, he deliberated whether he should end his journey at once by enlisting as a soldier, or trudge onward to the metropolis. In this dilemma, where both sides were equally balanced, he had recourse to divination, and gravely throwing his cudgel into the air, he resolved to fix his choice by the direction in which it fell. The fallen staff pointed Londonward, and to London accordingly he resolved to go. After another journey as long and toilsome as the first, he arrived at the capital; and such had been his frugality and self-denial that he had still half-a-crown in his pocket.

On reaching London, John Carrick's first task was to find employment; but although he offered his services to several shopkeepers, his appearance was so raw and his tongue so broadly Scotch, that the Cockney citizens were unwilling to give him a place behind their counters. While employed however in this cheerless quest, he stumbled upon a countryman of his own, whose ears were charmed by the melody of his Doric, and who forthwith took him into his service. After circulating from one temporary engagement to another, Carrick at last obtained, in 1809, a situation in a house that dealt extensively in Staffordshire pottery, and here he remained until 1811, when he returned to Glasgow, and opened a large establishment in Hutcheson Street for the sale of stoneware, china, &c., in which he continued nearly fourteen years, until unforeseen reverses reduced him to bankruptcy. His losses were also aggravated by a tedious and expensive litigation, from which, although his character came out unsullied, it was with pockets utterly emptied. Obligated to abandon business on his own account, he became a travelling agent chiefly in the West Highlands for two or three Glasgow houses; but this source of subsistence having also dried up, he resolved to leave business altogether, and devote himself wholly to the profession of literature. Nor was he so disqualified for this as his early education would seem to intimate. He had seen much of society both Scotch and English, both Lowland and Highland, chiefly of the humble and comic character, to which his powers of writing were best adapted; and by reading and study, since the time of his first arrival in London, he had acquired a ready and vigorous style of writing. He

had also felt his way in this new and perilous path by writing a *Life of Sir William Wallace* in two volumes, published in *Constable's Miscellany*, which was favourably received by the public, and producing certain songs and humorous sketches on which his friends had set some value. His first engagement, when this resolution was adopted, was as sub-editor of the *Scots Times*, a journal of liberal principles then published in Glasgow, and its amusing paragraphs of local fun and satire which he contributed, gave celebrity and circulation to the paper. Afterwards he was employed as a regular contributor to *The Day*, a literary newspaper published daily in Glasgow, and commenced in 1832, but which expired after a short existence of six months. During the same year appeared *Whistle-Binkie*, a collection of Scottish songs chiefly humorous, and to this publication Carrick contributed two of the most comic of its articles, "The Scottish Tea Party" and "Mister Peter Paterson." In the following year he was offered the management of the *Perth Advertiser*, which he accepted. Great were the hopes of Carrick's friends that this situation would be profitable and honourable both to the editor and newspaper. His literary talents were considerably above the common average, his knowledge of the world and everyday life was extensive and minute; and from past experience he was well acquainted with the mechanical details that enter into the management of a journal. What editor, therefore, could be better qualified to give weight and respectability to a provincial newspaper, and insure for it success? But these natural calculations were grievously disappointed by the reality. Carrick might be sole editor of the *Perth Advertiser*; but he had viceroys over him—a committee of management, to wit, composed of men far inferior to himself in talent and judgment, but who revised, mutilated, and altered his articles according to their own good pleasure. This crowning indignity, which authorship can least endure, was too much for the proud and independent spirit of Carrick; and he threw up his editorship after he had held it eleven months.

During this kind of annoyance which decided him to leave Perth, certain parties in the burgh of Kilmarnock were on the look-out for an editor to a newspaper which they were about to start in the liberal interest; and Carrick's friends in Glasgow, who were aware of the state of matters in Perth, had powerfully recommended him for this new appointment. Their application was successful, and Carrick, leaving Perth in February, 1834, assumed his editorial duties in Kilmarnock. In a short time the new-born *Kilmarnock Journal* attested the excellence of his management; its articles were vigorous and popular, and the sale of the paper was increasing; but unfortunately it was, like its brother of Perth, under a committee of management composed of the chief proprietors, and as there was a variety of tastes, opinions, and rivalries among them, while each member wished his own to predominate, the situation of the editor with such a divided conclave was far from being easy or enviable. He had made no escape by fleeing from Perth to Kilmarnock; on the contrary, he had only landed upon the same evil in a more aggravated form. He was also less able now to bear up against it, as before he left Perth, he had been afflicted with neuralgic attacks in some of the nerves and muscles of his mouth and head, which in Kilmarnock settled into confirmed tic-douloureux. Under the worry by which this painful disease was aggravated, he petitioned for a short leave of absence, while his friend Mr. Weir of the *Glasgow Argus* (already a rising man in the literary world) had en-

gaged to supply the leading articles for the *Kilmarnock Journal*; but, contrary to every principle of justice and humanity, his reasonable request was refused by the managing committee. As no other alternative remained to him, Carrick resigned his editorship, and returned to Glasgow in January, 1835. During his stay in Kilmarnock, however, and notwithstanding the annoyances of his position and decline of health, his intellect had been as active as ever: and besides the management of his newspaper, he editorially superintended the first series of *The Laird of Logan*, an admirable collection of Scotch jokes and stories, of which a considerable number of the best pieces were from his own pen. The work was published in Glasgow in June, 1835, where the sensation it produced, and the popularity it established, bore witness to the happiness of the plan, and the good taste with which it was executed. After the volume had issued from the press, Carrick went to Rothesay in quest of that health which he could no longer find; in that gentle climate he even became worse; and, with the feeling which so often prompts the dying man to return to his birthplace, as if it were a privilege to die there, he came back to Glasgow, and calmly awaited the inevitable change. Even yet, however, he could make a momentary rally for his beloved occupation, and write a few articles for the *Scottish Monthly Magazine*, a Glasgow periodical of brief duration; but it was the last flash of the expiring lamp, and he died on the 17th of August, 1837.

Of the character of John Donald Carrick, an estimate may be formed from the events of his varied life. Necessity made him an author, and a growing liking confirmed his choice; while to fit himself for such a task, the world was his only training school and college. Both as a poet and prose writer, he displayed considerable ability, and was always equal to the literary situation he occupied; while his choice inclined to the comic and mirthful, rather than to the grave and sentimental, aspect of nature. The same buoyant spirit and love of the ludicrous which directed his pen, also animated his conversation; and while society sought his company, the wise and the good were charmed with his merriment, which they found contagious, because it was just and observant, but neither satirical nor offensive.

CARSTAIRS, WILLIAM, an eminent political and ecclesiastical character, was born at the village of Cathcart, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, on the 11th of February, 1649. His father was Mr. John Carstairs, descended of a very ancient family in Fife, and minister in the High-church of Glasgow, where he had for his colleague the Rev. James Durham, well known for his *Commentary on the Revelation* and other learned and pious works. His mother's name was Jane Muir, of the family of Glanderston, in the county of Renfrew. Giving early indications of an uncommon genius, young Carstairs was by his father placed under the care of a Mr. Sinclair, an indulgent Presbyterian minister, who at that time kept a school of great celebrity at Ormiston, a village in East Lothian. Under Mr. Sinclair, in whose school, as in all schools of that kind at the time, and even in the family, no language but Latin was used, Carstairs acquired a perfect knowledge of that language, with great fluency of expressing himself in it, and a strong taste for classical learning in general. He had also the good fortune to form, among the sons of the nobility who attended this celebrated seminary, several friendships, which were of the utmost consequence to him in after-life.

Having completed his course at the school, Mr.

Carstairs entered the college of Edinburgh in his nineteenth year, where he studied for four years under Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Paterson, who in later life became clerk to the privy-council of Scotland. Under this gentleman he made great proficiency in the several branches of the school philosophy then in vogue; but the distracted state of the country determined his father to send him to study divinity in Holland, where many of his brethren, the persecuted ministers of the Church of Scotland, had already found an asylum. He was accordingly entered in the university of Utrecht, where he studied Hebrew under Leusden, and divinity under Herman Witsius, at that time two of the most celebrated professors in Europe. He had also an opportunity, which he carefully improved, of attending the lectures of the celebrated Grævius, who was at this time in the vigour of his faculties and the zenith of his reputation. The study of theology, however, was what he made his main business, which having completed, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel, but where or by whom seems not to have been known by any of his biographers. In all probability it was by some of the *classes* of Holland. Being strongly attached to the Presbyterian system, in which he had been educated, and for adherence to which his father was a sufferer at home, and himself, in a limited sense, a wanderer in a strange land (for it was to avoid the taking of unnecessary or unlawful oaths imposed by the bishops that he had been sent by his father to study at Utrecht), he naturally took a deep interest in the affairs of his native country, and was early engaged in deliberating upon the means of her deliverance. On sending him to Holland by the way of London, his father had introduced him by letter to an eminent physician of that city, who kindly furnished him with a letter to the physician of the Prince of Orange. This latter gentleman, upon the strength of his friend's recommendation, introduced Carstairs to the Pensionary Fagel, who, finding him so much a master of everything relative to the state of parties and interests in Great Britain, introduced him to a private interview with his master the prince, who was at once struck with his easy and polite address, and with the extent of his political knowledge. This favourable opinion was heightened by subsequent interviews, and in a short time nothing of consequence was transacted at his court relative to Great Britain till Carstairs had been previously consulted. Holland had, from the first attempts of the British court after the restoration to suppress the Presbyterians, been the general resort of such of the Scottish clergy as found it impossible to retain their stations, and they were soon followed by numbers of their unhappy countrymen who had vainly perilled their lives on the fatal fields of Pentland and Bothwell, with the principal of whom Carstairs could not, in the circumstances in which he was placed, fail to become acquainted. Being well connected, and in no way obnoxious to the government, he seems to have been selected both by his expatriated countrymen and by the agents of the Prince of Orange, to visit Scotland on a mission of observation in the year 1682.

Nothing could be more hopeless than the condition of Scotland at this time. Her ministers were everywhere silenced: Cargill and Cameron, the only two that remained of the intrepid band that had so long kept up the preached gospel in the fields, had both fallen, the one on the scaffold by an iniquitous sentence, the other on the open heath by the hand of violence. Her nobles were either the slaves of arbitrary royalty, or they had already expatriated themselves, or were just about to do so; while the body of her people, Issachar-like, were crouching beneath

their burdens in the most hopeless dejection. Finding no encouragement in Scotland, where the few individuals that felt any of the true aspirations of liberty were seriously engaged in a project of emigration to Carolina in North America, Mr. Carstairs determined to return to Holland. He however, probably not without instructions, took London in his way, where he arrived in the month of November, 1682, at the very time when Shaftesbury, Monmouth, Sydney, Essex, Russell, Hampden, and Howard were engaged in what has been called Shaftesbury's Plot, or more generally, from a forged story of a design to murder the king and the Duke of York at a farm called the Rye, possessed by Colonel Rumbold, the Ryehouse Plot. These gentlemen were actuated by very different views. Monmouth had probably no object but the crown; Russell and Hampden were for restraining the prerogative, and securing the nation's liberties, civil and religious; Sydney and Essex were for restoring the republic; while Howard, a man without principle, seems to have had nothing in view but to raise a tumult, whereby he might by accident promote his private interest. All of them, however, agreed in soliciting the co-operation of those Scotsmen who, no longer able to subsist under the impositions of a tyrannous government, were about to transport themselves to a distant and desert country. Most of the conspirators having some previous knowledge of Carstairs, he was employed to negotiate between the parties; and he was empowered by a letter from Sir James Stewart, afterwards lord-advocate for Scotland, to assure the English conspirators that, upon furnishing a certain sum of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition, the Scottish refugees in Holland were ready to co-operate with them by an immediate descent upon the west coast of Scotland. This letter he communicated to Russell and Sydney, seconding its contents by a fervent eulogium upon the influence, the talents, and the particular merits of Argyle, whose numerous vassals, extensive jurisdictions, as well as his past sufferings, pointed him out as the most proper person to head an insurrection in that country. All this must have been self-evident to the whole party; yet they do not seem to have been so cordial as might have been expected. Though Carstairs ceased not to press the object of his mission, he was put off from time to time, till he was at length told by Shepherd, one of the subaltern conspirators, that he had heard Sydney declare that he would have nothing to do with Argyle, being well aware that, whatever his present circumstances might prompt him to undertake, he was too strongly attached to the reigning family and to the present government, both in church and state, to unite cordially with them in their measures. At the same time, he was told both by Shepherd and Ferguson that the party were jealous of Sydney, as driving a secret design of his own; and Ferguson hinted to Mr. Carstairs that there might be an easier method of attaining their point than by an open rebellion, as by taking the lives of at most two men they might spare the lives of thousands, meaning thereby the assassination of the king and the Duke of York. Feeling himself insulted, and the cause disgraced by such a proposal, Mr. Carstairs told Ferguson that he and the men with whom he was engaged thought themselves warranted, even with arms in their hands, to demand, for redress of their grievances, those constitutional remedies which had been so often denied to their complaints and remonstrances; but they held it beneath them to adopt any such mean and cowardly contrivances either against the king or his brother. From that time forward Ferguson never mentioned any such thing in his presence, nor did he ever hear it alluded to in his

intercourse with any other of the party. Disgusted, however, with their procrastination, he took his departure for Holland, without carrying any message, having refused to do so except it were a full compliance with his demands.

Scarcely had he landed in Holland, than Shaftesbury found it convenient to follow him, not daring to trust himself any longer in England; and by his desertion, the remaining conspirators, finding their connection with the city of London broken, saw it the more necessary to unite with Argyle and the refugees abroad, as well as with the Scots at home. Sydney now dropped all his objections, and letters were immediately forwarded to Carstairs, requesting him to come over, and an express was sent down to Scotland, for his friends to come up, in order to a speedy adjustment of an insurrection and consensual invasion. In consequence of this, consultations were held among the refugees, Argyle, Stair, Loudoun, Stewart, and others, where it was proposed that the conspirators in England should contribute £30,000 sterling in money, and 1000 horse, to be ready to join Argyle the moment he should land upon the west coast of Scotland. Mr. Stewart was for accepting a smaller sum of money, if so much could not be obtained; but all agreed in the necessity of raising the horse before anything should be attempted. Stair seemed more cold in the matter than the others; but Argyle having assured Carstairs that, so soon as the preliminaries were settled, he would be found abundantly zealous, he consented to carry their proposals, and lay them before the committee or council that had been appointed by the conspirators to conduct the business at London. When he arrived there he was mortified to find that the difficulty of raising the money now was as formidable an obstacle as the opposition of Sydney had formerly been. Russell frankly acknowledged that the whole party could not raise so much money; and begged that £10,000 might be accepted as a beginning, and even this was never paid to Shepherd, who was appointed cashier to the concern, nor was one single step taken for levying the proposed number of troops upon the borders. After having spent several weeks in London, Carstairs became perfectly convinced, from the temper of the men and their mode of procedure, that the scheme would come to nothing. This opinion he communicated to a meeting of his countrymen, where were present Baillie of Jerviswood, Lord Melville, Sir John Cochrane, the Campbells of Cessnock, and others, recommending them to attend to their own safety, by putting an immediate stop to further preparations, till their brethren of England should be better prepared to join them. Baillie of Jerviswood, the most ardent of all his countrymen engaged in this enterprise, reflected bitterly upon the timidity of the English, who had suffered their zeal to evaporate in talk, when they might, by promptitude of action, have been already successful, and insisted that the Scots should prosecute the undertaking by themselves. There was, no doubt, in this something very heroic; but alas! it was vain, and he himself was speedily brought to confess that it was so. It was agreed to, however, by all that a communication should be made to their English friends, that, unless they were determined to act with more vigour, they were not to expect co-operation on the part of the Scots any longer. In the meantime they wrote to their friends in Scotland, to suspend their preparations till further notice. This was a very proper and wise determination; only it came too late. The English conspirators had no unity of purpose, and they had no decision. They had talked away the time of action, and the whole scheme was already

falling to pieces by its own weight. In short, before they could return an answer to their Scottish brethren, the whole was betrayed, and they were alone to a man in the hands of the government.

The prudence of the Scots saved them in part; yet the government got immediate information that there had been a correspondence carried on with Argyle by the conspirators, and Major Holmes, the person to whom all Argyle's letters were directed, was taken into custody, having a number of the letters and the cypher and key in his possession. The cypher and key belonged to Mr Carstairs, who had sent it to Monmouth only two days before, to enable him to read a letter from Argyle, which, having done, he returned it to Major Holmes, in whose hands it was now taken. The Earl of Melfort no sooner saw the cypher than he knew part of it to be the handwriting of Carstairs; and an order was instantly issued for his apprehension, as art and part in the assassination plot. Though Mr. Carstairs was conscious of being innocent as to this part of the plot, he had gone too far with the conspirators for an examination on the subject to be safe either for himself or his friends. He therefore assumed a fictitious name, and concealed himself among his friends in Kent the best way he could. Being discovered, he was suspected to be the notorious Ferguson, of all the conspirators the most obnoxious to government, and as such was seized in the house of a friend at Tenterden, and thrown into the jail of that place on the Monday after the execution of Lord Russell. Here he continued for a fortnight, when orders came for his being brought up to London, where he was for some days committed to the charge of a messenger-at-arms. During this interval Sir Andrew Forrester brought him a message from the king informing him, that though his majesty was not disposed to believe that he had any direct hand in plotting either his death, or that of the Duke of York; yet as he had corresponded with Argyle and Russell, he was convinced that he knew many particulars relative to the Ryehouse Plot, which, if he would discover, with what he knew of any other machinations against the government, he would not only receive an ample pardon for the past, but the king would also show him all manner of favour for the time to come. If, however, he rejected this, he was to abide by the consequences, which, in all likelihood, would be fatal to him. His answer not proving satisfactory, he was committed to close custody in the Gatehouse, where he continued upwards of eleven weeks. During this time he was often before the privy-council, but revealed nothing. At length, finding that he could obtain no favour through the king, but upon dishonourable conditions, he petitioned the court of King's Bench for his *habeas corpus*, instead of which he received an intimation that he was to be sent down to Scotland within twenty-four hours, to take his trial in that kingdom. It was in vain that he represented it as a breach of law to send him to be tried in Scotland for a crime said to be committed in England. He was sent off next day with several others who were consigned into the hands of the Scottish privy-council, to be tried for compassing the death of the king in London, or at the Ryehouse, between London and Newmarket. Among that unhappy number was a servant of Argyle, of the name of Spence, who was instantly brought before that most abominable tribunal, the privy-council of Scotland, where, because he refused to take an oath to criminate himself, he was first put to the torture of the boot, which he endured with unshrinking firmness; then kept from sleep upwards of nine nights together—which not answering the

expectations that had been formed, steel screws were invented for his thumbs, which proved so exquisite a torment, that he sunk under it, the Earl of Perth assuring him at the same time that they would screw every joint of his body in the same manner till he took the oath. Even in this state, Spence had the firmness to stipulate that no new questions should be put to him, that he should not be brought forward as a witness against any person, and that he himself should be pardoned. He then acquainted them with the names of Argyle's correspondents, and assisted them in decyphering the letters, by which it was seen what Argyle had demanded, and what he had promised to do upon his demands being granted; but there was nothing in them of any agreement being then made.

Carstairs, in the meantime, was laid in irons, and continued in them several weeks, Perth visiting him almost daily, to urge him to reveal what he knew, with promises of a full pardon, so far as he himself was concerned. On this point, however, Mr. Carstairs was inflexible; and when brought before the council, the instruments of torture being laid before him, and he asked by the Earl of Perth if he would answer upon oath such questions as should be put to him, he replied, with a firmness that astonished the whole council, that in a criminal matter he never would, but, if they produced his accusers, he was ready to vindicate himself from any crime they could lay to his charge. He was then assured, that if he would answer a few questions that were to be put to him concerning others, nothing he said should ever militate against himself, nor should they ever inquire whether his disclosures were true or false; but he peremptorily told them, that with him, in a criminal cause, they should never found such a detestable precedent. To the very foolish question put to him, if he had any objections against being put to the torture, he replied, he had great objections to a practice that was a reproach to human nature, and as such banished from the criminal courts of every free country. Here he repeated the remonstrances he had given in to the council at London, and told them that he did consider his trial a breach of the *habeas corpus* act. To this Perth replied, that he was now in Scotland, and must be tried for crimes committed against the state by the laws of that country, had they been committed at Constantinople. The executioner was now brought forward, and a screw of a particular construction applied to his thumb, with such effect, that large drops of sweat streamed over his brow. Yet he was self-possessed, and betrayed no inclination to depart from his first resolution. The Earl of Queensberry was much affected, and after telling Perth that he saw the poor man would rather die than confess, he ran out of the council, followed by the Duke of Hamilton, both being unable longer to witness the scene. Perth sat to the last without betraying any symptoms of compassion for the sufferer. On the contrary, when by his express command the executioner had turned the screw with such violence as to make Carstairs cry out that now he had squeezed the bones to pieces, the monster, in great indignation, told him that if he continued longer obstinate, he hoped to see every bone in his body squeezed to pieces. Having kept their victim under this cruel infliction for an hour and a half without effect, the executioner was ordered to produce the iron boots, and apply them to his legs; but, happily for Mr. Carstairs, the executioner, young at his trade, and composed of less stern stuff than his masters, was so confused that he could not fix them on. After repeated attempts, he was obliged to give it up, and the council adjourned.

Torture having thus proved vain, the council once more assailed him in the way of flattery, promising him an ample pardon for himself, and that he should never be called in any court as a witness on any trial; and they further stipulated that none of his answers to the interrogatories to be put to him, should ever be produced in evidence, either directly or indirectly, in any court or against any person whatsoever. On these conditions, as they had already extracted from Mr. Spence and Major Holmes nearly all that he could inform them of upon the stipulated questions, he consented to answer them, provided the promise made him was ratified by a deed of court, and recorded in their books. He had, however, scarcely given his answers, when they were printed and hawked through the streets, under the name of *Carstairs' Confession*. Had they been printed correctly, less might have been said; but they were garbled to suit the purpose of the ruling party, which was to criminate Jerviswood, on whose trial Mackenzie the advocate read them to the jury as an *admirable* proof, without taking any notice of the qualifications with which they were clothed, the alleviating circumstances with which the facts to which they related were accompanied, or the conditions upon which he delivered them. They were so far true to their agreement, however, as to relieve him from his confinement in a dungeon of the castle, where he had remained for some months cut off from all communication with his friends, and struggling under the infirmities of a shattered constitution. He was also permitted to leave Scotland, on condition that he should wait on the secretaries at London, on his way to Holland. Milport being then at court, he went to him and demanded a pass, which he found no difficulty in obtaining; but the king was desirous to see him, and the secretary thought he ought in duty to wait upon him, and receive his commands. On stating, however, that, in such a conversation with the king, he might be led to say what might not be so honourable to some of his majesty's servants in Scotland, the secretary made out his pass, and he departed for Holland, where he arrived in the end of the year 1684, or the beginning of 1685, only a few months before the death of Charles II., and the accession of James VII.

This was by far the most important event in the life of Carstairs, and it is impossible to say how much the human race may be indebted to his firmness and his address on this occasion. He had, at this very time, secrets of the greatest consequence from Holland, trusted to him by the Pensionary Fagel, of which his persecutors had no suspicion. The discovering of these secrets would not only have saved him from torture, but have brought him a high reward, and, had they been at that time discovered, the glorious revolution might have been prevented, and these kingdoms, instead of being the first and most exalted, as they are at this day, been among the lowest and most debased. The great anxiety the Scottish managers were under to take the life of Baillie, by implicating him in the Rye-house Plot, seems so totally to have blinded them, that they had no suspicion of the Dutch connection, which Carstairs was so apprehensive about, and which he was so successful in concealing. On his return to Holland, William, fully appreciating his merits, received him into his family, appointed him one of his own chaplains, and at the same time procured him to be elected minister of the English Protestant congregation at Leyden. To the day of his death William reposed upon the advice of Carstairs with the most perfect confidence. He was now, indeed, much better qualified than ever for being

serviceable to his illustrious patron. During his stay in Britain he had had a fair opportunity of judging of public men and public measures. He had not only witnessed in others, but he had felt himself, the severities of a Popish administration; and he saw the universal alienation of all ranks from the system of government they had adopted, and perceived that the very methods fallen upon for stilling popular clamour was only tending to its increase. The narrow politics of the Duke of York he had thoroughly penetrated, was aware of all the schemes he had laid for enslaving the nation, and saw that the tools with which he was working could easily be turned to his own destruction. Of all these interesting particulars he was admitted to give his sentiments freely to the Prince of Orange, who was no longer at pains to conceal his aversion to the means James was employing to restore the Catholic church. This encouraged still greater numbers of suffering British subjects to place themselves under his protection, for the characters of whom his royal highness generally applied to Carstairs, and he was wont to remark, that he never in one instance had occasion to charge him with the smallest attempt to mislead or deceive him. It cannot indeed be doubted that he was made the channel of many complaints and advices to William, which were never made known to the public. Of these secret warnings the prince had sagacity enough to make the best use, even when he was to outward appearance treating them with neglect, and Carstairs himself was in all probability not a little surprised when he was summoned to attend him on an expedition to Great Britain. Notwithstanding all that has been spoken and written and printed about it, we believe that William felt very little, and cared very little, about the sufferings of the British people; but he had an eye steadily fixed upon the British crown, to which, till the birth of a Prince of Wales, June 10th, 1688, his wife was the heir-apparent, and so long as he had the prospect of a natural succession, whatever might be the disorders of the government or the wishes of the people, he was not disposed to endanger his future greatness by anything like a premature attempt to secure it. The birth of the prince, however, gave an entirely new aspect to his affairs. He behaved now to embrace the call of the people, or abandon all reasonable hopes of ever wearing that diadem which he so fondly coveted, and by which alone he could ever hope to carry his great plans of European policy into effect. Equally wise to discern and prompt to act, he lost not a moment in hesitation: he hastened his preparations, and on the 19th of October, 1688, set sail for Britain with sixty-five ships of war, and 500 transports, carrying upwards of 15,000 men. The subject of this memoir accompanied him as his domestic chaplain aboard his own ship, and he had in his train a numerous retinue of British subjects, whom the tyranny of the times had driven to Holland. On the evening of the same day, the fleet was dispersed in a tremendous hurricane, and by the dawn of next morning not two of the whole fleet were to be seen together. On the third day William returned to port, with only four ships of war and forty transports. The ship in which he himself sailed narrowly escaped being wrecked, which was looked on by some about him as an evil omen, and among the rest by Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who remarked that it seemed predestined they should not set foot on English ground. A few days, however, collected the whole fleet once more; on the 1st of November it sailed again with a fair wind; and on Monday the 5th, the troops were safely landed at

Torbay in Devonshire, the English fleet all the while lying wind-bound at Harwich. On the landing of the troops, Mr. Carstairs performed divine service at their head, after which the whole army drawn up along the beach sang the 118th psalm before going into camp. From this time till the settlement of the crown upon William and Mary, Carstairs continued about the person of the prince, being consulted and employed in negotiating affairs of peculiar delicacy, and disposing of sums of money with which he was intrusted, in various quarters. "It was during this interval," says his biographer, and the editor of his state papers, the Rev. Joseph M'Cormick, "that he had it in his power to be of the greatest service to the Prince of Orange, nothing being carried on relative to the settlement of Scotland which the prince did not communicate to him, and permit him to give his sentiments of in private." He was highly instrumental in procuring the settlement of the Church of Scotland in its present Presbyterian form; which was found to be a matter of no small difficulty, as the king was anxious that the same system should continue in both parts of the island. Carstairs has been often blamed for having acceded to the king's wishes for maintaining patronage, and also for recommending that some of the worst instruments of the late monarch should be continued in office, which he did upon the plea that most of them were possessed of influence and qualifications, which, if properly directed, might be useful under the new régime. It must be recollected, that, at such a critical time, a man of Carstairs' political sagacity was apt to be guided rather by what was practically expedient than what was abstractly proper. It is probable that Carstairs, who was unquestionably a sincere man, was anxious to render the settlement of the church and of the government as liberal as he thought consistent with their stability, or as the circumstances he had to contend against would permit. King William now took an opportunity of atoning to his counsellor for all his former sufferings; he appointed Mr. Carstairs his chaplain for Scotland, with the whole revenue of the chapel royal. He also required the constant presence of Mr. Carstairs about his person, assigning him apartments in the palace when at home, and when abroad with the army allowing him £500 a year for camp equipage.

He was of course with his majesty at all times, and by being thus always at hand, was enabled on some occasions to do signal service both to his king and his country. Of this we have a remarkable instance which happened in the year 1694. In 1693 the Scottish parliament had passed an act obliging all who were in office to take the oath of allegiance to their majesties, and at the same time to sign the assurance, as it was called, whereby they declared William to be king *de jure* as well as *de facto*. This was one of the first of a long series of oppressive acts intended secretly to ruin the Scottish church by bringing her into collision with the civil authorities, and in the end depriving her of that protection and countenance which she now enjoyed from them. This act had been artfully carried through the parliament by allowing a dispensing power to the privy-council in cases where no known enmity to the king's prerogative existed. No honest Presbyterian at that time had any objection to King William's title to the crown; but they had insuperable objections to the taking of a civil oath as a qualification for a sacred office. Numerous applications were of course made to the privy-council for dispensations; but that court, which had still in it a number of the old persecutors, so far from complying with the demand, re-

commended to his majesty to allow no one to sit down in the ensuing General Assembly till he had taken the oath and signed the assurance. Orders were accordingly transmitted to Lord Carmichael, the commissioner to the Assembly, to that effect. When his lordship arrived in Edinburgh, however, he found the clergy obstinately determined to refuse compliance with his demand, and they assured him it would kindle a flame over the nation which those who had given his majesty this pernicious counsel would be unable to extinguish. Lord Carmichael, firmly attached to his majesty, and aware that the dissolution of this Assembly might not only be fatal to the Church of Scotland, but to the interests of his majesty in that country, sent a flying packet to the king, representing the difficulty, and requesting further instructions. Some of the ministers at the same time wrote a statement of the case to Carstairs, requesting his best offices in the matter. Lord Carmichael's packet arrived at Kensington on a forenoon in the absence of Mr. Carstairs, and William, who, when he could do it with safety, was as fond of stretching the prerogative as any of his predecessors, peremptorily renewed his instructions to the commissioner, and despatched them for Scotland without a moment's delay. Scarcely was this done when Carstairs arrived; and, learning the nature of the despatch, hastened to find the messenger before his final departure, and having found him, demanded back the packet in his majesty's name. It was now late in the evening, but no time was to be lost; so he ran straight to his majesty's apartment, where he was told by the lord in waiting that his majesty was in bed. Carstairs, however, insisted on seeing him; and, being introduced to his chamber, found him fast asleep. He turned aside the curtain and gently awakened him; the king, astonished to see him at so late an hour, and on his knees by his bedside, asked, with some emotion, what was the matter. "I am come," said Carstairs, "to beg my life!" "Is it possible," said the king, with still higher emotion, "that you can have been guilty of a crime that deserves death?" "I have, sire," he replied, showing the packet he had just brought back from the messenger. "And have you, indeed," said the king, with a severe frown, "presumed to countermand my orders?" "Let me be heard but for a few moments," said Carstairs, "and I am ready to submit to any punishment your majesty shall think proper to inflict." He then pointed out very briefly the danger of the advice he had acted upon, and the consequences that would necessarily follow if it was persisted in, to which his majesty listened with great attention. When he had done, the king gave him the despatches to read, after which he ordered him to throw them into the fire, and draw out others to please himself, which he would sign. This was done accordingly; but so many hours' delay prevented the messenger from reaching Edinburgh till the very morning when the Assembly was to meet, and when nothing but confusion was expected, the commissioner finding himself under the necessity of dissolving the Assembly, and the ministers being determined to assert their own authority independent of the civil magistrate. Both parties were apprehensive of the consequences, and both were happily relieved by the arrival of the messenger with his majesty's letter, signifying that it was his pleasure that the oaths should be dispensed with. With the exception of the act establishing Presbytery, this was the most popular act of his majesty's government in Scotland. It also gained Mr. Carstairs, when his part of it came to be known, more credit with his brethren and with Presbyterians in general than perhaps any other part of his public procedure.

From this period down to the death of the king there is nothing to be told concerning Carstairs but that he continued still in favour, and was assiduously courted by all parties, and was supposed to have so much influence, particularly in what related to the church, that he was called CARDINAL CARSTAIRS.

Having only the letters that were addressed to him, without any of his replies, we can only conjecture what these may have been. The presumption is, that they were prudent and discreet. Though he was so great a favourite with William, there was no provision made for him at his death. Anne, however, though she gave him no political employment, continued him in the chaplainship for Scotland, with the same revenues he had enjoyed under her predecessor. In the year 1704 he was elected principal of the college of Edinburgh, for which he drew up a new and very minute set of rules; and, as he was wanted to manage affairs in the church courts, he was, at the same time (at least in the same year), presented to the church of Greyfriars; and, in consequence of uniting this with his office in the university, he was allowed a salary of 2200 merks a year. Three years after this he was translated to the High-church. Though so deeply immersed in politics, literature had always engaged much of Carstairs' attention; and he had, so early as 1693, obtained a gift from the crown to each of the Scottish universities of £300 sterling per annum out of the bishops' rents in Scotland. Now that he was more closely connected with these learned bodies, he exerted all his influence with the government to extend its encouragement and protection towards them, and thus essentially promoted the cause of learning. It has indeed been said that from the donations he at various times procured for the Scottish colleges he was the greatest benefactor, under the rank of royalty, to those institutions that his country ever produced. The first General Assembly that met after he became a minister of the Church of Scotland made choice of him for moderator; and in the space of eleven years he was four times called to fill that office. From his personal influence and the manner in which he was supported he may be truly said to have had the entire management of the Church of Scotland. In leading the church he displayed great ability and comprehensiveness of mind, with uncommon judgment. "He moderated the keenness of party zeal, and infused a spirit of cautious mildness into the deliberations of the General Assembly.¹ As the great body of the more zealous clergy were hostile to the union of the kingdoms, it required all his influence to reconcile them to a measure which he, as a whole, approved of as of mutual benefit to the two countries; and although after this era the Church of Scotland lost much of her weight in the councils of the kingdom, she still retained her respectability, and perhaps was all the better of a disconnection with political affairs. When Queen Anne, among the last acts of her reign, restored the system of patronage, he vigorously opposed it; and, though unsuccessful, his visit to London at that time was of essential service in securing on a stable basis the endangered liberty of the church. The ultra-Tory ministry, hostile to the Protestant interests of these realms, had devised certain strong measures for curtailing the power of the Church of Scotland, by discontinuing her assemblies, or at least by subjecting them wholly to the nod of the court. Mr. Carstairs prevailed on the administration to abandon the attempt; and he, on his part, promised to use all his influence

to prevent the discontents occasioned by the patronage bill from breaking out into open insurrection. It may be remarked that, although patronage is a privilege which, if harshly exercised, acts as a severe oppression upon the people; yet, while justified so far in abstract right by the support which the patron is always understood to give to the clergyman, it was, to say the least of it, more expedient to be enforced at the commencement of last century than perhaps at present, as it tended to reconcile to the church many of the nobility and gentry of the country, who were, in general, votaries of Episcopacy, and therefore disaffected to the state and to the general interests."

Principal Carstairs was, it may be supposed, a zealous promoter of the succession of the house of Hanover. Of so much importance were his services deemed, that George I., two years before his accession, signified his acknowledgments by a letter, and immediately after arriving in England, renewed his appointment as chaplain for Scotland. The last considerable duty upon which the principal was engaged was a mission from the Scottish church to congratulate the first prince of the house of Brunswick upon his accession. He did not long survive this period. In August, 1715, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which carried him off about the end of the December following, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His body lies interred in the Greyfriars' churchyard, where a monument is erected to his memory, with a suitable inscription in Latin. The university, the clergy, and the nation at large, united in lamenting the loss of one of their brightest ornaments and most distinguished benefactors.

Carstairs was one of the most remarkable men ever produced by this country. He appears to have been born with a genius for managing great political undertakings; his father, in one of his letters, expresses a fear lest his "*boy Willie*" should become too much of a *public political* man, and get himself into scrapes. His first move in public life was for the emancipation of his country from tyrannical misrule; and nothing could well equal the sagacity with which he conducted some of the most delicate and hazardous enterprises for that purpose. In consequence of the triumph of the principles which he then advocated, he became possessed of more real influence in the state than has fallen to the lot of many responsible ministers; so that the later part of his life presented the strangest contrast to the earlier. What is strangest of all, he preserved through these vicissitudes of fortune the same humble spirit and simple worth, the same zealous and sincere piety, the same amiable and affectionate heart. It fell to the lot of Carstairs to have it in his power to do much good; and nothing could be said more emphatically in his praise, than that he improved every opportunity. The home and heart of Carstairs were constantly alike open. The former was the resort of all orders of good men; the latter was alive to every beneficent and kindly feeling. It is related of him, that, although perhaps the most efficient enemy which the Episcopal church of Scotland ever had, he exercised perpetual deeds of charity towards the unfortunate ministers of that communion who were displaced at the revolution. The effect of his generosity to them, in overcoming prejudice and conciliating affection, appeared strongly at his funeral. When his body was laid in the dust, two men were observed to turn aside from the rest of the company, and, bursting into tears, bewailed their mutual loss. Upon inquiry, it was found that these were two non-jurant clergymen, whose families had been supported for a considerable time by his benefactions.

¹ We here quote from a memoir of Principal Carstairs, which appeared in the *Christian Instructor*, for March, 1827.

In the midst of all his greatness, Carstairs never forgot the charities of domestic life. His sister, who had been married to a clergyman in Fife, lost her husband a few days before her brother arrived from London on matters of great importance to the nation. Hearing of his arrival, she came to Edinburgh to see him. Upon calling at his lodgings in the forenoon, she was told he was not at leisure, as several of the nobility and officers of state were gone in to see him. She then bid the servant only whisper to him, that she desired to know when it would be convenient for him to see her. He returned for answer—*immediately*; and, leaving the company, ran to her and embraced her in the most affectionate manner. Upon her attempting to make some apology for her unseasonable interruption to business, "Make yourself easy," said he, "these gentlemen are come hither, not on my account, but their own. They will wait with patience till I return. You know I never pray long,"—and, after a short, but fervent prayer, adapted to her melancholy circumstances, he fixed the time when he could see her more at leisure, and returned in tears to his company.

The close attention which he must have paid to politics does not appear to have injured his literature any more than his religion, though it perhaps prevented him from committing any work of either kind to the press. We are told that his first oration in the public hall of the university, after his installation as principal, exhibited so much profound erudition, so much acquaintance with classical learning, and such an accurate knowledge of the Latin tongue, that his hearers were delighted, and the celebrated Dr. Pitcairn declared, that when Mr. Carstairs began his address, he could not help fancying himself in the forum of ancient Rome. In the strange mixed character which he bore through life, he must have corresponded with men of all orders; but, unfortunately, there is no collection of his letters known to exist. A great number of letters addressed to him by the most eminent men of his time were preserved by his widow, and conveyed through her executor to his descendant, Principal M'Cornick, of St. Andrews, by whom they were published in the year 1774.

CHALMERS, ALEXANDER, M.A., F.S.A. The life of this laborious literary workman is more remarkable for untiring industry, and its immense amount of produce, than for greatness or originality of genius. He was born at Aberdeen on the 29th of March, 1759, and was the youngest son of James Chalmers, printer in Aberdeen, an accomplished scholar, who established the first newspaper that existed in that town. Alexander, after completing a classical education, continued his studies for the medical profession; and, on finally being appointed to practise as surgeon in the West Indies, he left Aberdeen in 1777, to join the ship which was to carry him to his destination. But on reaching Portsmouth, instead of stepping on board, he suddenly flew off to London. He had either lost heart at the thought of a residence in the West Indies, at that time one of the worst of exiles, or had suddenly become enamoured with the charms of a literary life in the metropolis. At all events, thither he went, and although his line of existence was stretched out nearly sixty years beyond this period, his native city saw him no more.

On entering London, Mr. Chalmers commenced as a contributor to the periodical press, and became editor of the *Public Ledger* and *London Packet*. It was a stirring and prolific period for journalists, in consequence of the American war; and so ably did he exert himself, that he soon became noted as a

vigorous political writer. Besides his own, he exercised his talents in other established journals of the day, the chief of which was the *St. James' Chronicle*, where he wrote many essays, most of them under the signature of Senex. He was also a valuable assistant for some years to his fellow-townsmen, Mr. James Perry, editor and proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, who had come to London at the same time as himself, and to whose newspaper Chalmers contributed racy paragraphs, epigrams, and satirical poems. He was likewise a contributor to the *Analytical Review*, published by Mr. Johnson, and to the *Critical Review*. As the last-named magazine was published by Mr. George Robinson of Paternoster Row, a close connection was established between Mr. Chalmers and that eminent publisher, which continued till the death of the latter, and was of important service to both parties. Chalmers, who lived almost wholly with his friend, assisted him in the examination of manuscripts offered for publication, and also revised, and occasionally altered and improved, those that were passed through the press. With most, indeed, of the principal publishers and printers in London during fifty years Chalmers maintained a friendly intercourse, and of many of them he has left interesting biographies in the obituary of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a favourite periodical to which he frequently contributed. These literary exertions, however, numerous though they were, and extended over a long course of years, were as nothing compared with his permanent labours as editor of many of the most important works of British authorship; and it is by these, of which we can only give a very brief notice, that his merits are chiefly to be estimated.

In 1793 he published a continuation of the *History of England in Letters*, two volumes. This work was so well appreciated, that four editions successively appeared, the last being in 1821.

In 1797 he compiled a *Glossary to Shakspeare*—a task peculiarly agreeable to a Scotsman, who finds in the copious admixture of unpolluted Saxon existing in his own native dialect, a key to much that is now obsolete in the English of the Elizabethan period.

In 1798 he published a *Sketch of the Isle of Wight*, and in the same year an edition of *The Rev. James Barclay's Complete and Universal English Dictionary*.

In 1803 he published a complete edition of the *British Essayists*, beginning with the *Tatler*, and ending with the *Observer*, in forty-five volumes. The papers of this long series he carefully compared with the originals, and enriched the work with biographical and historical prefaces, and a general index.

During the same year he produced a new edition of Shakspeare, in nine volumes, with a life of the author, and abridgment of the notes of Stevens, accompanied with illustrations from the pencil of Fuseli.

In 1805 he wrote lives of Robert Burns, and Dr. Beattie, author of the *Minstrel*, which were prefixed to their respective works.

In 1806 he edited Fielding's works, in ten volumes octavo; Dr. Johnson's works, in twelve volumes octavo; Warton's essays; the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, in fourteen volumes octavo; and assisted the Rev. W. L. Bowles in his edition of the works of Alexander Pope.

In 1807 he edited *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, in twelve volumes octavo, to which he prefixed a Life of the Author.

In 1808, and part of the following year, he selected and edited, in forty-five volumes, the popular work known as *Walker's Classics*.

In 1809 he edited Bolingbroke's works, in eight volumes octavo. During this year, and the intervals of several that followed, he contributed many of the lives contained in that splendid work, the *British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits*.

In 1810 he revised an enlarged edition of *The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper*, and prefixed to it several biographical notices omitted in the first collection. During the same year he published *A History of the Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings attached to the University of Oxford*. This work he intended to continue, but did not complete it.

In 1811 he revised Bishop Hurd's edition of Addison's works, in six volumes octavo, and an edition of Pope's works, in eight volumes octavo. During the same year he published, with many alterations, *The Projector*, in three volumes octavo, a collection of original articles which he had contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* from the year 1802 to 1809.

In 1812 he prefixed a "Life of Alexander Cruden" to a new edition of *Cruden's Concordance*.

During the last-mentioned year, also, Chalmers commenced the largest and most voluminous of all his literary labours, and the work upon which his reputation chiefly rests. This was "*The General Biographical Dictionary*," containing an historical and critical account of the lives and writings of the most eminent men in every nation, particularly the British and Irish; from the earliest accounts to the present times." The original work, published in 1798, had consisted of fifteen volumes. Large though it was, Chalmers found it incomplete, and resolved to expand it into a full and perfect work. He therefore commenced this gigantic labour in May, 1812, and continued to publish a volume every alternate month for four years and ten months, until thirty-two volumes were successively laid before the public. The amount of toil undergone during this period may be surmised from the fact, that of the nine thousand and odd articles which the *Dictionary* contains, 3934 were entirely his own production, 2176 were re-written by him, and the rest revised and corrected.

After these toils, it might have been supposed that the veteran editor and author would have left the field to younger men. He had now reached the age of fifty-seven, and had crowded that period with an amount of literary exertion such as might well indicate the full occupation of every day, and every hour of the day. But no sooner was the last volume of the *Biographical Dictionary* ended, than he was again at work, as if he had entered freshly into action; and from 1816 to 1823 a series of publications was issued from the press that had passed under his editorial pen, chiefly consisting of biographies. But at last the "pitcher was broken at the fountain, and the wheel broken at the cistern." During the latter years of his life, he had been employed by the booksellers to revise and enlarge his *Biographical Dictionary*, and upon this he had continued to employ himself until about a third of the work was finished, when the breaking up of his constitution obliged him to lay aside his well-worn pen. His last years were years of suffering, arising chiefly from diseases incident to such a sedentary life, until he sank under an attack of bronchial inflammation. His death occurred in Throgmorton Street, London, on the 10th of December, 1834, in his seventy-sixth year. His wife had died eighteen years previous, and his remains were interred in the same vault with hers, in the church of St. Bartholomew, near the Royal Exchange.

In the foregoing summary we have omitted the

mention of not a few of Chalmers' less essential literary performances, conceiving the list to be already long enough to give an idea of his character and well-spent life. We can only add, that his character was such as to endear him to the literary society with whom he largely mingled, and by whom his acquaintance was eagerly sought. He was what Dr. Johnson would have termed "a good clubbable man," and was a member of many learned societies during half a century, as well as the affectionate biographer of many of his companions who had been wont to assemble there. He was charitable almost to a fault—a rare excess with those in whom a continued life of toil is too often accompanied with an undue love of money, and unwillingness to part with it. He was also in his private life an illustration of that Christian faith and those Christian virtues which his literary exertions had never failed to recommend.

CHALMERS, GEORGE, an eminent antiquary and general writer, was born in the latter part of the year 1742, at Fochabers, in Banffshire, being a younger son of the family of Pittensear, in that county. He was educated, first at the grammar-school of Fochabers, and afterwards at King's College, Aberdeen, where he had for his preceptor the celebrated Dr. Reid, author of the *Inquiry into the Human Mind*. Having studied law at Edinburgh, Mr. Chalmers removed, in his twenty-first year (1763) to America, as companion to his uncle, who was proceeding thither for the purpose of recovering some property in Maryland. Being induced to settle as a lawyer in Baltimore, he soon acquired considerable practice, and, when the celebrated question arose respecting the payment of tithes to the church, he appeared on behalf of the clergy, and argued their cause with great ability against Mr. Patrick Hendry, who subsequently became so conspicuous in the war of independence. He was not only defeated in this cause, but was obliged, as a marked royalist, to withdraw from the country. In England, to which he repaired in 1775, his sufferings as a loyalist at last recommended him to the government, and he was in 1786 appointed to the respectable situation of clerk to the Board of Trade. The duties of this office he continued to execute with diligence and ability for the remainder of his life, a period of thirty-nine years.

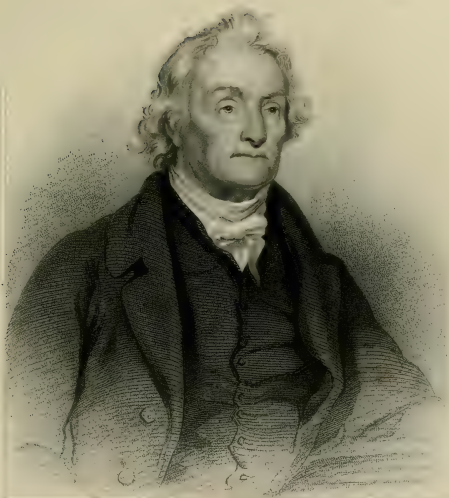
Before and after his appointment, he distinguished himself by the composition of various elaborate and useful works, of which, as well as of all his subsequent writings, the following is a correct chronological list:—1. *The Political Annals of the Present United Colonies, from their Settlement to the Peace of 1763*, of which the first volume appeared in quarto, in 1780; the second was never published. 2. *Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, during the present and four preceding reigns, 1782*. 3. *Opinions on interesting subjects of Public Law and Commercial Policy; arising from American Independence, 1784*, 8vo. 4. *Life of Daniel Defoe*, prefixed to an edition of the *History of the Union, London, 1786*; and of *Robinson Crusoe, 1790*. 5. *Life of Sir John Davies*, prefixed to his *Historical Tracts regarding Ireland, 1786*, 8vo. 6. *Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other powers, 1790*, 2 vols. 8vo. 7. *Life of Thomas Paine, 1793*, 8vo. 8. *Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A.M., 1794*, 8vo. 9. *Prefatory Introduction to Dr. Johnson's Debates in Parliament, 1794*, 8vo. 10. *Vindication of the Privilege of the People in respect to the constitutional right of free discussion; with a retrospect of various proceedings relative to the Violation of that right, 1796*, 8vo. (An Anonymous Pamphlet.)

11. Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers, which were exhibited in Norfolk Street, 1797, 8vo. 12. A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers, being a reply to Mr. Malone's Answer, &c., 1799, 8vo. 13. Appendix to the Supplemental Apology; being the documents for the opinion that Hugh Boyd wrote Junius' Letters, 1800, 8vo. 14. Life of Allan Ramsay, prefixed to an edition of his Poems, 1800, 2 vols. 8vo. 15. Life of Gregory King, prefixed to his Observations on the State of England in 1696, 1804, 8vo. 16. The Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, with a Life of the Author, prefatory Dissertations, and an appropriate Glossary, 1806, 3 vols. 8vo. 17. Caledonia, &c., vol. i. 1807, 4to; vol. ii. 1810; vol. iii. 1824. 18. A Chronological Account of Commerce and Coinage in Great Britain, from the Restoration till 1810; 1810, 8vo. 19. Considerations on Commerce, Bullion and Coin, Circulation and Exchanges; with a view to our present circumstances, 1811, 8vo. 20. An Historical View of the Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest to the Present Times (a new and extended edition of the Compare Estimate), Edinburgh, 1812, 8vo. 21. Opinions of Eminent Lawyers on various points of English Jurisprudence, chiefly concerning the Colonies, Fisheries, and Commerce of Great Britain, 1814, 2 vols. 8vo. 22. A Tract (privately printed) in answer to Malone's Account of Shakespeare's Tempest, 1815, 8vo. 23. Comparative Views of the State of Great Britain before and since the war, 1817, 8vo. 24. The Author of Junius ascertained, from a concatenation of circumstances amounting to moral demonstration, 1817, 8vo. 25. Churchyard's Chips concerning Scotland; being a Collection of his Pieces regarding that Country, with notes and a Life of the Author, 1817, 8vo. 26. Life of Queen Mary, drawn from the State Papers, with six subsidiary memoirs, 1818, 2 vols. 4to; reprinted in 3 vols. 8vo. 27. The Poetical Reviews of some of the Scottish Kings, now first collected, 1824, 8vo. 28. Robene and Makyne, and the Testament of Cresseid, by Robert Henryson, edited as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, of which Mr. Chalmers was a member; Edinburgh, 1824. 29. A Detection of the Love-letters lately attributed in Hugh Campbell's work to Mary Queen of Scots, 1825, 8vo. All these works, unless in the few instances mentioned, were published in London. The author's *Caledonia* astonished the world with the vast extent of its erudition and research. It professes to be an account, historical and topographical, of North Britain, from the most ancient to the present times; and the original intention of the author was, that it should be completed in four volumes quarto, each containing nearly 1000 pages. Former historians had not presumed to inquire any further back into Scottish history than the reign of Canmore, describing all before that time as obscurity and fable, as Strabo, in his maps, represents the inhabitants of every place which he did not know as Ichthyophagi. But George Chalmers was not contented to start from this point. He plunged fearlessly into the dark ages, and was able, by dint of incredible research, to give a pretty clear account of the inhabitants of the northern part of the island since the Roman conquest. The pains which he must have taken in compiling information for this work, are almost beyond belief—although he tells us in his preface that it had only been the amusement of his evenings. The remaining three volumes were destined to contain a topographical and historical account of each county, and the second of these completed his task so far as the Lowlands were

concerned, when death stepped in and arrested the busy pen of the antiquary, May 31, 1825.

As a writer, George Chalmers does not rank high in point of elegance of style; but the solid value of his matter is far more than sufficient to counterbalance both that defect, and a certain number of prejudices by which his labours are otherwise a little deformed. Besides the works which we have mentioned, he was the author of some of inferior note, including various political pamphlets on the Tory side of the question.

CHALMERS, REV. THOMAS, D.D. This eminent orator, philosopher, and divine, by whom the highest interests of his country during the present century have been so materially influenced, was born in the once important, but now unnoticed town of Anstruther, on the south-east coast of Fife, on the 17th March, 1780. He was the son of Mr. John Chalmers, a prosperous dyer, ship-owner, and general merchant in Easter Anstruther, and Elizabeth Hall, the daughter of a wine merchant of Crail, who, in the course of twenty-two years, were the parents of nine sons and five daughters, of which numerous family, Thomas, the subject of this memoir, was the sixth. After enduring the tyranny of a severe nurse, he passed in his third year into the hands of an equally severe schoolmaster, a worn-out parish teacher, whose only remaining capacity for the instruction of the young consisted in an incessant application of the rod. Thus early was Thomas Chalmers taught the evils of injustice and oppression; but who can tell the number of young minds that may have been crushed under a process by which his was only invigorated! After having learned to read, and acquired as much Latin as he could glean under such unpromising tuition, he was sent, at the age of twelve, to the United College of St. Andrews. Even long before this period he had studied with keen relish Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and resolved to be a minister. It appears that, like too many youths at their entrance into our Scottish universities, he had scarcely any classical learning, and was unable to write even his own language according to the rules of orthography and grammar. All these obstacles, however, only called forth that indomitable perseverance by which his whole career in life was distinguished; and in his third year's course at college, when he had reached the age of fifteen, he devoted himself with such ardour to the study of mathematics, that he soon became distinguished by his proficiency in the science, even among such class-fellows as Leslie, Ivory, and Duncan. These abstract studies required some relief, and in the case of Chalmers they were alternated with ethics, politics, and political economy. After the usual curriculum of four years he enrolled as a student of theology, but with a heart so devoted to the abstractions of geometry, that divinity occupied little of his thoughts; even when it was afterwards admitted, it was more in the form of sentimental musings, than of patient laborious inquiry for the purposes of public instruction. But he had so successfully studied the principles of composition, and acquired such a mastery of language, that even at the age of sixteen, many of his college productions exhibited that rich and glowing eloquence which was to form his distinguished characteristic in after-years. He had also acquired that occasional dreaminess of look and absence of manner which so often characterizes deep thinkers, and especially mathematicians; and of this he gave a curious illustration, when he had finished his seventh year at college, and was about to enter a family as private tutor. His father's household had repaired to the door, to



THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD

bid him farewell; and after this was ended, Thomas mounted the horse that was to carry him to the Dundee ferry. But in accomplishing this feat, he put his right foot (the wrong one on this occasion) into the stirrup, and was in the saddle in a trice, with his face to the horse's tail! When ready to apply for license as a preacher, an obstacle was in his way; for as yet he had not completed his nineteenth year, while the rules of the church required that no student should be licensed before he had reached the age of twenty-one. This difficulty, however, was overruled by an exceptional clause in favour of those possessing "rare and singular qualities;" and it having been represented by the member of presbytery who discovered this qualification in the old statute, that Thomas Chalmers was a "lad o' pregnant parts," the young applicant, after the usual trials, was licensed as a preacher of the gospel on the 31st of July, 1799.

On entering the sacred office, Chalmers was in no haste to preach; on the contrary, he refused the numerous demands that were made upon his clerical services, took up his abode in Edinburgh during the winter of 1799-1800, for the purpose of prosecuting his mathematical studies under Professor Playfair, and deprecated the idea of even a church presentation itself, lest it should prove an interruption to the progress of his beloved pursuits. The following winter he also spent in Edinburgh, almost exclusively occupied in the study of chemistry. As there was a prospect of the parish of Kilmany soon becoming vacant, which was in the gift of the United College of St. Andrews, and to which his nomination by the professors was certain, Chalmers might now have awaited in tranquillity that happy destination for life to which his studies hitherto had been ostensibly devoted. But science and scientific distinction were still the great objects of his ambition, and the mathematical assistantship of St. Andrews having become vacant, he presented himself as a candidate for the charge, in the hope that such an appointment would ultimately lead to the professorship, without obliging him to forego the ministerial charge of Kilmany—for St. Andrews was the head-quarters of ecclesiastical pluralities. In both objects he was successful; and having lectured and taught mathematics at college in the winter of 1802-3, on 12th May, 1803, he was inducted into his expected parish. The ardour with which he threw himself into his college prelections, and the unwonted eloquence with which he imbued a science so usually delivered in the form of dry detail and demonstration, constituted a novelty that astonished while it delighted his pupils, and their earnest application and rapid proficiency fully corresponded with the efforts of their youthful teacher. At the close of the session, however, a bitter disappointment awaited him; he was told by his employer that his services as assistant teacher were no longer required, while inefficiency for the office was stated as the cause of his dismissal. This charge was not only most unjust in itself, but would have operated most injuriously against Mr. Chalmers, by closing the entrance to any scientific chair that might afterwards become vacant in our universities. To refute this charge, therefore, as well as to silence his maligners, he resolved to open on the following winter a class of his own in the town of St. Andrews, and there show whether or not he was fitted to be a professor of mathematics. He accordingly did so, and was so completely attended by the pupils of his former class, that he felt no change, except in the mere locality. In taking this bold independent step, also, he was anxious to repudiate those resentful or malignant motives to which it might have been

attributed. "My appearance in this place," he said, "may be ascribed to the worst of passions; some may be disposed to ascribe it to the violence of a revengeful temper—some to stigmatize me as a firebrand of turbulence and mischief. These motives I disclaim. I disclaim them with the pride of an indignant heart which feels its integrity. My only motive is, to restore that academical reputation which I conceive to have been violated by the aspersions of envy. It is this which has driven me from the peaceful silence of the country—which has forced me to exchange my domestic retirement for the whirl of contention." In spite of the determined hostility of the professors, whose influence was all-prevalent in the town, the three classes of mathematics which Chalmers opened were so fully attended, that he opened a class of chemistry also, and in this science his eloquent expositions and successful experiments were so popular that the whole country was stirred in his favour. His labours at this youthful commencement of his public career could only have been supported by an enthusiasm like his own; for, in addition to daily attendance on his classes, and preparation of lectures, demonstrations, and experiments, he fulfilled the duties of the pulpit, returning for that purpose to Kilmany on the Saturday evenings, and setting out to St. Andrews on Monday morning. Even his enemies thought this labour too much, and resolved to lighten it, though with no benevolent feeling; and the presbytery was moved, for the purpose of compelling him to reside permanently at Kilmany, and attend exclusively to the duties of the parish. It was not the evils of plurality and non-residence in the abstract which they cared about, but that these should furnish an opportunity for the lecturer to intrude into St. Andrews, and teach within the very shadow of its university. Chalmers felt that this was their motive, and wrote to the presbytery an eloquent defence of his conduct. On the following session he conceded so far as to discontinue his mathematical classes, and only attend to that of chemistry, which had become very popular in the county, and would require his attendance only two or three days of each week. Even this did not satisfy the presbytery, and one of its members requested it to be inserted in their minutes, that, "in his opinion, Mr. Chalmers' giving lectures in chemistry is improper, and ought to be discontinued." This was done; upon which Chalmers, as a member of the presbytery, begged that it should also be inserted in their minutes, that "after the punctual discharge of his professional duties, his time was his own; and he conceived that no man or no court had a right to control him in the distribution of it."

An opportunity soon occurred for which Chalmers had ardently longed. It was nothing less than a vacancy in the professorship of natural philosophy in St. Andrews, and he became one of three candidates for the chair. But the whole three were set aside in favour of Mr. Jackson, rector of Ayr Academy. In the following year (1805) a similar vacancy occurred in the university of Edinburgh, by the death of Dr. Robinson, and again Chalmers entered the lists; but here also he was disappointed, with the consolation, however, that the successful candidate was no other than the celebrated Leslie. This competition called forth his first effort in authorship, in the form of a pamphlet, in consequence of the assertion, that a ministerial charge and scientific appointment combined in one person were incompatible—a pamphlet which, in subsequent years, he laboured to suppress, and gladly would have forgot. At present, however, his expressed opinion was, that

"after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure, for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage." This, alas! was too true, if that "satisfactory discharge" of parochial duty involved nothing more than the usual routine of a parish minister. Chalmers, therefore, had to find some other outlet for his "uninterrupted leisure;" and after having exhausted the field of St. Andrews, he resumed his lectureship on chemistry in his little parish of Kilmany, and the county town of Cupar. But even yet something additional was needed, besides the delivery of lectures formerly repeated, and experiments that had been twice tried; and this was soon furnished by Napoleon's menace of invasion. The hostile camp of the modern Cæsar at Boulogne, and the avowed purpose for which it had been collected, roused the spirit of Britain, so that military associations were formed, from the metropolis to the hamlet, in every part of our island. This was more than enough for the ardent spirit of Chalmers, and he enrolled himself in the St. Andrews corps of volunteers, not only as chaplain, but lieutenant. It is well known how this threat of an invasion of Britain was exchanged for an attack upon Austria, and how suddenly the breaking up of the hostile encampment at Boulogne dismissed a million of armed Britons to their homes and workshops. On doffing his military attire, the minister of Kilmany had other and more professional occupation to attend to at the bedside of a dying brother, who had returned to his father's home afflicted with consumption, under which he died in a few months. During the last illness of the amiable sufferer, one of the duties of Thomas Chalmers was to read to his brother portions of those religious works which he had denounced from the pulpit as savouring of fanaticism, and to hear the criticism pronounced upon them by the lips of the dying man, as he fervently exclaimed, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes." After this departure from life, which was one of solemn and impressive resignation, Chalmers gave relief to his thoughts, first by a journey to England, in which he visited London, Cambridge, and Oxford, and afterwards by authorship. Independently of mathematics, chemistry, and botany, which his ardent spirit of inquiry had successively mastered, he had studied the science of political economy; and now that Bonaparte had published his famous Berlin decree, by which the mercantile and manufacturing community of Britain was panic-struck, Chalmers produced his *Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources*, to show that this apprehension was groundless. The analysis of this work can be best given in his own account of it. In a letter to his brother he says, "The great burden of my argument is, that the manufacturer who prepares an article for home consumption is the servant of the inland consumer, labouring for his gratification, and supported by the price which he pays for the article; that the manufacturer of an article for exportation is no less the servant of the inland consumer, because, though he does not labour immediately for his gratification, he labours for a return from foreign countries. This return comes in articles of luxury, which fetch a price from our inland consumers. Hence, it is ultimately from the inland consumer that the manufacturer of the exported article derives his maintenance. Suppose, then, that trade and manufacture were destroyed, this does not affect the ability of the inland consumer. The whole amount of the mischief is, that he loses the luxuries

which were before provided for him, but he still retains the ability to give the same maintenance as before to the immense population who are now discarded from their former employments. Suppose this ability to be transferred to government in the form of a tax. Government takes the discarded population into its service. They follow their subsistence wherever it can be found; and thus, from the ruin of our trading and manufacturing interest, government collects the means of adding to the naval and military establishments of the country. I therefore anticipate that Bonaparte, after he has succeeded in shutting up the markets of the Continent against us, will be astonished—and that the mercantile politicians of our own country will be no less astonished—to find Britain as hale and vigorous as ever, and fitter than before for all the purposes of defence and security, and political independence." Such was the theory of Chalmers, studied with much care, written with patriotic enthusiasm, and published at Edinburgh in the spring of 1808. It was perhaps as well that no opportunity occurred of testing its soundness, owing to the remissness with which the Berlin decree was executed, so that it gradually became a dead letter. Chalmers, however, was so impressed with the urgency of the danger, and the efficacy of his plan to remove it, that he was anxious to obtain a national publicity for his volume; and with this view he had resolved to repair to the capital, and negotiate for bringing out a new edition by the London publishers. But this event, which might have altered the whole current of his life, and changed him into a Malthus or Adam Smith, was prevented by a trying family dispensation, so that instead of embarking in a Dundee smack as he had purposed, he was obliged to attend the deathbed of one of his sisters. It is to be observed, however, that his studies in political economy were not to be without important results. In after-years they were brought vigorously and successfully to bear upon the management of towns and parishes, and the cure of pauperism; and, above all, in organizing the provision of a church that threw aside, and at once, the support and maintenance of the state, when conscience demanded the sacrifice.

In this way the first twenty-nine years in the life of the subject of this memoir had passed. But still, it gives little or no indication of that Dr. Chalmers who was afterwards so widely renowned throughout the Christian world—of that very Dr. Chalmers whom the present generation so fondly loved, and still so vividly remembers. As yet, the record might serve for an amiable enthusiastic *savant* of England, France, or Italy, rather than a Scottish country minister intrusted with the care of souls, and preparing his accounts for the close of such a solemn stewardship. But a series of events occurred at this time by which the whole character of his mind and ministry was to be changed. The first and perhaps the most important of these was the death of his sister, an event to which we have already alluded. She had departed amidst feelings of hope and joy that far transcended the mere passive resignation of philosophy; and the affectionate heart that pined within the lonely manse of Kilmany, while remembering her worth, and lamenting her departure, had a subject of anxious inquiry bequeathed to him, as to whence that hope and joy had arisen. The first indication of this was given in a change that took place in the course of his authorship. Previous to his sister's decease, and while the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* was in progress, he had been invited by Dr. Brewster, the distinguished editor, to contribute to the work; and this Chalmers had resolved to do,

by writing the article "Trigonometry," for which purpose he had devoted himself to the study of Cagnoli's *Trigonometria Plana e Sferica*, at that time the standard work upon the subject. But after her death he changed his purpose, and earnestly requested that the article "Christianity" should be committed to his management, offering, at the same time, to live three or four months in St. Andrews, for the purpose of collecting the necessary materials in the college library. After his sister's decease, the admonitory blow was repeated; this was the death of Mr. Ballardie, a childless old officer of the navy, in whose affection he had found a second father, and who was one evening discovered dead upon his knees, having been called away into life eternal in the very midst of prayer. These warnings were succeeded by a long and severe illness, that reduced him to the helplessness of infancy, and threatened to be fatal; and amidst the musings of a sick chamber, and quiet tossings upon what he believed to be a deathbed, the anxious mind of Chalmers had full scope for those solemn investigations which the previous calamities had awoke into action. But the trial ended; and after passing through such a furnace, he emerged into life, and the full vigour of life, a purified and altered man. His own account of the change and its process is truly characteristic, and it will be seen from the following extract, that a congenial spirit from the dwellings of the dead had hovered, as it were, beside his pillow, and spoken to him words of counsel and encouragement. "My confinement," he wrote to a friend, "has fixed on my heart a very strong impression of the insignificance of time—an impression which, I trust, will not abandon me though I again reach the hey-day of health and vigour. This should be the first step to another impression still more salutary—the magnitude of eternity. Strip human life of its connection with a higher scene of existence, and it is the illusion of an instant, an unmeaning farce, a series of visions, and projects, and convulsive efforts which terminate in nothing. I have been reading Pascal's *Thoughts on Religion*; you know his history—a man of the richest endowments, and whose youth was signalized by his profound and original speculations in mathematical science, but who could stop short in the brilliant career of discovery, who could resign all the splendours of literary reputation, who could renounce without a sigh all the distinctions which are conferred upon genius, and resolve to devote every talent and every hour to the defence and illustration of the gospel. This, my dear sir, is superior to all Greek and to all Roman fame."

This change which had taken place in the man, was soon manifested in the minister, and the pulpit of Kilmany no longer gave forth an uncertain sound. Hitherto Chalmers had advocated virtuous feeling and a virtuous life as the head and front of Christianity, to which the righteousness and death of our blessed Saviour were make-weights and nothing more. And yet, even how that little was supplemented, and what was its mode of agency, he could not conjecture. "In what particular manner," he thus preached, "the death of our Redeemer effected the remission of our sins, or rather, why that death was made a condition of this remission, seems to be an unrevealed point in the Scriptures. Perhaps the God of nature meant to illustrate the purity of his perfection to the children of men; perhaps it was efficacious in promoting the improvement, and confirming the virtue, of other orders of being. The tenets of those whose gloomy and unenlarged minds are apt to imagine that the Author of nature required the death of Jesus merely for the reparation

of violated justice, are rejected by all free and rational inquirers." In this manner he groped his way in utter uncertainty—a blind leader of the blind, upon a path where to stumble may be to fall for ever. But a year had elapsed, and his eyes were opened. "I am now most thoroughly of opinion," he writes, "and it is an opinion founded on experience, that on the system of 'Do this and live,' no peace, and even no true and worthy obedience, can ever be attained. It is, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' When this belief enters the heart, joy and confidence enter along with it. The righteousness which we try to work out for ourselves eludes our impotent grasp, and never can a soul arrive at true or permanent rest in the pursuit of this object. The righteousness which by faith we put on, secures our acceptance with God, and secures our interest in his promises, and gives us a part in those sanctifying influences by which we are enabled to do with aid from on high what we never can do without it. We look to God in a new light—we see him as a reconciled Father; that love to him which terror scares away re-enters the heart, and with a new principle and a new power, we become new creatures in Jesus Christ our Lord." Not only the change in the spirit of his pulpit ministrations was now remarkable, but the manner in which they were prepared. Of this we have a striking proof in the following incident. Mr. John Bonthron, a near neighbour and intimate acquaintance, one day remarked to Mr. Chalmers before his illness had commenced: "I find you aye busy, sir, with one thing or another; but come when I may, I never find you at your studies for the Sabbath." "Oh, an hour or two on the Saturday evening is quite enough for that," replied the minister. After the change the visitor found that, call when he might, he found Mr. Chalmers employed in the study of the Scriptures, and could not help expressing his wonderment: "I never come in now, sir, but I find you aye at your Bible." "All too little, John, all too little," was the altered minister's reply.

Two years had passed onward in this state, during which the changed condition of the church of Kilmany and its talented minister had been a subject of speculation throughout the whole country. It was not that he had abandoned scientific pursuits, for he still cultivated these as ardently as ever; nor relinquished his devotedness to literature, for he was more eager for the labours and enjoyments of authorship than before. But all these were kept in suberviency to a more important principle of existence, and consecrated to a higher aim. He had now reached the matured age of thirty-two, a period of life at which the most active may well wish for a partner in their labours, and the most recluse and studious a companion of their thoughts. He had also been the occupant of a lonely manse during nine long years, but was still as ignorant of the management and details of housekeeping as when he first entered that dwelling and sat down to resume his college problems. His heart, too, had been lately opened and expanded by the glorious truths of the gospel—and how earnestly does it then seek a congenial heart into which it may utter its emotions, a kindred soul with whom it may worship and adore! And such a one was already provided; one who through life was to soothe his cares, animate his labours, console him in his disappointments, and finally to rejoin him in a happier world than that he had left after a brief separation. This was Miss Grace Pratt, second daughter of Captain Pratt, of the first Royal Veteran Battalion. Mr. Chalmers, indeed, on account of the smallness of his stipend, had previously resolved

never to marry: but when this amiable lady appeared for a short time in his neighbourhood, the resolution was somehow lost sight of; and when she was about to remove to her own home, he felt that there was no further leisure for delay. He was accepted, and they were married on the 4th August, 1812. The following picture of the state of life into which he had entered, forms the *beau idéal* of a happy country manse, and its newly-married inmates. Writing to his sister he says, "I have got a small library for her; and a public reading in the afternoon, when we take our turns for an hour or so, is looked upon as one of the most essential parts of our family management. It gives me the greatest pleasure to inform you, that in my new connection, I have found a coadjutor who holds up her face for all the proprieties of a clergyman's family, and even pleads for their extension beyond what I had originally proposed. We have now family worship twice a-day; and though you are the only being on earth to whom I would unveil the most secret arrangements of our family, I cannot resist the pleasure of telling you, because I know that it will give you the truest pleasure to understand, that in those still more private and united acts of devotion which are so beautifully described in the *Cottar's Saturday Night*, I feel a comfort, an elevation, and a peace of mind of which I was never before conscious."

Allusion has already been made to the connection of Mr. Chalmers with the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, and the earnest desire he had expressed, so early as the year 1809, to have the article "Christianity" intrusted to his management. This request was complied with, and early in 1813 his treatise under that title appeared in the sixth volume of the work. It consisted, as is well known, of the evidences of the divine origin of Christianity, based, not upon the internal excellence of its character, or the proofs of its heaven-derived origin, as exhibited in the divine nature of its teaching, but simply upon the historical proofs of its authenticity. No fact in the whole range of history could be more certain than that Christ and his apostles had lived at the period assigned to them, and that they had acted and taught precisely according to the record which revelation has handed down to us. This being satisfactorily ascertained, all cavil must be silenced, and all hesitation abandoned: that teaching has been shown to be from God, and nothing more remains for man but implicitly to receive and humbly to obey it. This was his line of argument, and it had been so early matured in his mind, that he had developed the idea in one of his chemical lectures delivered at St. Andrews. "The truth of Christianity," he said, "is neither more nor less than the truth of certain facts that have been handed down to us by the testimony of reporters." The originality of his arguments, the force of his conclusions, and the eloquent, clear, and vigorous style in which they were expressed, arrested the public attention, and secured for the article such a favourable reception, that for the purpose of diffusing its benefits more widely, the proprietors of the *Encyclopedia* caused it to be published as a separate work. Still, however, there were not a few who complained that the base of Christian evidence had been unnecessarily lessened by such an exclusive mode of reasoning; and he was addressed on the subject, not only with private remonstrance, but also with sharp criticisms through the press. The effect of all this was gradually to enlarge his conceptions upon the subject, so that more than twenty years after, when the work reappeared in his *Institutes of Theology*, it was with the internal evidences added to the external. In this way he surrendered a long-cherished and beloved

theory to more matured convictions, and satisfied, while he answered, the objections which the first appearance of his treatise had occasioned.

These were not the only literary labours of Chalmers at this period. About the same time that his article on Christian evidence appeared in the *Encyclopedia*, he published a pamphlet, entitled *The Influence of Bible Societies upon the Temporal Necessities of the Poor*. It had been alleged, that the parochial associations formed in Scotland in aid of the Bible Society would curtail the voluntary parish funds that were raised for the relief of the poor. This argument touched Chalmers very closely; for he was not only an enthusiastic advocate for the relief of poverty by voluntary contribution instead of compulsory poor-rates, but also an active agent in the multiplication of Bible Society associations over the country. He therefore endeavoured to show that these different institutions, instead of being hostile, would be of mutual aid to each other; and that Bible societies had a tendency not only to stimulate and enlarge Christian liberality, but to lessen the amount of poverty, by introducing a more industrious and independent spirit among the poor. This was speedily followed by a review of *Cuvier's Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, which was published in the *Christian Instructor*, and in which Chalmers boldly ventured to call in question the generally received chronology which theologians have ventured to engraft upon the Mosaic account of the creation. They had asserted hitherto that the world was not more than 6000 years old, and adduced the sacred history as their warrant, while the new discoveries in geology incontestably proved that it must have had a much earlier origin. Here, then, revelation and the facts of science were supposed to be completely at variance, and infidelity revelled in the contradiction. But Chalmers boldly cut the knot, not by questioning the veracity of Moses, but the correctness of his interpreters; and he asked, "Does Moses ever say that there was not an interval of many ages betwixt the first act of creation, described in the first verse of the book of Genesis, and said to have been performed at the beginning, and those more detailed operations, the account of which commences at the second verse? Or does he ever make us to understand, that the genealogies of man went any further than to fix the antiquity of the species, and, of consequence, that they left the antiquity of the globe a free subject for the speculations of philosophers?" These questions, and the explanations with which they were followed, were of weight, as coming not only from a clergyman whose orthodoxy was now unimpeachable, but who had distinguished himself so lately in the illustration of Christian evidence;—and, perhaps, it is unnecessary to add, that the solution thus offered is the one now generally adopted. The subject of "missions" next occupied his pen, in consequence of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, which, while giving a notice of Lichtenstein's *Travels in Southern Africa*, took occasion, by lauding the Moravian missionaries, to disparage other missions, as beginning their instructions at the wrong end, while the Moravian brethren had hit upon the true expedient of first civilizing savages, and afterwards teaching them the doctrines of Christianity. Chalmers showed that, in point of fact, this statement was untrue; and proved, from the testimony of the brethren themselves, that the civilization of their savage converts was the effect, and not the cause—the sequel rather than the prelude of Christian teaching. They had first tried the civilizing process, and most egregiously failed; they had afterwards, and at hap-hazard, read to the obdurate savages the ac-

count of our Saviour's death from the evangelists, by which they were arrested and moved in an instant; and this process, which the Moravians had afterwards adopted, was the secret of the wonderful success of their missions. These were subjects into which his heart fully entered, as a Christian divine and a lover of science, and therefore he brought to each of these productions his usual careful research and persuasive eloquence. It is not, however, to be thought that amidst such congenial occupations the intellectual labour necessary for the duties of the pulpit was in any way remitted. On the contrary, many of his sermons, prepared at this period for the simple rustics of Kilmany, were afterwards preached before crowds of the most accomplished of our island in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London, and afterwards committed to the press, almost without any alteration. The highest eloquence is the utterance of a full heart that cannot be silent. And such was the eloquence of Chalmers. During three years he had been intensely occupied with the most important and soul-engrossing of all themes: they brought to his awakened perceptions the charm of a new existence; and these sermons were but the expressions of love, and wonder, and delight, which every fresh discovery of that new existence evolved from him. And where, in such a state, was the need of listening thousands, or the deep muttered thunder of popular applause? He must thus write though no eye should peruse the writing, and give it utterance although it were only to the trees or the winds. And when such productions are spoken before living men, the orator, while his auditors appear before him in glimpses and at intervals, does not pause to gauge their intellectuality, their rank, or their numbers. He only feels that they are immortal beings, and that he is commissioned to proclaim to them the tidings of eternity.

But the time had now arrived when this training, in the course of Providence, was to be turned to its proper account, and such powers to find their proper field of action. His renown as a preacher, by which all Fifehire was stirred, had gone abroad, while his literary reputation and intellectual powers were stamped by his published productions beyond the possibility of doubt or cavil. In this case, too, as was most fitting, he did not seek, but was sought. Dr. Macgill, minister of the Tron Church, Glasgow, had been translated to the divinity chair of the university of that city, and the task of finding a successor to the vacant pulpit devolved upon the town-council. The name of the minister of Kilmany was forthwith heard, and, after due consideration, the usual overtures were made to him to accept the charge of the Tron Church. But tempting though such an offer might be, the rural minister demurred and held back. He could not persuade himself to abandon a people whom his lately-awakened spirit had inspired with a kindred sympathy, and who were wont every Sabbath to throng their long-deserted pews with such eager solicitude, and listen to his teaching with such solemn interest. But, above all, the secularities of a great city charge, and the inroads which it would make upon his time and attention, filled him with alarm. "I know of instances," he wrote in reply, "where a clergyman has been called from the country to town for his talent at preaching; and when he got there they so belaboured him with the drudgery of their institutions, that they smothered and extinguished the very talent for which they had adopted him. The purity and independence of the clerical office are not sufficiently respected in great towns. He comes among them a clergyman, and they make a mere

churchwarden of him." His objections were at length overruled, and on being elected by a large majority of the town-council of Glasgow, he signified his acceptance, and was inducted into his important charge on the 21st July, 1815, when he had reached the matured and vigorous age of thirty-five. It was a day of impatient expectation in our metropolis of manufactures and commerce, as after his acceptance, and four months previous to his admission, its citizens had enjoyed the opportunity of hearing with their own ears a specimen of that eloquence which hitherto they had known only by report. The occasion was the annual meeting of the Society of the Sons of the Clergy, held at Glasgow, before which Chalmers was appointed to preach; and the feeling of the vast multitude that sat electrified beneath his wondrous power might have been expressed in the language of the Queen of Sheba: They had heard of it only, and could not believe; but now they found that half of the truth had not been told them.

As soon as he had got fairly located in Glasgow, Chalmers found that, notwithstanding all his previous stipulations to that effect, his time was no longer to be his own. But still worse than this, he found that it was to be frittered away in ten thousand frivolous occupations, with which, he justly thought, his sacred office had nothing to do. Three months had scarcely elapsed, when we find him thus writing on the subject: "This, sir, is a wonderful place; and I am half-entertained, half-provoked, by some of the peculiarities of its people. The peculiarity which bears hardest upon me is, the incessant demand they have upon all occasions for the personal attendance of the ministers. They must have four to every funeral, or they do not think that it has been genteelly gone through. They must have one or more to all the committees of all the societies. They must fall in at every procession. They must attend examinations innumerable, and eat of the dinners consequent upon these examinations. They have a niche assigned them in almost every public doing, and that niche must be filled up by them, or the doing loses all its solemnity in the eyes of the public. There seems to be a superstitious charm in the very sight of them; and such is the manifold officiality with which they are covered, that they must be paraded among all the meetings and all the institutions." It was not without cause that he thus complained; for in coming to details, we find him at one time obliged to sit in judgment as to whether such a gutter should be bought up and covered over, or left alone as it stood; and whether ox-head soup or pork-broth was the fittest diet for a poorhouse; alternated, on going home, with the necessity of endorsing applications of persons wishing to follow the calling of spirit-sellers and pedlars. This, indeed, was to have "greatness thrust upon him!" But the evil had originated in Glasgow so early as the days of the covenant, when every movement was more or less connected with religion; and it was perpetuated and confirmed by the mercantile bustle that succeeded in later periods, when every merchant or shopkeeper was eager to devolve upon the minister those occupations that would have interfered with his own professional pursuits. These difficulties Chalmers was obliged to wrestle down as he best could, and at the risk of being complained of as an innovator; but a persevering course of sturdy refusal at length reduced the grievance to a manageable compass. When this was surmounted, there was still another trial to be got rid of, that originated in his own daily increasing popularity. He was now the great mark of admiration and esteem, so that all were not only eager to

visit him, but to have their visits reciprocated. When these demands were also compressed within tolerable limits, a third difficulty was to be confronted, that could not so easily be overcome, as it arose from his own parish, of which he had the oversight. That our ministers might be able, like the apostles of old, to give themselves "continually to prayer and to the ministry of the Word," our church had wisely appointed not only deacons to take charge of the temporalities of the congregation, but elders to assist the pastor in the visitation of the sick and all the out-door duties of his ecclesiastical charge. But while the work of the deaconship had become of late little more than a dead letter, the duties of the eldership had diminished almost entirely to the Sabbath collections in the church-porch, and their allocation to the poor of the parish. Most truly, therefore, did a certain minister of Edinburgh, after a charity-sermon, announce, in full simplicity of heart, to those who might be disposed to contribute still farther, that in going out they would find standing at the door "the church-plates, and their concomitants the elders." Chalmers felt that this worn-out machinery must be renewed and restored to its former efficiency; for otherwise, in a parish containing nearly 12,000 souls, he could be little more than its Sabbath preacher. To this important task he therefore addressed himself, and the result of his labours in the ecclesiastical organization of his parish, which were followed by general imitation, proved how justly he had appreciated the difficulties that beset a city minister, and the most effectual remedies by which they are obviated.

While he was thus contending with this "mortal coil" of secular occupation, and shuffling it off as well as he might, the pulpit preparations of the new minister evinced that it was not his own case that he sought by this earnest desire of silence and seclusion. For it was not by mere eloquence and originality of style that his weekly sermons not only retained, but increased, his reputation and efficiency; on the contrary, their depth of thought and originality of sentiment were more wonderful than their language, powerful and startling though it was. His preaching was in some measure the commencement of a new era in the history of the Scottish church. To understand this aright, we must keep in mind the two parties into which the church had been divided, and the solicitude they had manifested for nearly a century to avoid every meeting except a hostile collision. On the one side was the Evangelical party, with whom the sympathies of the people were enlisted; and on the other the Moderates, who, generally speaking, comprised the aristocracy, the philosophers, and politicians of the community—men who talked of the "march of mind" and the "progress of improvement," and who thought that religion, as well as everything else, should accommodate itself to that progress. With such men the theology of our fathers was distasteful because it was old-fashioned, and their aim was to dilute it so effectually with modern liberalism as to adapt it to the tastes and exigencies of the day. Hence the cautiousness with which they were wont, in their sermons, to avoid all such topics as election, regeneration, and the atonement, and the decided preference which they showed for those moral duties upon which man can decide and act for himself. In this way they too often confined their teaching to those virtues on which all creeds are more or less agreed, so that sometimes it would have been difficult to divine, from the tenor of such discourses, whether the speaker was Christian, pagan, or infidel. With the Evangelical party the case was wholly different. Eager to preach the

paramount importance of faith, they were too ready to lose sight of its fruits as exemplified in action; while every mention of human virtue was apt to be condemned as legalism, self-seeking, and reliance on the covenant of works instead of the covenant of grace. That the heavenly and divine might be everything, the human was reduced to nothing; and to exalt the all-in-all sufficiency of redemption, man was to sit still, not only under its present coming, but also its future influences. And to impress upon their hearers more fully the necessity of this redemption, an odious picture was generally drawn of human nature, in which all that is helpless, and worthless, and villanous was heaped together indiscriminately, and made to constitute a picture of man in his original condition. In this way either party diverged from the other, the one towards Socinianism, and the other to Antinomianism, so that it was sometimes hard to tell which of these aberrations was the worst; while of their flocks it might too often be said—

"The hungry sheep looked up, and were not fed."

It would be insulting to ask which of these two parties Chalmers followed as a public spiritual teacher. His was a mind not likely to be allured either by the shrivelled philosophy of the one, or the caricatured Calvinism of the other. He rejected both, and adopted for himself a course which was based upon the fulness of revelation itself, instead of the exclusive one-sided nook of a body of mere religionists—a course which reconciled and harmonized the anomalies of everyday reality with the unerring declarations of Scripture. Thus, he could not see that every man at his birth was inevitably a liar, a murderer, and a villain. Instead of this, there was such a thing as innate virtue; and men might be patriots, philanthropists, and martyrs, even without being Christians. And here he drew such pictures of the natural man in his free unconstrained nobleness—such delineations of disinterestedness, humanity, integrity, and self-denial welling forth from hearts that were still unrenewed, as Plato might have heard with enthusiasm, and translated into his own richest Attic eloquence. And was not all this true? Was it not daily exhibited, not only in our empire at large, but even in the mercantile communities of that city in which his lot had been cast? But while the self-complacent legalist was thus carried onward delighted and regaled with such descriptions of the innate nobleness of human character as his own teachers had never furnished, he was suddenly brought to an awful pause by the same resistless eloquence. The preacher proceeded to show that still these words were an incontestable immutable verity, "There is none righteous, no not one." For in spite of all this excellence, the unrenewed heart was still at enmity with God, and in all its doings did nothing at his command or for his sake. And therefore, however valuable this excellence might be for time and the world, it was still worthless for eternity. It was of the earth, earthy, and would pass away with the earth. It sought a requital short of heaven, and even already had obtained its reward.

An event soon occurred after the arrival of Mr. (now Dr.) Chalmers in Glasgow, by which his reputation as a preacher was no longer to be confined to Scotland, but diffused over the world wherever the English language is known. We allude to his well-known *Astronomical Discourses*, which, of all his writings, will perhaps be the most cherished by posterity. It was the custom of the city clergymen to preach every Thursday in rotation in the Tron Church; and as there were only eight ministers, the turn of each arrived after an interval of two months. Dr.

Chalmers took his share in this duty, for the first time, on the 15th November, 1815, and commenced with the first lecture of the astronomical series, which he followed up during his turn in these week-day services for the year 1816. To those who have only read these discourses it would be enough to say, in the words of Æschines, "What would you have said if you had seen him discharge all this thunder-storm of eloquence?" They were published at the commencement of 1817; and the avidity with which they were read is shown by the fact that 6000 copies were disposed of in a month, and nearly 20,000 within the course of the year. Nothing like this had occurred in the publication of sermons either in England or Scotland; and while the most illiterate were charmed with the production, the learned, the scientific, and the critical read, admired, and were convinced. London would not rest until it had seen and heard the living man; and Dr. Chalmers was invited to preach the anniversary sermon for the London Missionary Society. Thither he accordingly went, and delivered a discourse in Surrey Chapel on the 14th May. The service was to commence at eleven, but so early as seven in the morning that vast building of 3000 sittings was crowded, while thousands of disappointed comers were obliged to go away. An account of what followed, written home by Mr. Smith, one of his friends who accompanied him from Glasgow, is thus expressed: "I write under the nervousness of having heard and witnessed the most astonishing display of human talent that perhaps ever commanded sight or hearing. Dr. Chalmers has just finished his discourse before the Missionary Society. All my expectations were overwhelmed in the triumph of it. Nothing from the Tron pulpit ever exceeded it, nor did he ever more arrest and wonder-work his auditors. I had a full view of the whole place. The carrying forward of minds never was so visible to me: a constant assent of the head from the whole people accompanied all his paragraphs, and the breathlessness of expectation permitted not the beating of a heart to agitate the stillness." Other demands for sermons followed; for, in the words of *Wilberforce's Diary*, "all the world was wild about Dr. Chalmers." Even Canning, who was one of his hearers, and who was melted into tears by his sermon for the Hibernian Society, declared that, "notwithstanding the northern accent and unpolished manner of the speaker, he had never been so arrested by any kind of oratory." "The tartan," he added, "beats us all." But the best and most valuable testimony was that of the Rev. Robert Hall, himself the Chalmers of England, whose generous heart rejoiced in the eclipse which he had just sustained by the arrival of his northern brother; and in writing to him, after his return to Glasgow, he says: "It would be difficult not to congratulate you on the unrivalled and unbounded popularity which attended you in the metropolis. . . . The attention which your sermons have excited is probably unequalled in modern literature; and it must be a delightful reflection that you are advancing the cause of religion in innumerable multitudes of your fellow-creatures, whose faces you will never behold till the last day."

It is now time to turn from Dr. Chalmers in his study and pulpit, to Dr. Chalmers in his hard-working life of everyday usefulness. And here we shall find no dreaming theorist, contented with fireside musing upon the best plans of ameliorating the evils of society, or daunted midway by the difficulties of the attempt. Considering what he had already done, there was none who could more justly have claimed the full privileges of literary leisure and retirement.

But when he threw off the throng of extraneous occupation that surrounded him, it was only that he might have room for equally arduous employment, in which the "full proof of his ministry" more especially consisted. It was not enough that he should see and address his congregation; he must visit the houses, examine the families, and become acquainted with the individuals of which that congregation was composed. He must also bring himself in contact with those of his parish who belonged to no congregation—the vicious, the reckless, the ignorant, and the poor—and endeavour, by his favourite process of "excavation," to bring them out from their murky concealments into the light of day, and the elevating influence of gospel ordinances. Twelve thousand souls to be visited!—but is not a soul worth looking after? To work therefore he went as soon as he became minister of the Tron Church parish, undergoing an amount of bodily labour such as few would have cared to encounter, but resolute not to abandon the task until it was completed. A few weeks thus employed enabled him to ascertain what evils existed as well as what remedies should be applied. It was necessary that the destitute and the outcast of his parish should be frequently visited, and for the performance of this duty he infused his own active spirit into the eldership by which he was surrounded. The fearful ignorance that was accumulating among the young of the lower orders must be dispersed; and, for this purpose, he organized a society among his congregation for the establishment of Sabbath-schools in the parish. These schools became so numerous, and so well attended, that in two years they numbered 1200 children, receiving regular religious instruction. A single close furnished the necessary amount of pupils for a school; and the teacher who visited its families for the purpose of bringing them out was taught to watch over that little locality as his own especial parish.

This course of daily labour and visitation had its prospective as well as immediate benefits. Dr. Chalmers had hitherto witnessed poverty and its results only upon a small scale. It was here a family, and there an individual, over the extent of a country parish; and for these cases private benevolence and the contributions at the church-door had generally been found sufficient. But now he was brought into close contact with poverty and destitution acting upon society in thousands, and producing an aggravation of crime as well as misery, such as his rural experience had never witnessed. For all this, however, he was not wholly unprepared. He had already studied the subject in the abstract, and he found that now was the time, and here the field, to bring his theories on the subject into full operation. His idea, from all he witnessed, was but the more strongly confirmed that the simple parochial apparatus of Scotland, so effectual for the relief of a village or country parish, would be equally efficacious for a populous city, and that recourse to poor-rates and compulsory charity would only foster the evil which it aimed to cure. This conviction he now endeavoured to impress, not only in conversation and by public speeches, but also by his articles on "Pauperism" in the *Edinburgh Review*, and a series of essays, which he afterwards published, on the *Civic and Christian Economy of Large Towns*. But to go to the very source of poverty, and strike at once at the root, was his chief aim; and this could only be accomplished by indoctrinating the masses of a crowded city with the principles of Christian industry, independence, and morality. Even this, too, the parochial system had contemplated, by an adequate provision of church accommodation and in-

struction; but unfortunately, while the population of the country had been nearly trebled, the church provision had remained stationary. The consequence was, that even in his own parish of the Tron there were not a third who attended any church, notwithstanding the additional accommodation which dissent had furnished. And such, or still worse, was the state of matters over the whole of Glasgow. What he therefore wanted was "twenty more churches, and twenty more ministers" for that city alone; and this *desideratum* he boldly announced in his sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte in 1817. Such a conclusion was but the unavoidable result of a train of premises to which all were ready to assent, while the demand itself, instead of being extravagant, was considerably short of the emergency. And yet it was clamoured at, and cried down in every form of argument and ridicule as the wildest of all benevolent extravagancies, and even the addition of a single church, which the magistrates had decided a few months previous, was thought too much. But strong in the confidence of truth, Dr. Chalmers held fast to his much-decried doctrine until he had the satisfaction of finding his church-extension principle generally adopted, and not 20, but 200, additional churches erected in our towns and cities, to attest the soundness of his argument, and reward the zeal with which he had urged it.

The one additional church to which we have adverted was that of St. John's, of which he was elected to be minister, with a new parish attached to it of 10,000 persons, almost entirely operatives. It redounds to the honour of the magistrates and town-council of Glasgow to state, that this erection of a new parish and church was for the purpose of giving Dr. Chalmers full opportunity of testing the parochial principle as applied to large towns; and that for this purpose they freed him from those restrictions which had gathered upon the old city charges, and conceded to him and his kirk-session a separate independent parochial jurisdiction. The building being finished, was opened on the 26th September, 1819, and crowded by its new parishioners, who had now their own church and minister, while the latter met them with equal ardour, and commenced at once the duties of his new sphere. He was ably seconded by his elders, a numerous body of active, intelligent, devoted men, and by the deacons, whose office was restored to its original efficiency under his superintendence; and as each had his own particular district to which his labours were confined, every family and every individual in the new parish, containing a population of 10,000, had his own spiritual and temporal condition more or less attended to. In addition to these aids, he was soon surrounded by eighty Sabbath-school teachers, each superintending the religious education of the children belonging to his own little locality. These labours were not long continued until another great parochial want called forth the attention of Dr. Chalmers. It was the state of secular education, which, defective as it was throughout Glasgow in general, was peculiarly so in the new parish, whose population chiefly consisted of weavers, labourers, and factory-workers—persons who were unable to obtain a good education for their children, notwithstanding its cheapness as compared with that of England. On account of this, it was soon found in the Sabbath-schools that many of the children could not read a single verse of Scripture without such hammering as to make its meaning unintelligible. Something must be done, and that instantly, to counteract the evil. But mere charity-schools and gratis education were an abomination to the doctor, who well knew that what is got for nothing is

generally reckoned worth nothing, and treated accordingly. The best education at the cheapest rate—the independence of the poor secured, while their children were efficiently taught—this was the happy medium which he sought, and which he found ready to his hand in the plan of Scottish parochial education. Let such a salary be secured for the teacher, that an active and accomplished man will find it worth his while to devote himself to the work; but, at the same time, let the small school-fees of the pupils be such as to secure the feeling of personal independence, and make them value the instruction for which a price is exacted. An "education committee" was therefore established for St. John's; subscriptions were set on foot for the erection and endowment of schools; and when a sufficient sum was procured, a desirable site was found for the building of the first school. The ground was the property of the college, and Dr. Chalmers repaired to its head, the venerable Principal Taylor, to obtain it upon such cheap terms as the case justly demanded. "Ah!" said the principal shaking his head, "we have been talking about establishing parochial schools in Glasgow for these twenty years." "Yes," replied Dr. Chalmers, "but now we are going to do the thing, not to talk about it; we are going to take the labour of talking and planning completely off your hands." This good-humoured application was successful; and by the middle of 1820 the school was finished, and the work of teaching commenced under two efficient schoolmasters. Another school was soon erected by the same prompt liberality that had supplied funds for the first, and conducted also by two able masters. The four teachers had each a fixed salary of £25 per annum, and a free house, in addition to the fees of 2s. per quarter for reading, and 3s. for reading, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping, while the right of admission was limited to parishioners exclusively. There was full need of this restriction, for so highly were the benefits of this system of education appreciated, that the two schools had 419 pupils. Even when the doctor left Glasgow, also, the work was still going on through fresh contributions and erections, so that about 800 children belonging to the parish were furnished with the means of a complete and liberal education, at a small expense. Such a heavy and complicated amount of toil as all this organization involved, would have been impossible for any one man, however energetic, and even Dr. Chalmers himself would have sunk beneath the load before his four years' experiment in St. John's had expired, had it not been for the efficient aid which he received from his assistant the Rev. Edward Irving. Contemplating the vast amount of work which he had proposed to himself in his trial of the parochial system, as applied to large towns, it had been considerably resolved that a regular assistant should be allowed him in the task; and by a train of fortuitous circumstances, that office was devolved upon a congenial spirit—one to the full as wonderful in his own way as Dr. Chalmers, but whose career was afterwards to be so erratic, and finally so mournful and disastrous. At present, however, the mind of Irving, although swelling with high aspirations, was regulated, controlled, and directed by the higher intellect and gentler spirit of his illustrious principal, so that his vast powers, both physical and mental, were brought fully to bear upon their proper work. Nothing, indeed, could be a more complete contrast than the genuine simplicity and rustic bearing of Dr. Chalmers, compared with the colossal form, *Salvator Rosa* countenance, and startling mode of address that distinguished his gifted assistant. But different as they were in external

appearance and manner, their purpose and work were the same, and both were indefatigable in advancing the intellectual and spiritual interests of the parish of St. John's. Little, indeed, could it have been augured of these two remarkable men, that in a few years after they would be the founders of two churches, and that these churches should be so different in their doctrines, character, and bearings.

After having laboured four years in the ministerial charge of St. John's parish, a new change was to take place in the life of Dr. Chalmers, by the fulfilment of one of his earliest aspirations. It will be remembered, that in the period of his youth, when he was about to commence his ministry in the parish of Kilmany, his earnest wishes were directed towards a chair in the university of St. Andrews; and now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, his desires were to be gratified. The professorship of moral philosophy in that university had become vacant, and it was felt by the professors that none was so well fitted to occupy the charge, and increase the literary reputation of the college, as Dr. Chalmers, their honoured *alumnus*, whose reputation was now diffused over Europe. The offer, also, which was neither of his own seeking nor expecting, was tendered in the most respectful manner. Such an application from his *alma mater*, with which his earliest and most affectionate remembrances were connected, did not solicit him in vain; and after signifying his consent, he was unanimously elected to the office on the 18th January, 1823. Six different applications had previously been made to him from various charges since his arrival in Glasgow, but these he had steadfastly refused, for he felt that there he had a work to accomplish, to which every temptation of ecclesiastical promotion or literary ease must be postponed. But now the case was different. The machinery which he had set in motion with such immense exertion, might now be carried on by an ordinary amount of effort, and therefore could be intrusted to a meaner hand. His own health had suffered by the labour, and needed both repose and change. He felt, also, that a new career of usefulness in the cause of religion might be opened up to him by the occupation of a university chair, and the opportunities of literary leisure which it would afford him. And no charge of self-seeking, so liberally applied in cases of clerical translation, could be urged in the present instance; as the transition was from a large to a smaller income; and from a thronging city, where he stood in the full blaze of his reputation, to a small and remote county town, where the highest merit would be apt to sink into obscurity. Much grumbling, indeed, there was throughout Glasgow at large, and not a little disappointment expressed by the kirk-session of St. John's, when the proposed movement was announced; but the above-mentioned reasons had at last their proper weight, and the final parting was one of mutual tenderness and esteem. The effect of his eight years' labours in that city is thus summed up by his eloquent biographer, the Rev. Dr. Hanna:—"When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, by the great body of the upper classes of society evangelical doctrines were nauseated and despised; when he left it, even by those who did not bow to their influence, these doctrines were acknowledged to be indeed the very doctrines of the Bible. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the eye of the multitude evangelism stood confounded with a drivelling sanctimoniousness or a sour-minded asceticism; when he left it, from all such false associations the Christianity of the New Testament stood clearly and nobly redeemed. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, for nearly a century the magistrates and town-council

had exercised the city patronage in a spirit determinately anti-evangelical; when he left it, so complete was the revolution which had been effected, that from that time forward none but evangelical clergymen were appointed by the city patrons. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, there, and elsewhere over Scotland, there were many most devoted clergymen of the Establishment who had given themselves up wholly to the ministry of the Word and to prayer, but there was not one in whose faith and practice week-day ministrations had the place or power which he assigned to them; when he left it he had exhibited such a model of fidelity, diligence, and activity in all departments of ministerial labour, as told finally upon the spirit and practice of the whole ministry of Scotland. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, unnoticed thousands of the city population were sinking into ignorance, infidelity, and vice, and his eye was the first in this country to foresee to what a fearful magnitude that evil, if suffered to grow on unchecked, would rise; when he left it, his ministry in that city remained behind him, a permanent warning to a nation which has been but slow to learn that the greatest of all questions, both for statesmen and for churchmen, is the condition of those untaught and degraded thousands who swarm now around the base of the social edifice, and whose brawny arms may yet grasp its pillars to shake or to destroy. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the literary circles of the Scottish metropolis a thinly disguised infidelity sat on the seats of greatest influence, and smiled or scoffed at a vital energetic faith in the great and distinctive truths of revelation, while widely over his native land the spirit of a frigid indifference to religion prevailed; when he left it, the current of public sentiment had begun to set in a contrary direction; and although it took many years, and the labour of many other hands, to carry that healthful change onward to maturity, yet I believe it is not over-estimating it to say, that it was mainly by Dr. Chalmers' ministry in Glasgow—by his efforts at this period in the pulpit and through the press—that the tide of national opinion and sentiment was turned."

Dr. Chalmers delivered his farewell sermon on November 9, 1823, and on this occasion such was the crowding, not only of his affectionate flock, but admirers from every quarter, that the church, which was built to accommodate 1700 hearers, on this occasion contained twice that number. On the 11th, a farewell dinner was given to him by 340 gentlemen; and at the close, when he rose to retire, all the guests stood up at once to honour his departure. "Gentlemen," said the doctor, overwhelmed by this last token, and turning repeatedly to every quarter, "I cannot utter a hundredth part of what I feel—but I will do better—I will bear it all away." He was gone, and all felt as if the head of wisdom, and heart of cordial affection and Christian love, and tongue of commanding and persuasive eloquence, that hitherto had been the life and soul of Glasgow, had departed with him. If anything could have consoled him after such a parting, it must have been the reception that welcomed his arrival in St. Andrews, where he delivered his introductory lecture seven days after, the signal that his new career of action had begun.

So closely had Dr. Chalmers adhered to his clerical duties in Glasgow to the last, that on his arrival in St. Andrews, his whole stock for the commencement of the course of moral philosophy consisted of only a few days' lectures. But nothing can more gratify an energetic mind that has fully tested its own powers, than the luxury of such a difficulty. It is no wonder, therefore, to find him thus writing

in the latter part of the session: "I shall be lecturing for six weeks yet, and am very nearly from hand-to-mouth with my preparations. I have the prospect of winning the course, though it will be by no more than the length of half a neck; but I like the employment vastly." Most of these lectures were afterwards published as they were written—a sure indication of the deeply concentrated power and matchless diligence with which he must have occupied the winter months. It was no mere student auditory, also, for which he had exclusively to write during each day the lecture of the morrow; for the benches of the class-room were crowded by the intellectual from every quarter, who had repaired to St. Andrews to hear the doctor's eloquence upon a new theme. Even when the session was over, it brought no such holiday season as might have been expected; for he was obliged to prepare for the great controversy upon the plurality question, which, after having undergone its course in presbytery and synod, was finally to be settled in the General Assembly, the opening of which was at hand. The point at issue, upon which the merits of the case now rested, was whether, in consistency with the laws of the church, Dr. Macfarlan could hold conjunctly the office of principal of the university of Glasgow and minister of the Inner High Church in the same city? On this occasion, Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Thomson spoke against the connection of offices with their wonted eloquence; but the case was so completely prejudged and settled, that no earthly eloquence could have availed, and the question in favour of the double admission was carried by a majority of twenty-six. In much of the proceedings of this Assembly Dr. Chalmers took a part, among which was the proposal of erecting a new Gaelic church in Glasgow. This measure he ably and successfully advocated, so that it passed by a large majority. Only a fortnight after the Assembly had closed he was in Glasgow, and more busy there if possible than ever, having engaged to preach for six consecutive Sabbaths in the chapel which, at his instigation, had been erected as an auxiliary to the parish church of St. John's. Here, however, he was not to rest; for, while thus occupied with his former flock, he received an urgent invitation to preach at Stockport, for the benefit of the Sabbath-school established there—a very different school from those of Scotland for the same purpose, being built at a great expense, and capable of accommodating 4000 children. He complied; but on reaching England he was mortified, and even disgusted, to find, that the whole service was to be one of those half-religious half-theatrical exhibitions, so greatly in vogue in our own day, in which the one-half of the service seems intended to mock the other. He was to conduct the usual solemnities of prayer and preaching, and, so far, the whole affair was to partake of the religious character; but, in addition to himself as principal performer, a hundred instrumental and vocal artists were engaged for the occasion, who were to rush in at the close of the pulpit ministrations with all the secularities of a concert or oratorio. The doctor was indignant, and remonstrated with the managers of the arrangement, but it was too late. All he could obtain was, that these services should be kept apart from each other, instead of being blended together, as had been originally intended. Accordingly, he entered the pulpit, conducted the solemn services as he was wont, and preached to a congregation of 3500 auditors, after which he retired, and left the managers to their own devices; and before he had fairly escaped from the building, a tremendous volley of bassoons, flutes, violins, bass-viol, and serpents, burst upon his ear,

and accelerated the speed of his departure. The collection upon this occasion amounted to £400—but might it not be said to have been won too dearly?

The course of next winter at St. Andrews was commenced under the most favourable auspices, and more than double the number of students attended the moral philosophy class-room than had been wont in former sessions. Still true, moreover, to his old intellectual predilections, he also opened a separate class for political economy, which he found to be still more attractive to the students than the science of ethics. Nothing throughout could exceed the enthusiasm of the pupils, and their affection for their amiable and distinguished preceptor, who was frequently as ready to walk with them and talk with them as to lecture to them. Thus the course of 1824-25 went onward to its close, after which he again commenced his duties as a member of the General Assembly, and entered with ardour into the subject of church plurality, upon which he spoke sometimes during the course of discussion. It was during this conflict that a frank generous avowal was made by Dr. Chalmers that electrified the whole meeting. On the second day of the debate, a member upon the opposite side quoted from an anonymous pamphlet the declaration of its author's experience, that "after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage." When this was read, every eye was turned to Dr. Chalmers; it was the pamphlet he had published twenty years ago, when the duties of the ministerial office appeared to him in a very different light than they now did. He considered its resurrection at such a period as a solemn call to humiliation and confession, and from this unpalatable duty he did not for a moment shrink. Rising in his place, he declared that the production was his own. "I now confess myself," he added, "to have been guilty of a heinous crime, and I now stand a repentant culprit before the bar of this venerable assembly." After stating the time and the occasion in which it originated, he went on in the following words:—"I was at that time, sir, more devoted to mathematics than to the literature of my profession; and, feeling grieved and indignant at what I conceived an undue reflection on the abilities and education of our clergy, I came forward with that pamphlet, to rescue them from what I deemed an unmerited reproach, by maintaining that a devoted and exclusive attention to the study of mathematics was not dissonant to the proper habits of a clergyman. Alas! sir, so I thought in my ignorance and pride. I have now no reserve in saying that the sentiment was wrong, and that, in the utterance of it, I penned what was most outrageously wrong. Strangely blinded that I was! What, sir, is the object of mathematical science? Magnitude and the proportions of magnitude. But then, sir, I had forgotten *two magnitudes*—I thought not of the littleness of time—I recklessly thought not of the greatness of eternity."

Hitherto the course of Dr. Chalmers at St. Andrews had been comfortable and tranquil; but this state was to continue no longer. It would have been strange, indeed, if one who so exclusively enjoyed the popularity of the town and its colleges, should have been permitted to enjoy it without annoyance. In the first instance, too, his grievances arose from that very evil of church plurality of which he had at first been the tolerant advocate, and afterwards the uncompromising antagonist. A vacancy having occurred in the city parish of St. Leonards,

the charge was bestowed, not upon a free unencumbered man, but upon one of the professors, whose college labours were enough for all his time and talent; and as he was unacceptable as a preacher, many of the students, among whom an unwonted earnestness had of late been awakened upon the important subject of religion, were desirous of enjoying a more efficient ministry. But an old law of the college made it imperative that they should give their Sabbath attendance at the church of St. Leonards; and when they petitioned for liberty to select their own place for worship and religious instruction, their application was refused, although it was backed by that of their parents. It was natural that Dr. Chalmers should become their advocate; and almost equally natural that in requital he should be visited by the collective wrath of his brethren of the *senatus*. They had decreed that the request of the students was unreasonable and mutinous; and turning upon the doctor himself, they represented him as one given up to new-fangled ideas of Christian liberty, and hostile to the interests of the Established Church. A still more vexatious subject of discussion arose from the appropriation of the college funds, the surplus of which, instead of being laid out to repair the dilapidated buildings, as had been intended, was annually divided among the professors after the current expenses of the classes had been defrayed. Dr. Chalmers thought this proceeding not only an illegal stretch of authority on the part of the professors, but also a perilous temptation; and on finding that they would not share in his scruples, he was obliged to adopt the only conscientious step that remained—he refused his share of the spoil during the five years of his continuance at St. Andrews. Thus the case continued until 1827, when the royal commission that had been appointed for the examination of the Scottish universities arrived at St. Andrews, and commenced their searching inquest. Dr. Chalmers, who hoped on this occasion that the evils of which he complained would be redressed, underwent in his turn a long course of examination, in which he fearlessly laid open the whole subject, and proposed the obvious remedy. But in this complaint he stood alone; the commissioners listened to his suggestions, and left the case as they found it. Another department of college reform, which had for some time been the object of his anxious solicitude, was passed over in the same manner. It concerned the necessary training of the pupils previous to their commencement of a college education. At our Scottish universities the students were admitted at a mere school-boy age, when they knew scarcely any Latin, and not a word of Greek; and thus the classical education of our colleges was such as would have been fitter for a mere whipping-school, in which these languages had to be commenced *ab initio*, than seats of learning in which such attainments were to be matured and perfected. To rectify this gross defect, the proposal of Dr. Chalmers suggested the erection of gymnasia attached to the colleges, where these youths should undergo a previous complete training in the mere mechanical parts of classical learning, and thus be fitted, on their entrance into college, for the highest departments of Greek and Roman scholarship. But here, also, his appeals were ineffectual; and at the present day, and in the country of Buchanan and Melville, the university classes of Latin and Greek admit such pupils, and exhibit such defects, as would excite the contempt of an Eton or Westminster school-boy.

It was well for Dr. Chalmers that amidst all this hostility and disappointment he had formed for himself a satisfactory source of consolation. At his

arrival in St. Andrews, and even amidst the toil of preparation for the duties of his new office, he had longed for the relief that would be afforded by the communication of religious instruction; for in becoming a professor of science he had not ceased to be a minister of the gospel. As soon, therefore, as the bustle of the first session was ended, he threw himself with alacrity into the lowly office of a Sabbath-school teacher. He went to work also in his own methodical fashion, by selecting a district of the town to which his labours were to be confined, visiting its families one by one, and inviting the children to join the class which he was about to form for meeting at his own house on the Sabbath evenings. And there, in the midst of these poor children, sat one of the most profound and eloquent of men—one at whose feet the great, the wise, and the accomplished had been proud to sit; while the striking picture is heightened by the fact, that even for these humble prelections and examinations, his questions were written out, and his explanations prepared as if he had been to confront the General Assembly or the British senate. In the hands of a talented artist would not such a subject furnish a true Christian counterpart to that of Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage? At the third session this duty was exchanged for one equally congenial, and still more important, arising from the request of some of the parents of his college pupils, that he would take charge of the religious education of their sons by receiving them into his house on the evenings of the Sabbath. With a desire so closely connected with his professional office through the week, he gladly complied, after having intrusted his Sabbath-school children to careful teachers who laboured under his direction. These student meetings at first were assembled around his fireside, in the character of a little family circle, and as such he wished it to continue; but so greatly was the privilege valued, and so numerous were the applications for admission, that the circle gradually expanded into a class which his ample drawing-room could scarcely contain. These examples were not long in producing their proper fruits. The students of St. Andrews, animated by such a pattern, bestirred themselves in the division of the town into districts and the formation of Sabbath-schools; and in the course of their explorations for the purpose, they discovered, even in that ancient seat of learning and city of colleges, an amount of ignorance and religious indifference such as they had never suspected to be lying around them till now. Another and an equally natural direction into which the impulse was turned was that of missionary exertion; and on Dr. Chalmers having accepted the office of president of a missionary society, the students caught new ardour from the addresses which he delivered, and the reports he read to them at the meetings. The consequence was, that a missionary society was formed for the students themselves, in which a third of those belonging to the united colleges were speedily enrolled. It was a wonderful change in St. Andrews, so long the very Lethe of religious indifference and unconcern, and among its pupils, so famed among the other colleges of Scotland for riot, recklessness, and dissipation. And the result showed that this was no fever-fit of passing emotion, but a permanent and substantial reality. For many of those students who most distinguished themselves by their zeal for missions were also distinguished as diligent talented scholars, and attained the highest honours of the university. Not a few of them now occupy our pulpits, and are among the most noted in the church for zeal, eloquence, and ministerial diligence and fidelity. And more than all, several of them were already in

training for that high missionary office whose claims they so earnestly advocated, and are now to be found labouring in the good work in the four quarters of the world. Speaking of Dr. Chalmers at this period, one of the most accomplished of his pupils, and now the most distinguished of our missionaries, thus writes:—"Perhaps the most noticeable peculiarity connected with the whole of this transformative process was the indirect, rather than the direct, mode in which the effectuating influence was exerted. It did not result so much from any direct and formal exhortation on the part of Dr. Chalmers as from the general awakening and suggestive power of his lectures, the naked force of his own personal piety, and the spreading contagiousness of his own personal example. He carried about with him a better than talismanic virtue, by which all who came in contact with him were almost unconsciously influenced, moulded, and impelled to imitate. He did not formally assemble his students, and in so many set terms formally exhort them to constitute themselves into missionary societies, open Sabbath-schools, commence prayer-meetings, and such like. No; in the course of his lectures he communicated something of his own life and warmth, and expounded principles of which objects like the preceding were some of the natural exponents and developments. He then faithfully exemplified the principles propounded in his own special actings and general conduct. He was known to be a man of prayer; he was acknowledged to be a man of active benevolence. He was observed to be going about from house to house exhorting adults on the concerns of their salvation, and devoting his energies to the humble task of gathering around him a Sabbath-school. He was seen to be the sole reviver of an all but defunct missionary society. All these, and other such like traits of character and conduct being carefully noted, how could they who intensely admired, revered, and loved the man, do less than endeavour, at however great a distance, to tread in his footsteps and imitate so noble a pattern?"

Such was the tenor of his course in St. Andrews until he was about to be transferred into another and more important field. The first effort made for this removal was an offer on the part of government of the charge of the parish of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, which had become vacant by the death of the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff. To succeed such a man, and hold such a clerical appointment, which was one of the best in Scotland, were no ordinary temptations; but Dr. Chalmers was now fully persuaded that the highest, most sacred, and most efficient office in the church consisted in the training of a learned and pious ministry, and therefore he refused the offer, notwithstanding the very inferior emoluments of his present charge, and the annoyances with which it was surrounded. Another vacancy shortly afterwards occurred that was more in coincidence with his principles. This was the divinity chair of the university of Edinburgh, that had become vacant by the resignation of Dr. Ritchie; and to this charge he was unanimously elected by the magistrates and town-council of Edinburgh on the 31st October, 1827. The appointment on this occasion was cordially accepted, for it transferred him from the limited sphere of a county town to the capital, and from a professorship of ethics, the mere handmaid of theology, to that of theology itself. As he had not to commence his duties until the beginning of the next year's session, he had thus a considerable interval for preparation, which he employed to the uttermost. The subjects of lecturing, too, which comprised natural theology and the evidences of Christianity, had for years been his favourite study. His class-

room, as soon as the course commenced, was inundated, not merely with regular students, but with clergymen of every church, and gentlemen of every literary or scientific profession, all eager to hear systematic theology propounded by such a teacher. All this was well; but when a similar torrent attempted to burst into his domestic retirement, and sweep away his opportunities of preparation, he was obliged to repel it with unwonted bluntness. "I have now," he said, "a written paper in my lobby, shown by my servant to all and sundry who are making mere calls of attention, which is just telling them, in a civil way, to go about their business. If anything will check intrusion, this at length must." During this session, also, Dr. Chalmers was not only fully occupied with his class, but with the great question of Catholic emancipation, which was now on the eve of a final decision. A public meeting was held in Edinburgh on the 14th of March to petition in favour of the measure; and it was there that he advocated the bill in favour of emancipation in one of the most eloquent speeches he had ever uttered. The effect was tremendous, and at its close the whole assembly started to their feet, waved their hats, and rent the air with deafening shouts of applause for several minutes. Even the masters and judges of eloquence who were present were similarly moved, and Lord Jeffrey declared it as his opinion that never had eloquence produced a greater effect upon a popular assembly, and that he could not believe more had ever been done by the oratory of Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, or Sheridan.

After the college session had ended, Dr. Chalmers was not allowed to retire into his beloved seclusion. Indeed, his opinions were now of such weight with the public mind, and his services so valuable, that he was considered as a public property, and used accordingly. It was for this cause that our statesmen who advocated Catholic emancipation were so earnest that he should give full publicity to his sentiments on the subject. When this duty was discharged, another awaited him: it was to repair to London and unfold his views on pauperism before a committee of the House of Commons, with reference to the proposal of introducing the English system of poor-laws into Ireland. During this visit to London he had the honour of being appointed, without any solicitation on his part, one of the chaplains of his majesty for Scotland. On returning home another visit to London was necessary, as one of the members of a deputation sent from the Church of Scotland to congratulate William IV. on his accession to the throne. It is seldom that our Scottish presbyters are to be found in kings' palaces, so that the ordeal of a royal presentation is generally sufficient to puzzle their wisest. Thus felt Dr. Chalmers upon the occasion; and in the amusing letters which he wrote home to his children he describes with full glee the difficulty he experienced from his cocked hat, and the buttons of his court dress. The questions put to him at this presentation were of solemn import, as issuing from kingly lips: "Do you reside constantly in Edinburgh?" "How long do you remain in town?" He returned to the labours of his class-room and the preparation of his elaborate work on *Political Economy*, which had employed his thoughts for years, and was published at the beginning of 1832. This care of authorship in behalf of principles which he knew to be generally unpalatable, was further aggravated by the passing of the Reform Bill, to which he was decidedly hostile. After his work on *Political Economy*, which fared as he had foreseen, being roughly handled by the principal critics of the day, against whose favourite doctrines it militated, he

published his well-known Bridgewater treatise, *On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man*. At the same period the cholera, which in its tremendous but erratic march had arrived in the island, and commenced its havoc in Newcastle and Sunderland, proceeded northward, and entered like a destroying angel within the gates of Edinburgh, which it filled with confusion and dismay. As its ravages went onward, the people became so maddened as to raise riots round the cholera hospitals, and treat the physicians, who attended on the patients at the risk of their own lives, with insult and violence. This exhibition was so afflictive to Dr. Chalmers, that he expressed his feelings upon the subject in the most impressive manner that a human being can possibly adopt—this was in public prayer, upon the national fast in St. George's Church, while he was earnestly beseeching that the plague might be stayed, and the people spared. "We pray, O Lord, in a more especial manner," he thus supplicated, "for those patriotic men whose duty calls them to a personal encounter with this calamity, and who, braving all the hazards of infection, may be said to stand between the living and the dead. Save them from the attacks of disease; save them from the obloquies of misconception and prejudice; and may they have the blessings and acknowledgments of a grateful community to encourage them in their labours." On the same evening a lord of session requested that this portion of the prayer should be committed to writing, and made more public, in the hope of arresting that insane popular odium which had risen against the medical board. The prayer was soon printed and circulated through the city.

In the year 1832 Dr. Chalmers was raised to the highest honour which the Church of Scotland can bestow, by being appointed moderator of the General Assembly. In this office he had the courage to oppose, and the good fortune to remove, an abuse that had grown upon the church until it had become a confirmed practice. It was now the use and wont of every commissioner to give public dinners, not only upon the week-days, but the Sabbaths of the Assembly's sitting, while the moderator sanctioned this practice by giving public breakfasts on the same day. In the eyes of the doctor this was a desecration of the sacred day, and he stated his feelings to Lord Belhaven, the commissioner, on the subject. The appeal was so effectual that the practice was discontinued, and has never since been resumed. At this Assembly, also, a fearful note was sounded, predictive of a coming contest. It was upon the obnoxious subject of patronage, against which the popular voice of Scotland had protested so long and loudly, but in vain. Overtures from eight presbyteries and three synods were sent up to this Assembly, stating, "That whereas the practice of church courts for many years had reduced the call to a mere formality; and whereas this practice has a direct tendency to alienate the affections of the people of Scotland from the Established Church; it is overtured, that such measures as may be deemed necessary be adopted, in order to restore the call to its constitutional efficiency." An animated debate was the consequence, and at last the motion of Principal Macfarlan, "that the Assembly judge it unnecessary and inexpedient to adopt the measures recommended in the overtures now before them," was carried by a majority of forty-two. From the office which he held, Dr. Chalmers could only be a presiding onlooker of the debate; but in the Assembly of next year, when the subject was resumed, he had an open arena before him, which he was not slow to occupy.

On this occasion, the eleven overtures of the preceding year had swelled into forty-five, a growth that indicated the public feeling with unmistakable significance. The two principal speakers in the discussion that followed were Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Cook, and each tendered his motion before the Assembly. That of Dr. Chalmers was to the effect, that efficiency should be given to the call, by declaring the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families in a parish, with or without the assignment of reasons, should be sufficient to set aside the presentee, unless these reasons were founded in malicious combination, or manifestly incorrect as to his ministerial gifts and qualifications. The counter-motion of Dr. Cook was, that while it is competent for the heads of families to give in to the presbytery objections of whatever nature against the presentee, the presbytery shall consider these objections, and if they find them unfounded, shall proceed to the settlement. This was carried only by a majority of twelve, and mainly, also, by the strength of the eldership, as a majority of twenty ministers was in favour of the motion of Dr. Chalmers. It was easy to see, however, in what direction the tide had set, and with what force and volume it would go onward. At the next Assembly a full trial was to be made that should be conclusive upon the point at issue. Dr. Chalmers on this occasion was not a member, but his motion of the preceding year was again brought before the Assembly by Lord Moncrieff, in the form of an "Overture and Interim Act on Calls," and expressed as follows:—"The General Assembly declare, that it is a fundamental law of the church, that no pastor shall be intruded into any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and, in order that the principle may be carried into full effect, the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the presbyteries of this church, do declare, enact, and ordain, that it shall be an instruction to presbyteries that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the church: And further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the presbytery that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation." Such was the well-known measure called the Veto, which, being carried by a majority of forty-six, became part of the law of the Church of Scotland. Considering the previous domination of patronage, it was regarded with much complacency, as a valuable boon to public feeling, and a great step in advance towards a thorough reformation in the church. But, unfortunately, it was only a compromise with an evil that should have been utterly removed; a mere religious half-measure, that in the end was certain to dwindle into a nullity; and Dr. Chalmers lived long enough to confess its insufficiency and witness its downfall.

In the case of those honoured individuals who have "greatness thrust upon them," the imposition generally finds them at a season not only when they

are least expectant of such distinctions, but apparently the furthest removed from all chance of obtaining them. Such all along had been the case with Chalmers. Fame had found him in the obscure parish of Kilmany, and there proclaimed him one of the foremost of pulpit orators. It had followed him into the murky wynds and narrow closes of the Trongate and Saltmarket of Glasgow; and there, while he was employed in devising means for the amelioration of poverty through parochial agency, it had lauded him in the senate and among statesmen as an able financier and political economist. Instead of seeking, he had been sought, by that high celebrity which seems to have pursued him only the more intently by how much he endeavoured to escape it. And now, after he had been so earnestly employed in endeavouring to restore the old Scottish ecclesiastical regime and puritan spirit of the seventeenth century, so loathed by the learned, the fashionable, and the free-thinking of the nineteenth—new honours, and these from the most unlikely sources, were showered upon him in full profusion. In 1834 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in the year following a vice-president. In the beginning of 1834 he was elected a corresponding member of the Royal Institute of France; and in the year 1835, while upon a visit to Oxford for the recovery of his health, impaired by the fatigues he had undergone in London in the discharge of his public duties, the university of Oxford in full theatre invested him with the degree of Doctor of Laws. The academy of Voltaire and the university of Laod combining to do honour to a modern Scottish Covenanter!—never before had such extremes met! This triumph, however, needed a slave behind the chariot, and such a remembrancer was not wanting to the occasion. During his stay in London he had been negotiating for the establishment of a permanent government salary to the chair of theology in the university of Edinburgh, for at his entrance, in 1828, the revenues of its professorship, in consequence of the abolition of pluralities, amounted to not more than £196 per annum. It was impossible, upon such a pittance, to maintain the proper dignity of the office, and rear a numerous family; and, although the town-council endeavoured to supplement the defect by the establishment of fees to be paid by the students, this remedy was found so scanty and precarious, that Dr. Chalmers could not calculate upon more than £300 a year, while the necessary expenditure of such an office could not be comprised within £800. But government at the time was labouring under one of those periodical fits of economy in which it generally looks to the pennies, in the belief that the pounds can take care of themselves, and therefore the earnest appeals of Dr. Chalmers upon the importance of such a professorship, and the necessity of endowing it, were ineffectual. Little salaries were to be cut down, and small applicants withheld, to convince the sceptical public that its funds were managed with strict economy. To his office of professor, indeed, that of one of the Scottish royal chaplaincies had been added; but this was little more than an honorary title, as its salary was only £50 per annum. Thus, at the very height of his fame, Dr. Chalmers was obliged to bethink himself of such humble subjects as weekly household bills, and the ways and means of meeting them, and with the heavy pressure of duties that had gathered upon him to take refuge in the resources of authorship. A new and cheap edition of his works, in quarterly volumes, was therefore commenced in 1836. It was no mere republication of old matter, however, which he thus presented to the public, and

this he was anxious should be generally understood. "It so happens," he thus writes to the Rev. Mr. Cunningham of Harrow, "that the great majority of my five first volumes will be altogether new; and that of the two first already published, and which finishes my views on natural theology, the *Bridge-water Treatise*, is merely a fragment of the whole. Now, my request is, that you will draw the attention of any of the London reviewers to the new matter of my works." To such necessities the most distinguished man in Scotland, and the holder of its most important professorship, was reduced, because our government would not endow his office with a modicum of that liberality which it extended to a sinecure forest-ranger, or even a captain of beef-eaters.

These however were not the greatest of Dr. Chalmers' difficulties and cares. The important subject of church extension, that most clamant of our country's wants, annihilated all those that were exclusively personal, and after years of earnest advocacy a bright prospect began to dawn that this want would be satisfied. The king's speech in 1835 recommended the measure; the parliamentary leaders of the Conservative party were earnest in supporting it; while the Earl of Aberdeen in the House of Lords, and Sir Robert Peel in that of the Commons, were the most urgent advocates for the extension of the church in Scotland. But very different was the mood of the Whig ministry, and the premier, Lord Melbourne, who succeeded; and all that could be obtained from them was a commission of inquiry. It was the vague "I'll see to it," which in common life promises nothing, and usually accomplishes as little. Thus at least felt Dr. Chalmers, notwithstanding the assurances of Lord John Russell that the commissioners should be obliged to report progress from time to time, so that the house might apply the remedy to each evil successively as it was detected. It was no vague fear; for although the first report of the commissioners was to be returned in six months, thrice that period elapsed before the duty was implemented. This report, however, established a momentous fact; it was, that nearly one-third of the whole population of Edinburgh, to which their eighteen months' inquiry had been exclusively confined, were living in utter neglect of religious ordinances. To atone for such delay, as well as to remedy such an evil, it was time for the parliament to be up and doing. But parliament thought it was better to wait—to wait until they got farther intelligence. This intelligence at last came in two subsequent reports, by which it appeared that the deficiency of church accommodation and church attendance was still worse in Glasgow than in Edinburgh. And now, at least, was the time for action, after four years of protracted inquiry; but the remedy which parliament proposed consisted of little more than a few unmeaning words. The Highlands and the country parishes were to be aided from sources that were not available for the purpose, while the large towns were to be left in their former condition. In short, the Church of Scotland was to wait, and wait, and still to wait, while everything was to be expected, and nothing definite insured. A deputation from the Church Extension Committee was unavoidable under such circumstances of sickening procrastination and heartless disappointment; but the government that had anticipated such an advent, specified that Dr. Chalmers should not be one of the deputies. It was not convenient that the rulers of the hour should encounter the master-spirit of the age. Accordingly, the deputation of the Church of Scotland, *mimic* Dr. Chalmers, waited upon Lord

Melbourne, and represented what a dereliction the government had committed in abandoning the religious provision of the large towns of Scotland, by which the principle of religious establishment itself was virtually abandoned. But they talked to a statesman whose only line of policy was to remember nothing about the past, and fear nothing for the future. Britain would last during his own day at least, and posterity might be left to take care of itself! When he was told, therefore that this abandonment of the Scottish cities was an abandonment of church establishment, and would inflict a fatal wound upon the Church of Scotland, this free-and-easy premier replied to the members of the deputation: "That, gentlemen, is your inference: you may not be the better for our plan; but, hang it! you surely cannot be worse;" and with this elegant sentence they were bowed off from the ministerial audience. It was well, however, that Dr. Chalmers, and those whom he influenced, had not entirely leaned, in such a vital question, upon the reed of court favour and government support. He had already learned, although with some reluctance, that most necessary scriptural caveat for a minister of the Church of Scotland, "Put not your trust in princes;" so that from the commencement of this treaty between the church and the state, he had turned his attention to the public at large as the source from which his expectations were to be realized. He therefore obtained the sanction of the General Assembly, in 1836, to form a sub-committee on church extension, for the purpose of organizing a plan of meetings over the whole country for the erection of new churches. This was applying to the fountain-head, let the conduits be closed as they might; and the result more than answered his expectations. In the year 1838 he was enabled to state to the General Assembly, that these two years of organized labour, combined with the two years of desultory effort that had preceded—four years in all—had produced nearly £200,000, out of which nearly 200 churches had been erected. Well might he call this, in announcing the fact, "an amount and continuance of pecuniary support altogether without a precedent in the history of Christian beneficence in this part of the British empire." To this he added a hope—but how differently fulfilled from the way he expected! "At the glorious era of the church's reformation," he said, "it was the unwearied support of the people which, under God, finally brought her efforts to a triumphant issue. In this era of her extension—an era as broadly marked and as emphatically presented to the notice of the ecclesiastical historian as any which the church is wont to consider as instances of signal revival and divine interposition—the support of the people will not be wanting, but by their devoted exertions, and willing sacrifices, and ardent prayers, they will testify how much they love the house where their fathers worshipped; how much they reverence their Saviour's command, that the very poorest of their brethren shall have the gospel preached to them."

While the indifference of government upon the subject of church extension was thus felt in Scotland, a calamity of a different character was equally impending over the churches both of Scotland and England—a calamity that threatened nothing less than to disestablish them, and throw them upon the voluntary support of the public at large. Such was a part of the effects of the Reform Bill. It brought forward the Dissenters into place and power, and gave them a vantage-ground for their hostility to all ecclesiastical establishments; and so well did they use this opportunity, that the separation of church

and state promised to be an event of no distant occurrence. Even Wellington himself, whose practised eye saw the gathering for the campaign, and whose stout heart was not apt to be alarmed at bugbears, thus expressed his sentiments on the occasion: "People talk of the war in Spain, and the Canada question, but all that is of little moment. The real question is, church or no church; and the majority of the House of Commons—a small majority, it is true, but still a majority—are practically against it." This majority, too, had already commenced its operations with the Church of Ireland, the number of whose bishops was reduced, and a large amount of whose endowments it was proposed to alienate to other purposes than the support of religion. Thus was that war begun which has continued from year to year, growing at each step in violence and pertinacity, and threatening the final version of the two religious establishments of Great Britain. The friends of the Establishment principle were equally alert in its defence; and among other institutions, a Christian Influence Society was formed, to vindicate the necessity and duty of state support to the national religion as embodied in the church of the majority of the people. It occurred to this society that their cause could be best supported by popular appeal, on the part of a bold, zealous, eloquent advocate—one who had already procured the right to speak upon such a subject, and to whom all might confidently listen. And where could they find such an advocate? All were at one in the answer, and Dr. Chalmers was in consequence requested to give a course of public lectures in London upon the subject of church establishments, to which he assented. Thus mysteriously was he led by a way which he knew not to a termination which he had not anticipated. He was to raise his eloquent voice for the last time in behalf of a cause which he was soon after to leave for ever—and to leave only because a higher, holier, and more imperative duty commanded his departure.

This visit of Dr. Chalmers to London was made in the spring of 1838. He took with him a course of lectures on which he had bestowed the utmost pains; and the first, which he delivered on the 25th of April, was attended by the most distinguished in rank and talent, who admired the lecturer as well as sympathized in his subject. The other discourses followed successively, and seldom has great London been stirred from its mighty depths as upon these occasions. Peers, prelates, statesmen, literati, the powerful, the noble, the rich, the learned, all hurried pell-mell into the passages, or were crowded in one living heap in the ample hall; and all eyes were turned upon the homely-looking elderly man who sat at the head, before a little table, at times looking as if buried in a dream, and at others, lifting up his eyes at the gathering and advancing tide, composed of England's noblest and best, as if he wondered what this unwonted stir could mean. How had such a man collected such a concourse? That was soon shown, when, after having uttered a few sentences, with a pronunciation which even his own countrymen deemed uncouth, he warmed with his subject, until his thoughts seemed to be clothed with thunder; and starting to his feet, the whole assembly rose with him as one man, passed into all his feelings, and moved with his every impulse, as if for the time they had implicitly resigned their identity into his hands, and were content to be but parts of that wondrous individual in whose utterance they were so absorbed and swallowed up. "The concluding lecture," says one writer, "was graced by the presence of nine prelates of the Church of England. The tide that had

been rising and swelling each succeeding day, now burst all bounds. Carried away by the impassioned utterance of the speaker, long ere the close of some of his finest passages was reached, the voice of the lecturer was drowned in the applause, the audience rising from their seats, waving their hats above their heads, and breaking out into tumultuous approbation." "Nothing was more striking, however," writes another, "amidst all this excitement, than the child-like humility of the great man himself. All the flattery seemed to produce no effect whatever on him; his mind was entirely absorbed in his great object; and the same kind, playful, and truly Christian spirit, that so endeared him to us all, was everywhere apparent in his conduct. . . . I had heard Dr. Chalmers on many great occasions, but probably his London lectures afforded the most remarkable illustrations of his extraordinary power, and must be ranked amongst the most signal triumphs of oratory in any age."

Having thus delivered such a solemn and public testimony in behalf of church establishments, Dr. Chalmers now resolved to visit France, a duty which he conceived he owed to the country, as he had been elected a member of its far-famed Royal Institute. He accordingly went from England to Paris in the earlier part of June, 1838, accompanied by his wife and two daughters. From the journal which he kept on the occasion, much interesting information may be gleaned of his views on the state of France and French society, while throughout it is evident that he carried with him what our English tourists too seldom transport into that country—the willingness to recognize and readiness to acknowledge whatever superiority it possesses over our own. He thus found that Paris was something better than a city of profligates, and France than a land of infidels. In that gay metropolis his exclamation is, "How much more still and leisurely everything moves here than in London! . . . It is more a city of loungers; and life moves on at a more rational pace." On another occasion he declared Paris "better than London, in not being a place of extreme and high-pressure work in all the departments of industry. More favourable to intellect, to man in his loftier capacities, to all the better and higher purposes of our nature." It was not wonderful, therefore, that with such frankness and warmth of heart he was soon at one with the choicest of that literary and intellectual society with which the city at all times abounds, and delighted with its buildings, its public walks, and museums of science and art. Dr. Chalmers made no pretension to taste in the fine arts, and its critical phraseology he detested as cant and jargon; but it was well known by his friends that he had a love of fine statues and pictures, and an innate natural perception of their beauties, that might well have put those who prate learnedly about Raffaele and Titian to the blush. This will at once be apparent in his notices of the Louvre, where his remarks are full of life and truthfulness: "Struck with the picture of one of Bonaparte's battles in his retreat from Moscow. The expression of Napoleon very striking—as if solemnized by the greatness of the coming disaster, yet with an air of full intelligence, and serenity, and majesty, and a deep mournful expression withal. The long gallery of the Louvre superb; impressed at once with the superiority of its pictures. Very much interested in the Flemish pictures, of which there were some very admirable ones by David Teniers. I am fond of Rembrandt's portraits; and was much pleased in recognizing the characteristics of Rubens, Poussin, and Claude Lorrain. I also remarked that in most of the Italian schools, with the exception of the Venetian, there

was a total want of shading off; yet the separate figures, though not harmonized with the background, very striking in themselves. The statuary of painting perhaps expresses the style of the Roman and other such schools. There is a quadrangle recently attached to the east end of the gallery, filled with the models of towns, ships, and machinery; the towns very instructive. But the most interesting part of this department is the Spanish pictures, in all of which the strong emotions are most powerfully expressed. There is quite a stamp of national peculiarity in these works. The walls which contain them seem all alive with the passions and thoughts of living men." Thus far Dr. Chalmers in a new character, as a critic in painting—not of the schools, however, but of nature's own teaching. After a short residence of three weeks in Paris, during which he noticed everything with a benevolent and observant eye, and read before the Institute a lecture of initiation, having for its title, the "Distinction, both in Principle and Effect, between a Legal Charity for the Relief of Indigence, and a Legal Charity for the Relief of Disease," Dr. Chalmers set off on a short tour through some of the inland provinces, which he was induced to make by the persuasion of his English friends. On finishing it, he characterized it as a most interesting journey, in which his hopes for the future of France had been materially improved. He then returned to Edinburgh, where sterner events awaited his arrival.

The first task of Dr. Chalmers, on returning home, was the augmentation of the church extension fund. No hope was now to be derived from government grants, and therefore, while old age was stealing upon him, and the weariness of a life of toil demanding cessation and repose, he felt as if the struggle had commenced anew, and must be encountered over again. The extension scheme was his favourite enterprise, in which all his energies for years had been embarked; and could he leave it now in its hour of need, more especially after such a hopeful commencement? He therefore began an arduous tour for the purpose on the 18th of August, 1839. He commenced with the south-western districts of Scotland, in the course of which he visited and addressed ten presbyteries successively. And, be it observed, too, that this prince of orators had a difficulty in his task to encounter which only an orator can fully appreciate. Hitherto his addresses to public meetings had been carefully studied and composed, so that to extemporaneous haranguing on such occasions he had been an utter stranger. But now that he must move rapidly from place to place, and adapt himself to every kind of meeting, and be ready for every sudden emergency of opposition or cavil, he felt that the aids of the study must be abandoned—that he must be ready on every point, and at every moment—that, in short, all his former habits of oratory must be abandoned, and a new power acquired, and that too, at the age of sixty, when old habits are confirmed, and the mind has lost its flexibility. But even this difficulty he met and surmounted; his ardour in the work beat down every obstacle, and bore him irresistibly onward. "It is true," he said, "that it were better if we lived in times when a calm and sustained argumentation from the press would have carried the influential minds of the community; but, as it is, one must accommodate his doings to the circumstances of the age." After the south-western districts had been visited, he made another tour, in which he visited Dundee, Perth, Stirling, and Dunfermline; and a third, that comprised the towns of Brechin, Montrose, Arbroath, and Aberdeen. A fourth, which

he called his great northern tour, led him through a considerable part of the Highlands, where he addressed many meetings, and endeavoured everywhere to stir up the people to a due sense of the importance of religious ordinances. But it is melancholy to find that labours so great ended, upon the whole, in disappointment. At the commencement Dr. Chalmers had confidently expected to raise £100,000 for the erection of a hundred new churches, and in this expectation he was fully justified by the success of his previous efforts. But £40,000 was the utmost that was realized by all this extraordinary toil and travel. Still, however, much had been done during his seven years of labour in the cause of church extension; for in 1841, when he demitted his office as convener of the committee, 220 churches, at a cost of more than £300,000, had been added to the Establishment. He had thus made an extensive trial of voluntarism, and obtained full experience of its capabilities and defects, of which the following was his recorded opinion:—"While he rejoices in the experimental confirmation which the history of these few years has afforded him of the resources and the capabilities of the voluntary system, to which, as hitherto unfostered by the paternal care of government, the scheme of church extension is indebted for all its progress, it still remains his unshaken conviction of that system notwithstanding, that it should only be resorted to as a supplement, and never but in times when the powers of infidelity and intolerance are linked together in hostile combination against the sacred prerogatives of the church, should it once be thought of as a substitute for a national establishment of Christianity. In days of darkness and disquietude it may open a temporary resource, whether for a virtuous secession or an ejected church to fall back upon; but a far more glorious consummation is, when the state puts forth its hand to sustain but not to subjugate the church, and the two, bent on moral conquests alone, walk together as fellow-helps towards the achievement of that great pacific triumph—the Christian education of the people."

The indifferent success with which the latter part of the labours of Dr. Chalmers in behalf of church extension was followed, could be but too easily explained. The Church of Scotland had now entered the depths of her trial, and while the issue was uncertain, the public mind was in that state of suspense under which time seems to stand still, and all action is at a pause. The urgent demand that was pressed upon society was for money to erect more places of worship; but what the while did the state mean to do in this important matter? Would it take the whole responsibility upon itself, or merely supplement the liberality of the people? And if the latter, then to what amount would it give aid, and upon what terms? When a cautious benevolence is thus posed, it too often ruminates, until the hour of action has knelled its departure. Such was the condition to which Scotland was now reduced. In tracing its causes, we must revert to the last five years of our narrative, and those important ecclesiastical movements with which Dr. Chalmers was so closely implicated.

In obtaining the veto law, Dr. Chalmers was far from regarding it either as a satisfactory or a final measure. Instead of being an ecclesiastical reform, it was but a half-way concession, in which church and state would be liable to much unpleasant collision. This result must sooner or later be the case, and in such a shock the weaker would be driven to the wall. This Dr. Chalmers foresaw, and it required no extraordinary sagacity to foretell which of

these causes would prove the weaker. And yet the veto, like most great changes, however defective, worked well at the commencement. So remarkably had the evangelistic spirit been revived by it, that in 1839 the revenue collected for Christian enterprise was fourteen times greater than it had been five years previous. Another significant fact of its usefulness was, that, notwithstanding the new power it conferred upon the people, that power had been enjoyed with such moderation, that during these five years it had been exercised only in ten cases out of one hundred and fifty clerical settlements. All this, however, was of no avail to save it from ruin, and even the beginning of its short-lived existence gave promise how soon and how fatally it would terminate.

The first act of hostility to the veto law occurred only a few months after it had passed. The parish church of Auchterarder had become vacant, and the Earl of Kinnoul, who was patron, made a presentation of the living in favour of Mr. Robert Young, a licentiate. But the assent of the people was also necessary, and after Mr. Young had preached two successive Sabbaths in the pulpit of Auchterarder, that the parishioners might test his qualifications, a day was appointed for their coming forward to moderate in the call, by signing their acceptance. Not more, however, than two heads of families, and his lordship's factor, a non-resident, out of a parish of 3000 souls, gave their subscription. As this was no call at all, it was necessary to obtain a positive dissent, and on the opportunity being given for the heads of families, being communicants, to sign their rejection, 287, out of 300 members, subscribed their refusal to have the presentee for their minister. Thus Mr. Young was clearly and most expressly vetoed, and his presentation should, according to the law, have been instantly cancelled; but, instead of submitting, he appealed against the refusal of the parish, in the first instance to the presbytery, and afterwards to the synod; and on his appeal being rejected successively by both courts, he finally carried it, not to the General Assembly, for ultimate adjudication, as he was bound to do, but to the Court of Session, where it was to be reduced to a civil question, and nothing more. In this way admission to the holy office of the ministry and the cure of souls was to be as secular a question as the granting of a publican's license, or the establishment of a highway toll, and to be settled by the same tribunal! After much fluctuation and delay that occurred during the trial of this singular case, a final decision was pronounced by the Court of Session in February, 1838, by which the presbytery of Auchterarder was declared to have acted illegally, and in violation of their duty, in rejecting Mr. Young solely on account of the dissent of the parish, without any reasons assigned for it. But what should the presbytery do or suffer in consequence? This was not declared; for the court, having advanced so far as to find the veto law illegal, did not dare to issue a positive command to the church to throw it aside, and admit the presentee to the ministerial office. The utmost they could do was to adjudge the temporalities of the benefice to Mr. Young, while the church might appoint to its spiritual duties whatever preacher was found fittest for the purpose. Still, however, if not unchurched, she was disestablished by such a decision; and, for the purpose of averting this disastrous termination, the case was appealed from the Court of Session to the House of Lords. But there the sentence of the Scottish tribunal, instead of being repealed, was confirmed and established into law. Thus patronage was replaced in all its authority, and

the veto made a dead letter. This judgment, so important to the future history of the Church of Scotland, was delivered by the House of Lords on May 3, 1839. On the 16th the General Assembly met, and Dr. Chalmers, who had hitherto seldom taken a part in the proceedings of church courts, now made anxious preparation for the important crisis. The veto, he saw, existed no longer; but was the choice of the people to perish also? The important discussion commenced by Dr. Cook presenting a motion, to the effect that the Assembly should hold the veto law as abrogated, and proceed as if it never had passed. To this Dr. Chalmers presented a counter-motion, consisting of three parts. The first acknowledged the right of the civil authority over the temporalities of the living of Auchterarder, and acquiesced in their loss; the second expressed the resolution not to abandon the principle of non-intrusion; and the third proposed the formation of a committee to confer with government, for the prevention of any further collision between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. A heart-stirring speech of three hours followed, in which he advocated each point of his motion with such irresistible eloquence, that it was carried by a majority of forty-nine. In this speech the following comparison between the two national churches was not only fitted to send a patriotic thrill through every Scottish heart, but to enlighten those English understandings that could not comprehend the causes of a national commotion, in which they, nevertheless, found themselves somehow most deeply implicated:—

“Let me now, instead of looking forward into consequences, give some idea to the Assembly of the extent of that degradation and helplessness which, if we do submit to this decision of the House of Lords, have been actually and already inflicted upon us—a degradation to which the Church of England, professing the king to be their head, never would submit; and to which the Church of Scotland, professing the Lord Jesus Christ to be their head, never can. You know that, by the practice of our church, the induction and the ordination go together. We regard both as spiritual acts; but, by the practice of the Church of England, the two are separated in point of time from each other; and as they look only upon the ordination as spiritual, this lays them open to such civil mandates and civil interdicts as we have never been accustomed to receive in the questions which arise on the subject of induction into parishes. But ask any English ecclesiastic whether the bishop would receive an order, from any civil court whatever, on the matter of ordination; and the instant, the universal reply is, that he would not. In other words, we should be degraded far beneath the level of the sister church if we remain in connection with the state, and submit to this new ordinance, or, if you will, to this new interpretation of their old ordinances.” After quoting a case in point, in which a presentee in the Church of England had appealed, but in vain, to the royal authority against the prelate who refused to ordain him, Dr. Chalmers continued:—“To what position, then, are we brought if we give in to the opposite motion, and proceed in consequence to the ordination of Mr. Young? To such a position as the bishops of England, with all the Erastianism which has been charged, and to a great degree, I think, falsely charged, upon that establishment, never, never would consent to occupy. Many of them would go to the prison and the death rather than submit to such an invasion on the functions of the sacred office. We read of an old imprisonment of bishops, which led to the greatest and most glorious political eman-

cipation that ever took place in the history of England. Let us not be mistaken. Should the emancipation of our church require it, there is the same strength of high and holy determination in this our land. There are materials here, too, for upholding the contest between principle and power, and enough of the blood and spirit of the olden time for sustaining that holy warfare, where, as in former days, the inflictions of the one party were met with a patience and determination invincible in the sufferings of the other.”

In consequence of the recommendation embodied in his motion, a committee was appointed for conferring with government, of which Dr. Chalmers was convener. It was now resolved that they should repair to London upon their important mission, and thither he accompanied them in the beginning of July. After much negotiation with the leaders of the different parties, the members of committee returned to Edinburgh; and in the report which Dr. Chalmers gave of their proceedings he expressed his opinion that matters looked more hopeful than ever. Important concessions were to be made to the church on the part of government, and a measure was to be devised and drawn up to that effect. “With such helps and encouragement on our side,” the report concluded, “let but the adherents of this cause remain firm and united in principle among themselves, and with the favour of an approving God, any further contest will be given up as unavailing, when, let us fondly hope, all the feelings of party, whether of triumph on one side because of victory, or of humiliation on the other side because of defeat, shall be merged and forgotten in the desires of a common patriotism, to the reassurance of all who are the friends of our establishment, to the utter confusion of those enemies who watch for our halting, and would rejoice in our overthrow.”

It was indeed full time that such a hope should dawn upon those who loved the real interests of our church. For the case of Auchterarder did not stand alone; on the contrary, it was only the first signal of a systematic warfare which patronage was about to wage against the rights of the people; and the example of appeal to the civil authority was but too readily followed in those cases that succeeded. And first came that of Lethendy, and afterwards of Marnoch, in which the civil authority was invoked by vetoed presentees; while in the last of these conflicts the presbytery of Strathbogie, to which Marnoch belonged, complicated the difficulties of the question by adopting the cause of the rejected licentiate, and setting the authority of the church at defiance. The rebellious ministers were suspended from office; and they, in turn, relying upon the protection of the civil power, served an interdict upon those clergymen who, at the appointment of the General Assembly, should attempt to officiate in their pulpits, or even in their parishes. The Court of Session complied so far as to exclude the Assembly's ministers from preaching in the churches, churchyards, and school-rooms of the suspended, so that they were obliged to preach in barns or in the open air; but at last, when even this liberty was complained of by the silenced recusants, the civil court agreed to the whole amount of their petition. It was such a sentence, issuing from mere juriconsults and Edinburgh lawyers, as was sometimes hazarded in the most tyrannical seasons of the dark ages, when a ghostly conclave of pope, cardinals, and prince-bishops laid a whole district under the ban of an interdict for the offence of its ruler, and deprived its people of the rites of the church until complete atonement had been paid. Such was the state of matters when the Assembly's com-

mission met on the 4th of March, and resolved to resist this monstrous usurpation. On this occasion Dr. Chalmers spoke with his wonted energy; and after representing the enormity of the offence, and the necessity of resisting it, he thus concluded—"Be it known, then, unto all men, that we shall not retract one single footstep—we shall make no submission to the Court of Session—and that not because of the disgrace, but because of the gross and grievous dereliction of principle that we should thereby incur. They may force the ejection of us from our places: they shall never, never force us to the surrender of our principles; and if that honourable court shall again so far mistake their functions as to repeat or renew the inroads they have already made, we trust they will ever meet with the same reception they have already gotten—to whom we shall give place by subjection, no, not for an hour; no, not by an hair-breadth."

The only earthly hope of the Church of Scotland was now invested in the parliament. The former had distinctly announced the terms on which it would maintain its connection with the state, while the leading men of the latter had held out such expectations of redress as filled the hearts of Dr. Chalmers and his friends with confidence. It was now full time to make the trial. A deputation was accordingly sent to London; but, after mountains of promises and months of delay, by which expectation was alternately elevated and crushed, nothing better was produced than Lord Aberdeen's bill. By this a reclaiming parish were not only to state their objections, but the grounds and reasons on which they were founded; while the presbytery, in taking cognizance of these objections, were to admit them only when personal to the presentee, established on sufficient grounds, and adequate for his rejection. Thus, a country parish—a rustic congregation—were to analyze their religious impressions, embody them in distinct form, and table them before a learned and formidable tribunal, in rejecting the minister imposed upon them; while, in weighing these nice objections, and ascertaining their specific gravity, every country minister was to be a Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas, if not a very Daniel come to judgment. We suspect that the members of the learned House of Lords, and even of the Commons to boot, would have been sorely puzzled had such a case been their own, whether in the character of judges or appellants. It was in vain that Dr. Chalmers remonstrated by letter with the originator of this strange measure; the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill, was now the *ultimatum*; and, as might be expected, it was rejected in the General Assembly by a majority of nearly two to one. The unfortunate bill was in consequence withdrawn, while its disappointed author characterized Dr. Chalmers, in the House of Lords, as "a reverend gentleman, a great leader in the Assembly, who, having brought the church into a state of jeopardy and peril, had left it to find its way out of the difficulty as well as it could." This was not the only instance in which the doctor and his coadjutors were thus calumniated from the same quarter, so that he was obliged to publish a pamphlet on the principles of the church question, and a reply to the charges with which its advocates had been vilified. "It is as a blow struck," he wrote, "at the corner-stone, when the moral integrity of clergymen is assailed; and when, not in any secret or obscure whispering-place, but on the very house-tops of the nation, we behold, and without a single expression of remonstrance or regret from the assembled peerage of the empire, one nobleman sending forth his wrathful fulmination against the honesty and truth of ministers

of religion, and another laughing it off in his own characteristic way with a good-natured jeer as a thing of nought—we cannot but lament the accident by which a question of so grave a nature, and of such portentous consequences to society, as the character of its most sacred functionaries, should have come even for a moment under the treatment of such hands."

Events had now ripened for decisive action. The church could not and the state would not yield; and those deeds successively and rapidly occurred that terminated in the disruption. As these, however, were so open, and are so well known, a brief recapitulation of the leading ones is all that is necessary. The seven suspended ministers of Strathgogie, regardless of the sentence of the Assembly, by which they were rendered incapable of officiating in their ministerial character, resolved to ordain and admit Mr. Edwards, the rejected presentee, to the pastoral charge of Marnoch, at the command and by the authority of the Court of Session alone, which had by its sentence commissioned them to that effect. This portentous deed was done on the 21st of January, 1841, and Scotland looked on with as much astonishment as if the Stuarts had risen from the dead. "May Heaven at length open the eyes of those infatuated men," exclaimed Dr. Chalmers, "who are now doing so much to hasten on a crisis which they will be the first to deplore!" For an act of daring rebellion, so unparalleled in the history of the church, it was necessary that its perpetrators should be deposed; and for this Dr. Chalmers boldly moved at the next meeting of Assembly. The question was no longer whether these men were animated by pure and conscientious though mistaken motives, to act as they had done: of this fact Dr. Chalmers declared that he knew nothing. "But I do know," he added, "that when forbidden by their ecclesiastical superiors to proceed any further with Mr. Edwards, they took him upon trials; and when suspended from the functions of the sacred ministry by a commission of the General Assembly, they continued to preach and to dispense the sacraments; that they called in the aid of the civil power to back them in the exclusion from their respective parishes of clergymen appointed by the only competent court to fulfil the office which they were no longer competent to discharge; and lastly, as if to crown and consummate this whole disobedience—as if to place the topstone on the Babel of their proud and rebellious defiance—I know that, to the scandal and astonishment of all Scotland, and with a daring which I believe themselves would have shrunk from at the outset of their headlong career, they put forth their unlicensed hands on the dread work of ordination; and as if in solemn mockery of the church's most venerable forms, asked of the unhappy man who knelt before them, if he promised 'to submit himself humbly and willingly, in the spirit of meekness, unto the admonitions of the brethren of the presbytery, and to be subject to them and all other presbyteries and superior judicatories of this church;' and got back from him an affirmative response, along with the declaration that 'zeal for the honour of God, love to Jesus Christ, and desire of saving souls, were his great motives and chief inducements to enter into the functions of the holy ministry, and not worldly designs and interests.'" The proposal for their deposition was carried by a majority of 97 out of 347 members, notwithstanding the opposition of the Moderate party, and the sentence was pronounced accordingly. But only the day after the Assembly was astounded by being served with an interdict, charging them to desist from carry-

ing their sentence into effect! After this deed of hardihood, the deposed ministers retired to their parishes, and continued their public duties in defiance of the Assembly's award, while they were encouraged in their contumacy by several of their Moderate brethren, who assisted them in the celebration of the Lord's supper. A resolution was passed that these abettors of the deposed ministers should be censured; but Dr. Cook and his party opposed the measure, on the plea that it would perpetuate the divisions now prevalent in the church. It was thus made a question, not of the church against the state for the aggressions of the latter against the former, but merely of the Evangelical party against the Moderates; and upon this footing the Moderates were resolved to place it before the legislature, and ascertain to which of the parties the countenance and support of the state was to be given. In this form the result would be certain, for the state would love its own. A disruption was inevitable, and it was equally certain that the evangelical portion of the church would not be recognized by the state as the Established Church of Scotland. This was so distinctly foreseen, that meetings had already been held to deliberate in what manner the church was to be supported after it should be disestablished. Upon this difficult question Dr. Chalmers had already bestowed profound attention, and been rewarded with the most animating hopes; so that in a letter to Sir George Sinclair he thus writes:—"I have been studying a good deal the economy of our non-Erastian church when severed from the state and its endowments—an event which I would do much to avert, but which, if inevitable, we ought to be prepared for. I do not participate in your fears of an extinction even for our most remote parishes. And the noble resolution of the town ministers, to share *equally* with their country brethren, from a common fund raised for the general behoof of the ejected ministers, has greatly brightened my anticipations of a great and glorious result, should the government cast us off."

This casting-off became every day more certain. The Court of Session was now the umpire in every case of ecclesiastical rule; so that vetoed preachers and suspended ministers could carry their case before the civil tribunal, with the almost certain hope that the sentence of the church court would be reversed. Thus it was in the case of Culsalmond, in the presbytery of Garioch. A preacher was presented whom the parishioners refused to receive as their minister; but the presbytery, animated by the example of their brethren of Strathbogie, forthwith ordained him without waiting, as they were bound, for the adjudication of the General Assembly; and when its meeting of commission interposed, and arrested these proceedings, it was served by the civil court with a suspension and interdict. Another case was, if possible, still more flagrant. The minister of a parish had been convicted of four separate acts of theft. The cases were of such a contemptible kind of petty larceny, compared with the position of the culprit and the consequences they involved, that it may be charitably hoped they arose from that magpie monomania from which even lords and high-titled ladies are not always exempt, under which they will sometimes secrete a few inches of paltry lace, or pocket a silver spoon. But though the cause of such perversity might be suited for a consultation of doctors and a course of hellebore, the deeds themselves showed the unfitness of the actor to be a minister. Yet he too applied for and obtained an interdict against the sentence of deposition; so that he was enabled to purloin eggs, handkerchiefs, and pieces of earthen-

ware for a few years longer. A third minister was accused of fraudulent dealings, and was about to be tried by his presbytery; but here, also, the civil court was successfully invoked to the rescue, and an interdict was obtained to stop the trial. A fourth case was that of a presentee who, in consequence of repeated acts of drunkenness, was about to be deprived of his license; but this offender was likewise saved by an interdict. And still the state looked on, and would do nothing! The only alternative was for that party to act by whom such proceedings could be conscientiously endured no longer. They must disestablish themselves by their own voluntary deed, whether they constituted the majority of the church or otherwise. But how many of their number were prepared to make the sacrifice? and in what manner was it to be made? This could only be ascertained by a convocation of the ministers from every part of Scotland; and the meeting accordingly was appointed to be held in Edinburgh on the 17th of November, 1842. It was an awful crisis, and as such Dr. Chalmers felt it; so that, having done all that man could do in the way of preparation, he threw himself wholly upon divine strength and counsel. His solemn petitions on this occasion were: "Do thou guide, O Lord, the deliberations and measures of that convocation of ministers now on the eve of assembling; and save me, in particular, from all that is rash and unwarrantable when engaged with the counsels or propositions that come before it. Let me not, O God, be an instrument in any way of disappointing or misleading my brethren. Let me not, in this crisis of our church's history, urge a sacrifice upon others which I would not most cheerfully share with them." The convocation assembled, and 450 ministers were present on the occasion. The deliberations, which extended over several days, were conducted with a harmony and unanimity seldom to be found in church courts; one common principle, and that too of the highest and most sacred import, seemed to animate every member; while in each movement a voice was heard to which they were all ready to listen. The prayer of Dr. Chalmers was indeed answered! It was resolved that no measure could be submitted to, unless it exempted them in all time to come from such a supremacy as the civil courts had lately exercised. Should this not be obtained and guaranteed, the next resolution was, that they should withdraw from a church in which they could no longer conscientiously remain and act under such secular restrictions. It was probable, then, that they must withdraw, but what was to follow? Even to the wisest of their number it seemed inevitable that they must assume the character of mere individual missionaries, each labouring by himself in whatever sphere of usefulness he could find, and trusting to the precarious good-will of Christian society for his support. They could be an organized and united church no longer; for had not such a consequence followed the Bartholomew Act in England, and the Black Act in Scotland, of whose victims they were about to become the willing followers and successors? It was at this trying moment that Dr. Chalmers stepped forward with an announcement that electrified the whole assembly. He had long contemplated, in common with his brethren, the probability of an exodus such as was now resolved. But that which formed their *ultimatum* was only his starting-point. In that very ejectionment there was the beginning of a new ecclesiastical history of Scotland; and out of these fragments a church was to be constituted with a more complete and perfect organization than before. Such had been his hopes; and for their realization

he had been employed during twelve months in drawing out a plan by which this disestablished church was to be supported as systematically and effectually by a willing public, as it had been in its highest ascendancy, when the state was its nursing-mother. Here, then, was the remote mysterious end of all those laborious studies of former years in legislation, political economy, and finance, at which the wisest of his brethren had marvelled, and with which the more rigid had been offended! He now unfolded the schedule of his carefully-constructed and admirable scheme; and the hearers were astonished to find that general assemblies, synods, and presbyteries—that their institutions of missionary and benevolent enterprise, with settled homes and a fitting provision for all in their ministerial capacity—were still at hand, and ready for their occupation, as before. In this way the dreaded disruption was to be nothing more than a momentary shock. And now the ministers might return to their manse, and gladden with these tidings their anxious families who were preparing for a mournful departure. Even yet, however, they trembled—it was a plan so new, so vast, so utterly beyond their sphere! But they were still unshaken in their resolution, which they subscribed with unflinching hands; and when Dr. Chalmers heard that more than 300 names had been signed, he exclaimed, “Then we are more than Gideon’s army—a most hopeful omen!” Their proposals were duly transmitted to Sir Robert Peel, now at the head of government, and the members, after six days of solemn conference, retired to their homes.

The terms of the church, and the reasons on which these were founded, had thus been stated to government in the most unequivocal sentences, words, and syllables, so that there could be no perversion of their construction, or mistake of their meaning. The answer of the state was equally express, as embodied in the words of Sir Robert Peel. And thus he uttered it in his place in the House of Commons:—“If a church chooses to participate in the advantages appertaining to an establishment, that church—whether it be the Church of England, the Church of Rome, or the Church of Scotland—that church must conform itself to the law. It would be an anomaly, it would be an absurdity, that a church should possess the privilege and enjoy the advantages of connection with the state, and, nevertheless, claim exemption from the obligations which, wherever there is an authority, must of necessity exist; and this house and the country never could lay it down, that if a dispute should arise in respect of the statute law of the land, such dispute should be referred to a tribunal not subject to an appeal to the House of Lords.” These were the conditions, and therefore the Church of Scotland must succumb. Such treatment of land tenures and offices, as that with which the Articles of Union insuring the independence of the Scottish Kirk were thus treated, would have sufficed to dispossess no small portion of the English nobility, and dry up hundreds of title-deeds into blank parchment. But on this occasion the dint of the argument fell not upon knights and nobles, whom it would have been dangerous to disturb, but upon Scottish presbyters, of whom suzerainty had been the distinctive badge since the day that James VI. entered England. The aggressors and the aggrieved were equally aware that the days of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge had passed away with the buff-coats and partisans of the seventeenth century, and therefore, while the one party assailed, the other were prepared to defend themselves according to peaceful modern usage. The war of argument and remonstrance had ended, and the overpowered but not vanquished church

must rally and entrench itself according to the plan laid down at the beginning of the campaign. It was now, therefore, that Dr. Chalmers was doubly busy. When he announced his financial plan at the convocation, by which the retiring church was to be supported in all its former integrity, his brethren had demurred about the possibility of its accomplishment, and now held back from the attempt. That plan was the organization of local associations, by which not only every district, but every family, should be accessible, so that his vision, as they were ready to deem it, of £100,000 per annum for the support of the ministry alone, might be accumulated in shillings and pence. It was the trunk of the elephant handling every leaf, twig, and branch of the tree which it was commissioned to uproot. Finding himself, in the first instance, unable to convince by argument, he had recourse to example, and for this purpose he immediately instituted an association of his own in the parish of Morningside, the place of his residence. His example was followed by others; and at last a provisional committee was formed, having for its object the whole plan which he had originally proposed. It consisted of three sections—the financial, the architectural, and the statistical—of which the first was properly intrusted to himself; and the result of this threefold action by infinitesimal application quickly justified his theory. Local associations over the whole extent of Scotland were formed by the hundred, and contributions of money accumulated by the thousand, so that, let the disruption occur as it might, the most despondent hearts were cheered and prepared for the emergency.

The important period at length arrived that was to set the seal upon all this preparation and promise. The interval which had elapsed was that awful pause of hope and fear, with which friend and enemy await a deed of such moment, that they cannot believe in its reality until it is accomplished. Would then a disruption occur in very truth, and the Church of Scotland be rent asunder? Or would government interpose at the last hour and moment to avert so fatal a necessity? Or might it not be, that when it came to the trial, the hearts of the men who had spoken so bravely would fail them, so that they would be ready to embrace any terms of accommodation, or even surrender at discretion? But the days of martyrdom—the chivalry of the church—it was asserted had gone for ever; and therefore there were thousands who proclaimed their conviction to the very last that not a hundred would go out—not forty—perhaps not even one. On Thursday the 18th of May, 1843, the General Assembly was to be opened, and the question laid to rest, while every district and nook of Scotland had poured its representatives into Edinburgh to look on and judge. Nor was that day commenced without a startling omen. The ministers of the Assembly had repaired to the ancient palace of Holyrood, to pay dutiful homage to their sovereign in the person of Lord Bute, her commissioner; and there also were the protesting clergy, eager to show at that trying crisis, that let the issue be what it might, they were, and still would continue to be, the leal and loyal subjects of her majesty. But as the crowded levee approached his lordship, the picture of King William that hung upon the wall—he who had restored that Presbyterian church whose rights were now sought to be vindicated—fell to the ground with a sudden clang, while a voice from the crowd exclaimed, “There goes the revolution settlement!” The levee was over in Holyrood; the devotional exercises had been finished in the cathedral of St. Giles; and the General Assembly were seated in St. Andrew’s Church, ready to commence the business of the day—

but not the wonted business. Dr. Welch, who, as moderator of the last Assembly, occupied the chair of office, and opened the proceedings with prayer, had another solemn duty to perform: it was, to announce the signal of departure to those who must remain in the church no longer; it was like the "Let us go hence," which was heard at midnight in the temple of Jerusalem, when that glorious structure was about to pass away. Rising from his chair, and addressing one of the densest crowds that ever filled a place of worship, but all hushed in the death-like silence of expectation, he announced that he could proceed with the Assembly no further. Their privileges had been violated and their liberties subverted, so that they could no longer act as a supreme court of the Church of Scotland; and these reasons, set forth at full length in the document which he held in his hand, he, with their permission, would now read to them. He then read to them the well-known protest of the Free Church of Scotland; and having ended, he bowed respectfully to the commissioner, left his chair of office, and slowly passed to the door. Dr. Chalmers, who stood beside him like one absorbed in some recollection of the past, or dream of the future, started, seized his hat, and hurried after the retiring moderator, as if eager to be gone. A long stream followed; and as bench after bench was emptied of those who thus sacrificed home, and living, and station in society, at the call of conscience, the onlookers gazed as if all was an unreal phantasmagoria, or at least an incomprehensible anomaly. But the hollow echoes of the building soon told them that it was a stern reality which they had witnessed. More than four hundred ministers, and a still greater number of elders, who but a few moments ago occupied these places, had now departed, never to return.

In the meantime George Street, one of the widest streets of Edinburgh, in which St. Andrew's Church is situated, was filled—nay wedged—not with thousands but myriads of spectators, who waited impatiently for the result. Every eye was fixed upon the building, and every tongue was impatient with the question, "Will they come out?"—"When will they come out?" At length the foremost of the retiring ministers appeared at the church porch, and onward came the long procession, the multitudes dividing with difficulty before their advance, and hardly giving them room to pass three abreast. Well, then, they had indeed come out! and it was difficult to tell whether the applauding shouts or sympathizing tears of that heaving sea of people predominated. Onward slowly went that procession, extending nearly a quarter of a mile in length, down towards Tanfield, where a place of meeting had been prepared for them in anticipation of the event. It was a building constructed on the model of a Moorish hembra, such as might have loomed over an orange-grove in Grenada during the days of the Zegrís and Abencerrages; but which now, strangely enough, was to receive a band of Scottish ministers, and witness the work of constituting a Presbyterian church. The hall, which could contain 3000 sitters, had been crowded from an early hour with those who, in the faith that the ministers would redeem their promises, had come to witness what would follow. This new General Assembly Dr. Welch opened with prayer, even as he had, little more than an hour previous, opened the old; after which it was his office to propose the moderator who should succeed him. And this he did by naming Dr. Chalmers, amidst a tempest of approving acclamation. "Surely it is a good omen," he added, "or, I should say, a token for good from the Great Disposer of all events, that I can propose

to hold this office an individual who, by the efforts of his genius and his virtues, is destined to hold so conspicuous a place in the eyes of all posterity. But this, I feel, is taking but a low view of the subject. His genius has been devoted to the service of his heavenly Master, and his is the high honour promised to those who, having laboured successfully in their Master's cause, and turned many to righteousness, are to 'shine as the stars for ever and ever.'" Dr. Chalmers took the chair accordingly; and who can guess the feelings that may have animated him, or the thoughts that may have passed through his mind, at such a moment? He had lived, he had wrought, and this was the result! A man of peace, he had been thrown into ecclesiastical controversy; a humble-minded minister, he had been borne onward to the front of a great national movement, and been recognized as its suggester and leader. And while he had toiled from year to year in doubt and despondency, events had been so strangely overruled, that his aims for the purification of the old church had ended in the creation of a new. And of that new church the General Assembly was now met, while he was to preside in it as moderator. That this, too, was really a national church, and not a mere sectarian offshoot, was attested by the fact of 470 ministers standing before him as its representatives; while the public sympathy in its behalf was also represented by the crowded auditory who looked on, and followed each successive movement with a solicitude far deeper than mere transient excitement. All this was a mighty achievement—a glorious victory, which posterity would be proud to chronicle. But in his opening address he reminded them of the example given by the apostles of our Lord; and by what followed he showed the current into which his mind had now subsided. "Let us not forget," he said, "in the midst of this rejoicing, the deep humility that pervaded their songs of exultation; the trembling which these holy men mixed with their mirth—trembling arising from a sense of their own weakness; and then courage inspired by the thought of that aid and strength which was to be obtained out of His fulness who formed all their boasting and all their defence. Never in the history of our church were such feelings and such acknowledgments more called for than now; and in the transition we are making, it becomes us to reflect on such sentiments as these—'Not I, but the grace of God in me;' and, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.'"

Such was the formation and such the commencement of the Free Church of Scotland. And now it might have seemed that Dr. Chalmers should be permitted to retire to that peaceful life of study and meditation in which he so longed that the evening of his day should close. But the formation of the new church, instead of finishing his labours, was only to open up a new sphere of trial and difficulty that imperiously demanded the uttermost of his exertions, and which only promised to terminate when his own life had ended. To him there was to be no repose, save in that place where the "weary are at rest." But great though the sacrifice was, he did not shrink from the obligation. The financial affairs of the church which he had originated, and which were still in their new-born infancy, required his fostering care; and therefore he undertook the charge of the sustentation fund out of which the dispossessed ministers were to be supported; and not only maintained a wide correspondence, but performed a laborious tour in its behalf. And, truly, it was a difficult and trying office, where money was to be raised on the one hand entirely from voluntary bene-

volence, and distributed on the other among those who outnumbered its amount, and whose share had to be apportioned accordingly. All this, however, he endured till 1845, when, from very exhaustion, he was obliged to let the burden fall from his shoulders, and be taken up by younger hands, with the declaration—"It is not a matter of choice, but of physical necessity. I have neither the vigour nor the alertness of former days; and the strength no longer remains with me, either for the debates of the Assembly or for the details of committees and their correspondence." This, too, was not the only, or perhaps even the most important task which the necessities of the disruption had devolved upon him. A college must be established, and that forthwith, for the training of an accomplished and efficient ministry; and here also Dr. Chalmers was in requisition. His office of theological professor in the university of Edinburgh was resigned as soon as his connection with the Established Church had ceased; but this was followed by his appointment to the offices of principal and primarius professor of divinity in the new institution which the Free Church contemplated. Here, then, was a college to create, as well as its duties to discharge; and how well these duties were discharged till the last hour of his life, the present generation of preachers and ministers who were his pupils can well and warmly attest. To his capacious and active mind, the mere gin-horse routine into which such professorial employments had too often degenerated, would have been not only an absolute mockery, but a downright torture; and therefore he was "in season out of season" in the subjects he taught, as well as his modes of educational training, esteeming no labour too much that could either impart new ideas or fresh enthusiasm to those whom he was rearing for the most important of all occupations. And even independently of this impulse which his labours thus communicated to the mainspring of action in the mechanism of the Free Church, the fact of his merely holding office there was of the highest importance to the college. No literary institution, however lowly in aspect or poor in endowments, could be insignificant, or even of a second-rate character, that had a man of such world-wide reputation at its head. The college is now a stately edifice, while the staff of theological professors with which it is supplied is the fullest and most complete of all our similar British institutions.

But amidst all this accumulated pressure of labour, under which even Dr. Chalmers had well-nigh sunk, and the fresh blaze of reputation that fell upon his decline of life, making it brighter than his fullest noon-day—both alike the consequences of that new position which he occupied—there was one favourite duty of which he had never lost sight. It was the elevation of the ground-story of human society from the mud in which it was imbedded—the regeneration of our town *pariahs* into intelligent, virtuous, and useful citizens, by the agency of intellectual and religious education. This he had attempted in Glasgow, both in the Tron and St. John's parish; he had continued it, though with more limited means, and upon a smaller scale, in St. Andrews; and but for his more onerous avocations in Edinburgh, which had engrossed him without intermission since his arrival in the northern capital, he would have made the attempt there also. But still he felt as if he could not enjoy the brief term of life that yet remained for him, or finally forego it with comfort, unless he made one other attempt in behalf of an experiment from which he had never ceased to hope for the most satisfactory results. Since the time

that he had commenced these labours in Glasgow, he had seen much of society in its various phases, and largely amplified his experience of its character and requirements; but all had only the more convinced him that the lower orders, hitherto neglected, must be sought in their dens and hovels—that they must be solicited into the light of day and the usages of civilization—and that there the schoolmaster and the minister should be ready to meet them more than half-way. Without this "aggressive system," this "excavating process," by which the deep recesses of a crowded city were to be quarried, and its dark corners penetrated and pervaded, these destitute localities might be studded with churches and schools to no purpose. And the manner in which such a population were to be sought and won, he had also fully and practically demonstrated by his former experiments as a minister. Let but a district, however benighted, be divided into sections, where each tenement or close could have its own zealous, benevolent superintendent, and dull and obdurate indeed must the inhabitants of that territory be, if they could long continue to resist such solicitations. His first wish was, that the Free Church should have embarked in such a hopeful enterprise; but its experience was as yet so limited, and its difficulties so many, that it was not likely, during his own lifetime at least, that it could carry on a home mission upon so extensive a scale. He therefore resolved to try the good work himself, and leave the result as a sacred legacy, for the imitation of the church and posterity at large. "I have determined," he wrote to a friend in 1844, "to assume a poor district of 2000 people, and superintend it myself, though it be a work greatly too much for my declining strength and means. Yet such do I hold to be the efficiency of the method, with the divine blessing, that perhaps, as the concluding act of my public life, I shall make the effort to exemplify what as yet I have only expounded." Only expounded? This truly was humble language from one who had already *done* so much!

The place selected for this benevolent trial was the most unhopeful that could be found in Edinburgh. It was the West Port, a district too well known in former years by the murders of Burke and Hare, and to which such an infamy still attached, that many of its inhabitants lived as if a good character were unattainable, and therefore not worth striving for. Its population consisted of about 2000 souls, the very sediment of the Edinburgh lower orders, who seem to have sunk into this loathsome locality because they could sink no farther. To cleanse, nay, even to enter, this Augean stable, required no ordinary firmness of senses as well as nerve, where sight, touch, smell, and hearing were successively assailed to the uttermost. Dr. Chalmers, undaunted by the result of a survey, mapped this Alsatia into twenty districts, of about twenty families apiece, over which were appointed as many visitors—men animated with his spirit, and imbued with his views, whose task was to visit every family once a week, engage with them in kindly conversation, present them with useful tracts, and persuade them to join with them in the reading of Scripture and in prayer. A school was also opened for the young in the very close of the Burke and Hare murders, but not a charity school; on the contrary, the feeling of independence and the value of education were to be impressed upon this miserable population by exacting a fee of 2*d.* per week from each pupil—for Dr. Chalmers well knew that even wiser people than those of the West Port are apt to feel that what costs them nothing is worth nothing. All this he explained to them at a full meeting in the old

deserted tannery where the school was to be opened; and so touched were the people with his kindness, as well as persuaded by his homely forcible arguments, that on the 11th of November, 1844, the day on which the school was opened, sixty-four day scholars and fifty-seven evening scholars were entered, who in the course of a year increased to 250. And soon was the excellence of this educational system evinced by the dirty becoming tidy, and the unruly orderly; and children who seemed to have neither home nor parent, and who, when grown up, would have been without a country and without a God, were rescued from the prostitution, ruffianism, and beggary which seemed to be their natural inheritance, and trained into the full promise of becoming useful and virtuous members of society. Thus the cleansing commenced at the bottom of the sink, where all the mephytic vapours were engendered. But still this was not enough as long as the confirming power of religion was wanting, and therefore the church followed close upon its able pioneer the school. On the 22d of December the tan-loft was opened by Dr. Chalmers for public worship, at which no more than a dozen of grown people, chiefly old women, at first attended. But this handful gradually grew into a congregation under the labours of Dr. Chalmers and his staff of district visitors, so that a minister and regular edifice for worship were at last in demand. And never in the stateliest metropolitan pulpit—no, not even when he lectured in London, while prelate and prince held their breath to listen—had the heart of Dr. Chalmers been more cordially or enthusiastically in his work than when he addressed his squalid auditory in that most sorry of upper rooms in the West Port. And this his prayers which he penned on the Sabbath evening, in his study at Morningside fully confirmed: "It is yet but the day of small things with us; and I, in all likelihood, shall be taken off ere that much greater progress is made in the advancement of the blessed gospel throughout our land. But give me the foretaste and the confident foresight of this great Christian and moral triumph ere I die. Let me at least, if it be by thy blessed will, see—though it be only in one or in a small number of specimens—a people living in some district of aliens, as the West Port, reclaimed at least into willing and obedient hearers, afterwards in thine own good time to become the doers of thy word. Give me, O Lord, a token for the larger accomplishment of this good ere I die!" Such were his heavenward breathings and aspirations upon the great trial that was at issue in the most hopeless of civic districts upon the overwhelming question of our day. Would it yet be shown in the example of the West Port that the means of regenerating the mass of society are so simple, and withal so efficacious? The trial is still in progress, but under the most hopeful auspices. Yet his many earnest prayers were answered. Money was soon collected for the building of a commodious school-room, and model-houses for workmen, and also for a territorial church. The last of these buildings was finished and opened by Dr. Chalmers for public worship on the 19th of February, 1847; and on the 15th of April he presided at its first celebration of the Lord's supper. When this was ended, he said to the minister of the West Port Church: "I have got now the desire of my heart:—the church is finished, the schools are flourishing, our ecclesiastical machinery is about complete, and all in good working order. God has indeed heard my prayer, and I could now lay down my head in peace and die."

As will be surmised from the foregoing account, Dr. Chalmers, from almost the commencement of his West

Port operations, had a prophetic foreboding that this would prove the last of his public labours. Such, indeed, was the result: only a few weeks after this sacrament at the West Port, when, in full health, and with a strength that promised an extreme old age, he passed away in silence, and at midnight, and so instantaneously, that there seemed to have been not a moment of interval between his ending of life in time and beginning of life in eternity. And this was at a season of triumph, when all was bright and gladdening around him; for the Free Church, with which he was so completely identified, had now 720 ministers, for whose congregations churches had been erected, with nearly half a million of money voluntarily contributed, besides a large amount for the building of manse; it had 600 schools; a college of nine professors, educating 340 students for the ministry; and two extensive normal seminaries for the training of teachers; while its missionaries were actively engaged in every quarter of the earth. He had just visited London upon the important subject of a national education; and after unfolding his views to some of our principal statesmen, he returned by the way of Gloucestershire, where he had many friends, with whom he enjoyed much delightful intercourse. He arrived at his home in Morningside on Friday, the 28th of May, while the General Assembly of the Free Church was sitting; and as he had a report to prepare for it, he employed himself in the task in the forenoon of Saturday. On the following day his conversation was animated with all its former eloquence, and more than its wonted cheerfulness; and in the evening, as he slowly paced through his garden, at the back of the house, the ejaculations of "O Father, my heavenly Father!" were overheard issuing from his lips, like the spontaneous utterances of an overflowing heart. He retired to rest at his wonted hour, intending to rise early on the following morning to finish his report; but when the hour of rising elapsed he did not appear; and on knocking at the bed-room door, no answer was returned. The apartment was entered, and Dr. Chalmers lay in bed as if in tranquil repose; but it was that repose which only the last trump can dispel. He had died, or rather he had passed away, about the hour of midnight; but every feature was so tranquil, and every muscle so composed, that it was evident he had died in an instant, without pain, and even without consciousness.

Such was the end of Dr. Chalmers, on the night of the 30th of May, 1847, at the age of sixty-seven. His character it would be superfluous to sketch: that is impressed too indelibly and too plainly upon our country at large to require an interpreter. Thus Scotland felt, when such multitudes followed his remains to the grave as few kingly funerals have ever mustered. Nor will posterity be at a loss to know what a man Dr. Chalmers was. He now constitutes to all future time so essential a portion of Scottish history, that his name will be forgot only when Scotland itself will cease to be remembered.

CHAMBERS, DAVID, a distinguished historical and legal writer of the sixteenth century, was a native of Ross-shire, and generally styled "of Ormond" in that county. He received his education in the laws and theology at Aberdeen College, and afterwards pursued his studies in the former branch of knowledge in France and Italy. The earliest date ascertained in his life is his studying at Bologna under Marianus Sozenus in 1556. Soon after, returning to his native country, he assumed the clerical offices of parson of Study and chancellor of the diocese of Ross. His time, however, seems to have

been devoted to the legal profession, which was not then incompatible with the clerical, as has already been remarkably shown in the biography of his contemporary and friend Sir James Balfour. In 1564, he was elevated to the bench by his patroness Queen Mary, to whose fortunes he was faithfully attached through life. He was one of the high legal functionaries intrusted at this time with the duty of compiling and publishing the acts of the Scottish parliament. The result of the labours of these men was a volume, now known by the title of *The Black Acts*, from the letter in which it is printed. While thus engaged in ascertaining the laws of his country, and diffusing a knowledge of them among his countrymen, he became concerned in one of the basest crimes which the whole range of Scottish history presents. Undeterred either by a regard to fundamental morality, or, what sometimes has a stronger influence over men, a regard to his high professional character, he engaged in the conspiracy for destroying the queen's husband, the unfortunate Darnley. After that deed was perpetrated, a placard was put up by night on the door of the tolbooth, or hall of justice, which publicly denounced him as one of the guilty persons. "I have made inquisition," so ran this anonymous accusation, "for the slaughter of the king, and do find the Earl of Bothwell, Mr. James Balfour parson of Flisk, Mr. David Chambers, and black Mr. John Spence, the principal devysers thereof." It affords a curious picture of the times, that two of these men were judges, while the one last-mentioned was one of the two crown advocates, or public prosecutors, and actually appeared in that character at the trial of his accomplice Bothwell. There is matter of further surprise in the partly clerical character of Balfour and Chambers. The latter person appears to have experienced marks of the queen's favour almost immediately after the murder of her husband. On the 19th of April he had a ratification in parliament of the lands of Ochterslo and Castleton. On the ensuing 12th of May, he sat as one of the lords of session, when the queen came forward to absolve Bothwell from all guilt he might have incurred, by the constraint under which he had recently placed her. He also appears in a sederunt of privy-council held on the 22d of May. But after this period, the fortunes of his mistress experienced a strange overthrow, and Chambers, unable to protect himself from the wrath of the ascendant party, found it necessary to take refuge in Spain.

He here experienced a beneficent protection from King Philip, to whom he must have been strongly recommended by his faith, and probably also the transactions in which he had lately been engaged. Subsequently retiring to France, he published, in 1572, *Histoire Abrégée de tous les Roys de France, Angleterre, et Ecosse*, which he dedicated to Henry III. His chief authority in this work was the fabulous narrative of Boece. In 1579 he published other two works in the French language, *La Recherche des Singularités les plus Remarquables concernant l'Estat à'Ecosse, and Discours de la Légitime Succession des Femmes aux Possessions des leurs Parens, et du Gouvernement des Princesses aux Empires et Royaume*. The first is a panegyric upon the laws, religion, and valour of his native country—all of which, a modern may be inclined to think, he had already rendered the reverse of illustrious by his own conduct. The second work is a vindication of the right of succession of females, being in reality a compliment to his now imprisoned mistress, to whom it was dedicated. In France, Chambers was a popular and respected character; and he testified his own predilection for the people by selecting their language for

his compositions, against the fashion of the age, which would have dictated an adherence to the classic language of ancient Rome. Dempster gives his literary character in a few words—"vir multæ et variæ lectionis, nec inamenci ingenii," a man of much and varied reading, and of not unkindly genius. He was, to use the quaint phrase of Mackenzie, who gives a laborious dissection of his writings, "well seen in the Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian, and Spanish languages."

On the return of quieter times, this strange mixture of learning and political and moral guilt returned to his native country, where, so far from being called to account by the easy James for his concern in the murder of his father, he was, in the year 1586, restored to the bench, in which situation he continued till his death in November, 1592.

Another literary character, of the same name and the same faith, lived in the immediately following age. He was the author of a work entitled *Davidis Camerarii Scoti, de Scolorum Fortitudine, Doctrina et Pietate, Libri Quatuor*, which appeared at Paris, in small quarto, in 1631, and is addressed by the author in a flattering dedication to Charles I. The volume contains a complete calendar of the saints connected with Scotland, the multitude of whom is apt to astonish a modern Protestant.

CHARLES I., King of Great Britain, was the second son of James VI. of Scotland and I. of Great Britain, by Anne, daughter of Frederick II., King of Denmark and Norway. Charles was born at Dunfermline Palace, which was the dotal or jointure house of his mother the queen, on the 19th of November, 1600, being the very day on which the Earl of Gowrie and his brother were publicly dismembered at the cross of Edinburgh, for their concern in the celebrated conspiracy. King James remarked with surprise that the principal incidents of his own personal and domestic history had taken place on this particular day of the month: he had been born, he said, on the 19th of June; he first saw his wife on the 19th of May; and his two former children, as well as this one, had been born on the 19th day of different months. Charles was only two years and a half old when his father was called up to England to fill the throne of Elizabeth. The young prince was left behind, in charge of the Earl of Dunfermline, but joined his father in July, 1603, along with his mother and the rest of the royal family. Being a very weakly child, and not likely to live long, the honour of keeping him, which in other circumstances would have been eagerly sought, was bandied about by the courtiers, and with some difficulty was at length accepted by Sir Robert Carey and his wife. This was the gentleman who hurried, with such mean alacrity, to inform King James of the demise of his cousin Elizabeth, from whom, in life, he had received as many favours as he could now hope for from her successor. Carey tells us in his own memoirs, that the legs of the child were unable to support him, and that the king had some thoughts of mending the matter by a pair of iron boots, from which, however, he was dissuaded. At his baptism, December 23, 1600, Charles had received the titles of Duke of Albany, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ross, and Lord Ardmnanach. He was now, January, 1605, honoured with the second title of the English royal family—Duke of York.

King James, whatever may have been the frivolity of his character in some respects, is undeniably entitled to the credit of having carefully educated his children. Prince Henry, the elder brother, and also Charles, were proficient in English, Latin, and

French, at an amazingly early age. Although, from their living in separate houses, he did not see them often, he was perpetually writing them instructive and encouraging letters, to which they replied, by his desire, in language exclusively supplied by themselves. The king was also in the habit of sending many little presents to his children. "Sweetest, sweetest father," says Charles, in an almost infantine epistle yet preserved in the Advocates' Library, "I learn to decline substantives and adjectives. Give me your blessing. I thank you for my *best man*. Your loving son, York." The character of Charles was mild, patient, and serious, as a child is apt to be who is depressed by ill health, or inability to share in youthful sports. His brother Henry, who was nearly seven years his senior, and of more robust character, one day seized the cap of Archbishop Abbot, which he put upon Charles' head, telling him, at the same time, that when he was king, he would make him Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry dying in November, 1612, left a brighter prospect open before his younger brother, who, in 1616, was formally created Prince of Wales. At this splendid ceremony the queen could not venture to appear, lest the sight should renew her grief for the amiable Henry, whom she had seen go through the same solemnity only a short time before his death. As he grew up towards manhood, Charles gradually acquired strength, so that at twenty he was well skilled in manly exercises, and accounted the best rider of the great horse in his father's dominions. His person was slender, and his face—but the majestic melancholy of that face is too deeply impressed on every mind to require description. It was justly accounted very strange that the Marquis of Buckingham, the frivolous favourite of King James, should have become equally agreeable to the grave temperament of the Prince of Wales. Charles was perpetually in the company of that gay courtier, and the king used to consider them both as his children. He always addressed the prince by the epithet "Baby Charles," and in writing to Buckingham, he as invariably subscribed himself as "his dear dad." James had high abstract notions as to the rank of those who should become the wives of princes. He considered the sacred character of a king degraded by a union with one under his own degree. While his parliament, therefore, wished him to match his son to some small German princess, who had the advantage of being a good Protestant, he contemplated wedding him to the grand-daughter of Charles V., the sister of the reigning king of Spain. Both James and Charles had a sincere sense of the errors of Rome; but the fatality of matching with a Catholic princess was not then an established maxim in English policy, which it is to be hoped it ever will be in this realm. It was also expected that the Spanish monarch would be instrumental in procuring a restoration of the palatinate of the Rhine for the son-in-law of the King of Great Britain, who had lost it in consequence of his placing himself at the head of the Bohemians, in a rebellion against the Emperor of Germany. The Earl of Bristol, British ambassador at Madrid, was carrying on negotiations for this match, when Charles, with the romantic feeling of youth, resolved to travel into Spain, and woo the young princess in person. In February, 1623, he set out with the Marquis of Buckingham, and only two other attendants, himself bearing the incognito title of Mr. John Smith, a union of the two most familiar names in England, while the marquis assumed that of Mr. Thomas Smith. At Paris they obtained admission to the rehearsal or practising of a masque, where the prince beheld the Princess Henrietta Maria of France,

daughter of the illustrious Henry IV., and sister of the reigning king, Louis XIII., who was in reality destined to be his wife. It appears, however, that he paid no attention to this lady on the present occasion. His heart being full of the object of his journey, he directed his whole attention to the Queen of France, because she was sister to the Spanish princess whom he was going to see. In a letter to his father, he speaks in terms of high expectation of the latter individual, seeing that her sister was the handsomest of twenty women (Henrietta was of course included) whom he saw at this masque. That Charles subsequently placed his whole affections on a woman whom he now saw with indifference is only another added to the many proofs, that love is among the most transferable of all things. On his arrival at Madrid, he was received in the most courteous manner by the Spanish court, and his gallantry, as might be expected, made a strong impression upon the people. The celebrated Lopez de Vega wrote a canzonet on the occasion, of which the first verse has chanced to meet our eye:

Carlos Estuardo soy;
Que siendo amor mi quia
Al cielo de Espana voy
Por vor nir estrella Maria.

[Charles Stuart am I:
Love has guided me far
To this fair Spanish sky,
To see Mary my star.]

But while he was entertained in the most affectionate manner by the people, and also by their prince, the formal policy of the court dictated that he should hardly ever see his intended bride. The Marquis of Buckingham seriously proposed that he should send home for some perspective glasses, in order to reduce the distance at which she was kept from him. So far as his opportunities permitted him to judge of her personal merits, he admired her very much; but we suspect that if he had fallen in love, as he had expected, he never would have broken off the match. After spending all the summer at the Spanish court, waiting for a dispensation from the pope to enable the princess to marry a Protestant, he was suddenly inspired with some disgust, and abruptly announced his intention of returning home. The Marquis (now Duke) of Buckingham, whose mercurial manners had given great offence to the Spaniards, and who had conceived great offence in return, is supposed to have caused this sudden change of purpose. The Earl of Bristol was left to marry the princess in the way of proxy, but with secret instructions not to do so till he should receive further orders.

It would be rash to pronounce judgment upon this affair with so little evidence as history has left us; but it seems probable that the match was broken off, and the subsequent war incurred, purely through some freakish caprice of the favourite—for upon such things then depended the welfare of the nations. This contemptible court-butterfly ruled with absolute power over both the king and his son, but now chiefly sided with the latter against his father, being sensible that the old king was no longer able to assert his independency against the growing influence of Charles. As the English people would have then fought in any quarrel, however unjust, against the Spaniards, simply because they were Catholics, the war was very popular; and Buckingham, who chiefly urged it, became as much the favourite of the nation, as he was of the king and prince. A negotiation was subsequently opened with France for a match with the princess Henrietta Maria. On the 27th of March, 1625, Charles succeeded his father as king;

and, on the 22d of June, the princess, to whom he had previously been espoused by proxy, arrived in London.

It would be foreign to the character of this work to enter into a full detail of the public transactions in which Charles was concerned in his regal character. We shall, therefore, be content with an outline of these transactions. The arrogant pretensions of his father, founded on "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," had roused a degree of jealousy and resistance among the people; whilst the weakness and vacillation of his character, and the pusillanimity of his administration, had gone far to bring the kingly office into contempt. Charles had imbibed the arbitrary principles of his father, and, without appreciating the progress of public opinion, resolved, on his accession, to carry out the extravagant theories of James. During the whole reign of the latter the commons had kept up a constant warfare with the crown, making every supply which they voted the condition of a new concession to the popular will. The easy nature of James had got over these collisions much better than was to be expected from the grave and stern temperament of his son. After a few such disputes with his parliament (for the House of Lords always joined with the Commons), Charles concluded his wars, to save all expense, and, resolving to call no more parliaments, endeavoured to support the crown in the best way he could by the use of his prerogative. For ten years subsequent to 1628, when the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated, he contrived to carry on the state with hardly any assistance from his officers, using chiefly the ill-omened advice of Laud, Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and also relying considerably upon the queen, to whom he was devotedly attached. The result was to sow distrust and discontent throughout the kingdom, to array the subject against the sovereign, and leave no alternative betwixt the enthralment of the people and the destruction of the king. The earnest struggles for religious freedom in England and Scotland added a fresh impulse to the growing spirit of civil liberty. Charles rashly encountered the powerful body of nonconformists in England and the sturdy Presbyterians of Scotland, and at last sank under the recoil.

The dissenters from the Church of England were at this time a rapidly increasing body; and the church, to maintain her power, thought proper to visit them with some severe sentences. The spirit with which the regular clergy were animated against the nonconformists, may be argued from the fact, that Laud publicly blessed God when Dr. Alexander Leighton was sentenced to lose his ears, and be whipped through the streets of London. The king and the archbishop had always looked with a jealous eye upon Scotland, where the Episcopal form of government was as yet only struggling for supremacy over a people who were, almost without exception, Presbyterian. In 1633 Charles visited Scotland for the purpose of receiving the crown of his ancient kingdom; and measures were thenceforth taken under the counsel of his evil genius, Laud, who accompanied him, for enforcing Episcopacy upon the Church of Scotland. It was not, however, till 1637 that this bold project was carried into effect.

The Scots united themselves in a solemn covenant against this innovation, and at the close of the year 1638 felt themselves so confident in their own strength as to abolish Episcopacy in a general assembly of the church held in Glasgow, and which conducted its proceedings in spite of the prohibition of the king's commissioner. In 1639, his finances being exhausted, Charles was compelled, after the

lapse of eleven years, to assemble a parliament, which met in April, 1640. Like their predecessors, the commons refused to grant supplies till they had stated their grievances. The king hastily dissolved parliament, and prosecuted several of the members who had led on the opposition. In spring, 1639, he conducted an army of 20,000 to put down the Scots; but they met him with an equal force, and Charles was reduced to a pacification, which left the grounds of quarrel undecided. Next year Charles raised another army; but the Scots anticipated him by invading England, and at Newburn on the Tyne overthrew a large detachment of his forces, and immediately after gained possession of Newcastle. All expedients for supporting his army now failed, and he seemed about to be deserted in a great measure by the affections of his subjects. A large portion of the English entered heartily into the views of the Scots. It was agreed by all parties that the northern army should be kept up at a certain monthly pay, till such time as a parliament should settle the grievances of the nation. Charles called together the celebrated assembly which afterwards acquired the name of the *Long Parliament*. This was only giving collective force and energy to the party which longed for his overthrow. He was obliged to resign his favourite minister, Strafford, as a victim to this assembly. Some of his other servants only escaped by a timely flight. He was himself obliged to abandon many points of his prerogative which he had hitherto exercised. Fearing that nothing but the sword could decide the quarrel, he paid a visit in autumn, 1641, to Scotland, and endeavoured, by ostensible concessions to the religious prepossessions of that nation, to secure its friendship, or at least its neutrality. In August, 1642, he erected his standard at Nottingham, and soon found himself at the head of a considerable army, composed chiefly of the country gentry and their retainers. The parliament, on the other hand, was supported by the city of London and by the mercantile interest in general. At the first Charles gained several advantages over the parliament; but the balance was restored by the Scots, who took side against the king, and, in February, 1644, entered England with a large army. The cause of royalty from this time declined, and in May, 1646, the king was reduced to the necessity of taking refuge in the camp of the Scottish army at Newark. He was treated with respect, but regarded as a prisoner, and after some abortive negotiations, was, January 30, 1647, surrendered to the commissioners of the English parliament, on the payment of the arrears due to the Scottish army. If Charles would have now consented to abolish Episcopacy, and reign as a limited monarch, he would have been supported by the Presbyterian party, and might have escaped a violent death. But his predilections induced him to resist every encroachment upon that form of ecclesiastical polity; and he therefore lost, in a great measure, the support of the Presbyterians, who, though the body that had begun the war, were now sincerely anxious for a pacification, being in some alarm respecting a more violent class who had latterly sprung up, and who, from their denial of all forms of church government, were styled Independents. This latter party, which reckoned almost the whole army in its numbers, eventually acquired an ascendancy over the more moderate Presbyterians; and, the latter being forcibly excluded from parliament, the few individuals who remained formed themselves into a court of justice, before which the king was arraigned. Having been found guilty of appearing in arms against the parliament, Charles was by this court condemned to suffer death as a traitor, which sen-

tence was put in execution, January 30, 1649, in front of his own palace of Whitehall, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fifth year of his reign.

The Scottish subjects of Charles had made strenuous exertions to avert this fearful issue; and by none was his death mourned with a deeper sorrow than by the very Covenanters who had risen in arms to repel his invasion upon their liberty of conscience. It was indeed impossible not to deplore the fate of that unfortunate and misguided monarch; but it cannot be doubted that it was mainly brought about by his own insincerity and obstinacy. By his queen, who survived him for some years, he left six children, of whom the two eldest, Charles and James, were successively kings of Great Britain; a son and a daughter died in early youth; and his two remaining daughters, Mary and Henrietta, were respectively married to the Prince of Orange, and to the Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV.

CHEPMAN, WALTER, who appears to have been chiefly concerned in introducing the art of printing into Scotland, was a servant of King James IV., who patronized him in that undertaking. None of the honours of learning are known to have been attached to the name of Walter Chepman; but it is to be inferred that his office in the royal household was of a clerical or literary character, as we find that, on the 21st of February, 1496, the lord-treasurer enters the following disbursement in his books: "Giffen to a boy to ryne fra Edinburgh to Linlithg, to Watte Chepman, to signet twa letteris to pas to Woddiss, 12d." His name is frequently mentioned in this curious record; for instance, in August, 1503, amidst a variety of expenses "*pro servitoribus*" on the occasion of the king's marriage, eight pounds ten shillings are given for "five elne Inglis (English) claith to Walter Chepman, ilk elne 34 shillings," which may show the high consideration in which this individual was held. Walter Chepman is found at a somewhat later period in the condition of a merchant and burgess of Edinburgh, and joining with one Andro Millar, another merchant, in the business of a printer. It appears to have been owing to the urgent wishes of the king that Scotland was first favoured with the possession of a printing-press.

This typographical business would appear to have been in full operation before the end of 1507, as on the 22d of December that year, we find the royal treasurer paying fifty shillings for "3 prentit bukes to the king, tane fra Andro Millaris wyff." The Cowgate, a street now inhabited by the least instructed class of the citizens of Edinburgh, was the place where that grand engine of knowledge was established, as appears from the imprints of some of Chepman and Millar's publications, and also from a passage in the *Traditions of Edinburgh*, where the exact site of the house is thus made out:—"In the lower part of the churchyard [of St. Giles, adjoining the Cowgate] there was a small place of worship, denominated the *Chapel of Holyrood*. Walter Chepman, the first printer in Edinburgh, in 1528, endowed an altar in this chapel with his tenement in the Cowgate; and, by the tenor of this charter, we are enabled to point out very nearly the residence of this remarkable person. The tenement is thus described:—"All and hail this tenement of land, back and foir, with houses, biggings, yards, and well thereof, lying in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, on the south side thereof, near the said chapel, betwixt the lands of James Lamb on the east, and the lands of John Aber on the west, the arable lands called Wairam's croft on the south, and the said

street on the north part." It is probable that the site is now covered by the new bridge thrown across the Cowgate at that point.

In the course of a few years Chepman and Millar produced works,¹ of which hardly any other set is known to exist than that preserved in the Advocates' Library.

The privilege granted to Chepman and Millar was of a rigidly exclusive kind—for at this early period the system of monopolizing knowledge, which is now an absurdity and a disgrace, was a matter of necessity. In January, 1509, we find Walter Chepman asserting the right of his patent against various individuals who had infringed upon it by importing books into the country. The lords of council thus reinforced the privilege they had formerly granted to him:—

"Anent the complaint maid by Walter Chepman, that quhar he, at the desyre of our soverane lord, furnist and brocht hame an prent and prentaris, for prenting of croniclis, missalis, portuuss, and utheris bukis within this realme, and to seclude *salisburyis* use; And to that effect thair wes lettres under our said soverane lordis priue sele direct, till command and charge our soverane lordis legis, that nain of thaim suld inbring or sell ony bukis of the said use of Salisbery, under the pane of escheting of the samyn; Neuirtheless, Wilyiam Frost, Francis Frost, William Sym, Andro Ross, and diuers uthers, merchandis within the burgh of Edinburgh, hes brocht haim, and selis daly, diuers bukis of the said use, sik as mess bukis, manualis, portuiss, matinbukis, and diuers uther bukis, in the disobeing of the said command and lettres, lik as at mar lenth Is content in the said complaint: The saidis Walter, William, Francis, William, and Andro, being personally present, And thair Richtis, reasons and allegacions herd sene and understand, and thairwith being Riply avisit, The Lordis of Counsale forsaidis commandit and chargit the saidis William Frost, Francis Frost, William Sym, and Andro Ros, personally, that nain of thaim, in tyme to cum, bring hame, nor sell within this Realme, ony misale bukis, manualis, portuiss, or matinbukis, of the said use of Salusbery, under the payn of escheting of the samyn; And that lettres be written in dew forme to the provest and balyies of Edr. and to officeris of the kingis Sheriffes in that pairt, to command and charge be oppin proclamation, all utheris merchandis and persons, that nain of thaim bring haim, nor sell within this Realme, ony of the bukis abowenwritten of the said use of salusbury, in tyme to come under the said pain, according to the said lettres under our souerane lordis priue sele direct thairupon; And as to the bukis that ar ellis brocht hame be the saidis merchandis and uther persons, that thai bring nain to the merket, nor sell nain, within this Realme, bot that thei have the samyn furth of this Realme, and sell thaim; and that the saidis provest, baillies, and officiaris forsaidis,

¹ *The Porteous of Nobleness, translatit out of Efrenche in Scottis, be Maister Andro Cadyoue.—The Knightly Tale of Golagras and Gawan.—Sir Glamore.—Balade: In all our Gardene grows their no Fleures.—The Golden Targe; compil be Maister William Dunbar.—The Mayne, or Disport of Chaucere.—The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy.—The Traite of Orpheus King.—The Nobilnes and grete Magneficence.—The Balade of ane right Noble Victorious and Mighty Lord Barnard Stewart, of Aubigny, Earl of Beaumont, &c. Compil be Mr. Wilyam Dunbar.—The Tale of the Two Mariit Women and the Wedo.—Lament for the Death of the Makkaris.—Poetical Peice, of one page in length, commencing, My Gudame was a gay Wyf.—The Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy.—Fittis, &c., of Roby Hud.—Brennary.—Aberdonensis ad perelebris Ecclesie Scotor.—Ejusdem Breviarii Pars Æstivatis, per Reverendum in Christo Patrem Willielmum, Abidun. Episcopum, studiosius, maximsque cum laboribus collect.*

serche and seik quhar only of the saidis manuale, bukis, mesbukis, matinkukis, and portuiss, of the said use beis brocht haim in tyme tocum, or sauld of thaim that ar ellis brocht hame, and eschete the samyn to our soverane lordis use: And als, that na persons tak copijs of the bukis abonwritin and donatis, and . . . or uther bukis that the said Walter hes prentit ellis for till haf thaim to uther Realmes to ger thaim be prentit, brocht haim, or sauld, within this Realme In tyme tocum, under the pain of escheting of the samyn; And quha dois in the contrair, that the said pain be put to executioun on thaim, And that lettres be direct herapon, in dew forme, as said is." (*Acta Dom. Conc.* xxi. 70.)

The troubles which befell the kingdom in 1513, in consequence of the battle of Flodden and the death of the king, appear to have put a stop for another age to the progress of the typographical art in Scotland. There is no further trace of it till the year 1542, when the national mind was beginning to feel the impulse of the Reformation. Nothing further is known of Walter Chepman, except what is to be gathered from the above passage in the *Traditions of Edinburgh*—namely, that he was employed in 1528 in bequeathing his property to the church, being then in all probability near the end of life.

CHEYNE, GEORGE, a physician of considerable eminence, was born in 1671, "of a good family," though neither the name of his father, nor the place of his birth, has been commemorated. He received a regular and liberal education, and was at first designed by his parents for the church. But though his mind was naturally of a studious turn, he afterwards preferred the medical profession. He studied physic at Edinburgh, under the celebrated Dr. Pitcairne, to whom he became much attached, and whom he styles, in the preface to his *Essay on Health and Long Life*, "his great master and generous friend." He has informed us that he was, at this period of his life, addicted to gay studies and indulgences; but that he was soon apprised by the shaking of his hands, and a disposition to be easily ruffled on a surprise, of the unfitness of his constitution for intemperance. When about thirty years of age, having taken the degree of M.D., he repaired to London, and there commenced practice as a physician. It affords a curious picture of the times, that he found it necessary to become a frequenter of taverns in order to get into practice. His cheerful temper and vivacious conversation soon rendered him the favourite of the other gentlemen who frequented those places; he "grew daily," he says, "in bulk, and in friendship with those gay men, and their acquaintances." But this could not last long. He soon became excessively fat, short-winded, and lethargic, and being further admonished by an attack of vertigo, nearly approaching to apoplexy, he was obliged to abandon that style of life altogether.

Previous to this period he had written, at the request of Dr. Pitcairne, "*A New Theory of Acute and Slow Continued Fevers*," wherein, besides the appearances of such, and the manner of their cure, occasionally, the Structure of the Glands, and the Manner and Laws of Secretion, the Operation of Purgative, Vomitive, and Mercurial Medicines, are mechanically explained." Dr. Pitcairne had wished to write such a work himself, in order to overthrow the opposing theories of some of his brethren, but was prevented from doing so by his constant application to practice, and therefore desired Dr. Cheyne to undertake the task in his place. The work was hastily produced, and though it was favourably received, the author never thought it worthy of receiving his name.

The next work of Dr. Cheyne was entitled *Fluxionum Methodus Inversa: sive quantitatium fluentium leges generales*. Like many men who are eminent in one professional branch of knowledge, he was anxious to display an amateur's accomplishment in another; and hence this attempt at throwing light upon the mysteries of abstract geometry. In later life he had the candour to say of this work that it was "brought forth in ambition, and brought up in vanity." "There are some things in it," he adds, "tolerable for the time, when the methods of quadratures, the mensuration of ratios, and transformation of curves into those of other kinds, were not advanced to such heights as they now are. But it is a long time since I was forced to forego these barren and airy studies for more substantial and commodious speculations: indulging and rioting in these so exquisitely bewitching contemplations being only proper to public professors, and those who are under no outward necessities. Besides, to own a great but grievous truth, though they may quicken and sharpen the invention, strengthen and extend the imagination, improve and refine the reasoning faculty, and are of use both in the necessary and luxurious refinement of mechanical arts; yet, having no tendency to rectify the will, sweeten the temper, or mend the heart, they often leave a stiffness, positiveness, and sufficiency on weak minds, much more pernicious to society, and the interests of the great ends of our being, than all the advantages they can bring can recompense."

On finding his health so materially affected by intemperance, Dr. Cheyne left off eating suppers entirely, and in his other meals took only a little animal food, and hardly any fermented liquor. He informs us, that being now confined to the penitential solitude of a sick chamber, he had occasion to experience the faithlessness of all friendship formed on the principle of a common taste for sensual indulgences. His boon companions, even those who had been particularly obliged to him, left him like the stricken deer, to bewail his own unhappy condition; "so that at last," says the doctor, "I was forced into the country alone, reduced to the state of Cardinal Wolsey, when he said, 'if he had served his Maker as faithfully and warmly as he had his prince, he would not have forsaken him in that extremity;' and so will every one find, when union and friendship is not founded on solid virtue, and in conformity to the divine order, but in mere jollity. Being thus forsaken, dejected, melancholy, and confined in my country retirement, my body melting away like a snow-ball in summer, I had a long season for reflection. Having had a regular and liberal education, with the instruction and example of pious parents, I had preserved a firm persuasion of the great fundamental principles of all virtue and morality, namely, pure religion; in which I had been confirmed from abstract reasonings, as well as from the best natural philosophy. This led me to consider who of all my acquaintance I could wish to resemble most, or which of them had received and lived up to the plain truths and precepts contained in the gospels, or particularly our Saviour's sermon on the mount. I then fixed on one, a worthy and learned clergyman; and as in studying mathematics, and in turning over Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical works, I always marked down the authors and writings mostly used and recommended, so in this case I purchased and studied such spiritual and dogmatic authors as I knew this venerable man approved. Thus I collected a set of religious books of the first ages since Christianity, with a few of the most spiritual of the moderns, which have been my

study, delight, and entertainment ever since, and on these I have formed my ideas, principles, and sentiments, which have never been shaken." Dr. Cheyne further informs us, that this reformation in his religious temperament contributed greatly to forward the cure of his nervous diseases, which he perfected by a visit to Bath.

On his return to London, Dr. Cheyne commenced living upon a milk diet, which he found remarkably salutary; but after a long course of years he gradually relapsed into a freer style of living, and though he never indulged to the least excess either in eating or drinking, his fat returned upon him, and at last he weighed upwards of thirty-two stone. Being again admonished of the evil effects of his indulgences, he all at once reverted to his milk diet, and in time regained his usual health. From this moderate style of living he never again departed; and accordingly he enjoyed tolerable health till 1743, when, on the 12th of April, he died at Bath, in full possession of his faculties to the last, and without experiencing a pang.

Besides the works already mentioned, Dr. Cheyne published, in 1705, his *Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion, containing the Elements of Natural Philosophy, and the Proofs for Natural Religion arising from them*. This work he dedicated to the Earl of Roxburgh, at whose request, and for whose instruction, it appears to have been originally written. He also published *An Essay on the True Nature and Due Method of treating the Gout, together with an account of the Nature and Quality of the Bath Waters*, which passed through at least five editions, and was followed by *An Essay on Health and Long Life*. The latter work he afterwards published in Latin. In 1733 appeared his *English Malady, or a Treatise on Nervous Diseases of all kinds, as Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondriacal and Hysterical Distempers*. From the preface of this work we have derived the particulars here related respecting his own health through life. In 1740 Dr. Cheyne published *An Essay on Regimen*. His last work, which he dedicated to his friend and correspondent the Earl of Chesterfield, was entitled *The Natural Method of Curing the Diseases of the Human Body, and the Disorders of the Mind attending on the Body*.

Dr. Cheyne was eminently the physician of nervous distempers. He wrote chiefly to the studious, the voluptuous, and those who inherited bad constitutions from their parents. As a physician, he seemed to proceed, like Hippocrates of old and Sydenham of modern times, upon a few great perceptible truths. He is to be ranked among those who have accounted for the operations of medicine, and the morbid alterations which take place upon the human body, upon mechanical principles. A spirit of piety and benevolence, and an ardent zeal for the interests of virtue, run through all his writings. It was commonly said, that most of the physicians of his own day were secretly or openly tainted with irreligion; but from this charge Dr. Cheyne rendered himself an illustrious exception. He was as much the enemy of irreligion in general society, as of intemperance in his professional character. Some of the metaphysical notions which he has introduced in his writings may be thought fanciful and ill-grounded; but there is an agreeable vivacity in his productions, together with much candour and frankness, and, in general, great perspicuity. Of his relatives, his half-brother, the Rev. William Cheyne, vicar of Weston, near Bath, died September 6, 1767, and his son, the Rev. John Cheyne, vicar of Brigstock, Northamptonshire, died August 11, 1768.

CLAPPERTON, HUGH, the distinguished African traveller, was born at Annan in Dumfriesshire, in the year 1788. His father, Mr. George Clapperton, a respectable surgeon in that town, was married twice; by the first marriage he had ten or eleven sons and a daughter, by the second three sons and three daughters. The subject of this memoir was the youngest son by the first marriage. Owing partly to the number of his family, and partly to an improvident disposition, Mr. Clapperton was unable to give his son Hugh that classical education which is so generally bestowed by people of the middle ranks in Scotland upon their children. When able to do little more than read and write indifferently, Hugh was placed under the care of Mr. Bryce Downie, eminent as a mathematical teacher, through whom he acquired a knowledge of practical mathematics, including navigation and trigonometry. Mr. Downie ever after spoke in terms of warm affection respecting his pupil, whom he described both as an apt scholar, and a most obliging boy, and able to bear with indifference the extremities of heat and cold.

It is frequently the fate of a large family of the middle order in Scotland, that at least one-half of the sons leave their father's house at an early age, with little more than the sailor's inheritance of a light heart and a thin pair of breeches, to push their way in search of fortune over every quarter of the globe, and in every kind of employment. The family of Mr. George Clapperton appears to have been one of this order, for, while Hugh found distinction and a grave in the plains of Africa, no fewer than five of his brothers had also adopted an adventurous career, in the course of which some rose to a considerable rank in the navy and marine service, while others perished in their bloom. At the age of seventeen, the subject of this memoir was bound apprentice to Mr. Smith, of the *Postlethuwaite* of Maryport, a large vessel trading between Liverpool and North America. In this situation he continued for some years, already distinguished for coolness, dexterity, and intrepidity, when his course of life was suddenly changed by what appeared to be a most unhappy incident. On one occasion the ship, when at Liverpool, was partly laden with rock-salt, and as that commodity was then dear, the mistress of a house which the crew frequented very improperly enticed Clapperton to bring her ashore a few pounds in his handkerchief. After some entreaty the youth complied, probably from his ignorance of the revenue laws; was caught in the act by a custom-house officer, and menaced with the terrors of trial and imprisonment, unless he consented to go on board the tender. He immediately chose the latter alternative, and, shortly after, gave a brief account of what had occurred, and the new situation in which he found himself placed, in a letter addressed to Mr. Scott, banker, Annan, concluding, though in modest and diffident terms, by soliciting the good offices of this gentleman to procure him promotion. By the influence of Mr. Scott, exerted through General Dirom of Mount Annan, and his equally amiable lady, Clapperton was draughted on board the *Clorinde*, which was then fitting out for the East Indies. The commander of this vessel, in compliance with the request of Mrs. General Dirom, to whom he was related, paid some attention to Clapperton, and finding him active and intelligent beyond his years, speedily promoted him to the rank of a midshipman; a circumstance which tended in no mean degree to fix his destiny and shape his fortune in life.

Previous to 1813 the British sailors were trained to no particular method of managing the cutlass. It

being suggested that this was a defect, a few clever midshipmen, among whom was Clapperton, were ordered to repair to Plymouth dockyard, to be instructed by the celebrated swordsman Angelo, in what was called the improved cutlass exercise. When their own instructions had been completed, they were distributed as teachers over the fleet, and Mr. Clapperton happened to be appointed to the *Asia*, 74, the flag-ship of Vice-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, then lying at Spithead. This vessel set sail in January, 1814, for Bermuda, and Mr. Clapperton continued during the voyage to act as drill-sergeant.

While lying at Bermuda, and on the passage out, nothing could exceed Mr. Clapperton's diligence in discharging the duties of his new occupation. Officers as well as men received instructions from him in the cutlass exercise; and his manly figure and sailor-like appearance tended, in the opinion of all who saw him, to fix the attention and improve the patriotic spirit of the crew. At his own, as well as the other messes, where he was a frequent guest, he was the very life and soul of the party; sung a good song, told a merry tale, painted scenes for the ship's theatricals, sketched views, drew caricatures, and, in one word, was an exceedingly amusing and interesting person. Even the admiral became acquainted with his delightful properties, and honoured him with his warmest friendship and patronage. Clapperton was obliged, however, to repair to the Canadian lakes, which were then about to become the scene of important naval operations. Here he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and soon after appointed to the command of the *Confiance* schooner, the crew of which was composed of nearly all the unmanageable characters in the squadron. To keep these men in order was no easy task; yet his measures were at once so firm and so judicious, that, although he rarely had recourse to flogging, and withheld or disbursed allowances of grog, as a better system of rewards and punishments, his troops in the end became so orderly, that the *Confiance* was allowed to be one of the smartest barks on the water.

In the year 1817, when the flotilla on the lakes was dismantled, Clapperton returned to England, to be placed, like many others, on half-pay, and he ultimately retired to the old burgh of Lochmaben. There he remained till 1820, amusing himself chiefly with rural sports, when he removed to Edinburgh, and shortly after became acquainted with a young Englishman of the name of Oudney, who had just taken his degree as doctor of medicine in the college. It was at the suggestion of this gentleman that he first turned his thoughts to African discovery. On the return of Captain Lyon from his unsuccessful attempt to penetrate Northern Africa, Earl Bathurst, then colonial secretary, relying on the strong assurances of his majesty's consul at Tripoli, that the road to the south of Mourzook (the extreme point of Lyon's expedition) was now open, resolved that a second mission should be sent out, to explore this unhappy quarter of the globe. Dr. Oudney was, upon strong recommendations from Edinburgh, appointed to proceed on this expedition, in the capacity of consul at Bornou in Central Africa, being allowed to take Clapperton along with him as a companion. About that time, Colonel Denham having volunteered his services in an attempt to pass from Tripoli to Timbuctoo—and it being intended that researches should be made from Bornou, as the fixed residence of the consul to the east and to the west—Lord Bathurst added his name to the expedition. The expedition set out from Tripoli early in 1822. It advanced in a line nearly south to Mourzook,

which is situated in lat. 25° N. and long. 14° E., and which it reached on the 8th of April. Unfortunately, from various circumstances, it was here found impossible to proceed any further this season; and while Denham returned to Tripoli to make new arrangements, Oudney and Clapperton made an excursion during June, July, and August, to the westward of Mourzook, into the country of the Tuaricks, which they penetrated to Ghraat, in the eleventh degree of east longitude.

On the return of Denham in October, he found Clapperton ill of an ague, and Oudney of a cold, and both were in a very wretched condition. On the 29th of November, however, the whole expedition was able to proceed. Keeping as nearly as possible in a direction due south, and very nearly in the fourteenth degree of east longitude, they arrived in February, 1823, in the kingdom of Bornou, which they found to be a far more powerful and civilized state than they could have formerly believed, the most of the inhabitants professing Mahometanism. This, it must be observed, was a part of the world never before known to have been trodden by a European foot. On the 17th the travellers, who went in company with a great African merchant named Boo-Khaloom, reached Kouka, the capital of the country, where the sultan had several thousand well mounted cavalry drawn up to receive them. This city became their head-quarters for the winter; and while Clapperton and Oudney remained there, Denham made an excursion still farther to the south, which he penetrated to Musfa in latitude $9^{\circ} 15' N.$, thereby adding in all $14\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, or nearly 900 geographical miles, to the European knowledge of Africa in this direction. Afterwards Denham made an excursion with Oudney to Munga and Gambaroo in a western direction.

On the 14th of December, 1823, Mr. Clapperton, accompanied by Dr. Oudney, commenced a journey to the west, for the purpose of exploring the course of the Niger, leaving Denham to explore the neighbouring shores of the great Lake Chad, which may be called the Caspian of Africa. The two travellers arrived in safety at Murmur, where Oudney, who had previously been very weakly, breathed his last in the arms of his companion. "At any time, in any place," says Clapperton in his narrative, "to be bereaved of such a friend had proved a severe trial; but to me his friend and fellow-traveller, labouring also under disease, and now left alone amid a strange people, and proceeding through a country which had hitherto been never trod by European feet, the loss was severe and afflicting in the extreme." Proceeding on his journey, Clapperton reached Kano, the capital of the kingdom of Houssa, which he entered on the 23d of January, 1824. In general the native chiefs treated him with kindness, partly from a sense of the greatness of his master, the king of Great Britain. On the 10th of March he reached Jackatoo, a large city in lat. 13° N. and lon. $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ E., which was the extreme point of the expedition in that direction. The sultan of this place treated him with much attention, and was found to be a person of no small intelligence, considering his situation.

"March 19, I was sent for," says Clapperton, "by the sultan, and desired to bring with me the 'looking-glass of the sun'—the name they gave to my sextant. I first exhibited a planisphere of the heavenly bodies. The sultan knew all the signs of the zodiac, some of the constellations, and many of the stars, by their Arabic names. The looking-glass of the sun was then brought forward, and occasioned much surprise. I had to explain all its appendages. The inverting telescope was an object of immense

astonishment; and I had to stand at some little distance, to let the sultan look at me through it, for his people were all afraid of placing themselves within its magical influence. I had next to show him how to take an observation of the sun. The case of the artificial horizon, of which I had lost the key, was sometimes very difficult to open, as happened on this occasion: I asked one of the people near me for a knife to press up the lid. He handed me one quite too small, and I quite inadvertently asked for a dagger for the same purpose. The sultan was immediately thrown into a fright; he seized his sword, and half-drawing it from the scabbard, placed it before him, trembling all the time like an aspen leaf. I did not deem it prudent to take the least notice of his alarm, although it was I who had in reality most cause of fear; and on receiving the dagger, I calmly opened the case, and returned the weapon to its owner with apparent unconcern. When the artificial horizon was arranged, the sultan and all his attendants had a peep at the sun; and my breach of etiquette seemed entirely forgotten." The courage and presence of mind of Clapperton are most strikingly displayed in this anecdote.

Clapperton was very anxious to have pressed westwards, in order to fall in with the Niger, which he was told was within five days' journey, and the course of which was described to him by the sultan. But owing to some of those malign jealousies which the slave-trade inspires into the African mind, he was not permitted to proceed. He set out, May 4, on his return to Kouka, which he reached on the 8th of July. Here he was rejoined by Denham, who scarcely knew him, on account of the ravages which illness had committed upon his once manly frame. The two remaining travellers then set out on their return to Tripoli, which, after a harassing journey across the desert, they reached, January 26, 1825, about three years after they had first set foot in Africa. They returned through Italy to Europe, and arrived in England on the 1st of June.

The result of this expedition was a work published in 1826, under the title of *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, by Major Denham, F.R.S., Captain Clapperton, and the late Dr. Oudney, of which a third edition was published in 1828. The greater part of this work was the composition of Denham, Clapperton only writing a minor part respecting the excursion to Jackatoo, which, however, is not the least interesting in the book. The subject of our memoir wrote in a plain, manly, unaffected style, as might have been expected from his character. The work was published under the immediate superintendence of Major Denham; and it was not the fate of Clapperton ever to see the result of his labours in print.

This enterprising person was solicited, immediately after his return, to undertake the management of another expedition to Africa, in company with Captain Pearce of the royal navy, Dr. Morrison, and Mr. Dickson. On this occasion it was projected that he should enter the continent with his companions at the Guinea coast, and thence endeavour to reach Jackatoo in a north-easterly direction, so as to make sure of intersecting the Niger. An enterprising youth, named Richard Lander, applied to Clapperton for permission to join the expedition in any capacity he might think proper. "The captain," we are informed by this individual, in his narrative subsequently published, "listened to me with attention, and, after I had answered a few interrogations, willingly engaged me to be his confidential servant. In this interview," adds Mr. Lander, "the keen,

penetrating eye of the African traveller did not escape my observation, and by its fire, energy, and quickness, denoted, in my own opinion at least, the very soul of enterprise and adventure." After being intrusted with an answer from the king to a letter which he had brought from the Sultan Bello of Jackatoo, and with a letter to El Kanemy, the Shiekh of Bornou, Clapperton left England with his company on the 27th August, not three months from the time of his return. Mr. Dickson having been, at his own request, landed at Whydah, the rest disembarked, on the 28th of November, at Badagry in the Bight of Benin.

The journey into the interior was commenced on the 7th of December, and Clapperton soon had the pain of seeing his two companions, Pearce and Morrison, fall a sacrifice to its hardships. Accompanied by a merchant named Houtson, who joined him as a volunteer, he pursued his enterprise, and on the 15th of January, 1826, arrived at Katunga, the capital of Youriba. From this point Mr. Houtson returned without molestation, leaving Clapperton and Lander to pursue their journey alone. They soon after crossed the Quorra, or Niger, at Boussa, the place where Park had met his untimely fate. In July the travellers reached Kano, a large city on the line of road which Clapperton had formerly traversed, and here, on the 24th, the latter individual left his servant with the baggage, while he proceeded by himself to Soccato. It was the wish of Clapperton to obtain permission from Sultan Bello to visit Timbuctoo, and revisit Bornou. But all his plans were frustrated in consequence of Bello having engaged in a war with the Shiekh of Bornou. Clapperton, in his former visit, had presented the latter individual with several Congreve rockets, which he had employed effectually in setting fire to some of the sultan's towns. The traveller also bore, on this occasion, some considerable presents from the King of England to the Shiekh of Bornou; and thus every circumstance conspired to introduce jealousy into the mind of the sultan. Clapperton was detained for several months at Soccato in bad health, and Lander was inveigled by the sultan to come also to that city, along with the baggage, in order that the presents intended for Bornou might be intercepted. Lander reached Soccato in November, to the surprise of his master, and immediately their baggage was seized in the most shameless manner, and the travellers expressly forbidden to proceed to Bornou.

Thus arrested in the midst of his enterprise by the caprice of a barbarous despot, the health of Clapperton gave way, and on the 12th of March [1827] he was attacked by dysentery, from which there was no prospect of recovery. The account of his last illness, as detailed by his faithful servant and affectionate friend, Lander, adds a most heart-rending chapter to the mournful history of African travellers who have staked their lives upon the enterprise, and paid the forfeit of failure. The closing scene of all is thus described by the sorrowing survivor:—"On the following day [April 2d, 1827] he was greatly altered for the worse, as I had foretold he would be, and expressed regret for not having followed my advice. About twelve o'clock at noon, calling me to his bedside, he said,—'Richard! I shall shortly be no more; I feel myself dying.' Almost choked with grief, I replied, 'God forbid! my dear master; you will live many years to come.' 'Do not be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you,' rejoined he; 'you distress me by your emotion; it is the will of the Almighty, and therefore cannot be helped. Take care of my journal and papers after my decease; and when you arrive in London, go immediately to my agents,

and send for my uncle, who will accompany you to the colonial office, and see you deposit them with the secretary. After my body is laid in the earth, apply to Bello, and borrow money to purchase camels and provisions for crossing the desert to Fezzan, in the train of the Arab merchants. On your arrival at Mourzuk, should your money be expended, send a messenger to Mr. Warrington, our consul for Tripoli, and wait till he returns with a remittance. On your reaching the latter place, that gentleman will further advance you what money you may require, and send you to England the first opportunity. Do not lumber yourself with my books, but leave them behind, as well as my barometer and sticks, and indeed every heavy or cumbersome article you can conveniently part with; you may give them to Malam Mudey, who will preserve them. Remark whatever towns or villages you may pass through, and put on paper anything remarkable that the chiefs of the different places may say to you.' I said, as well as my agitation would permit me, 'If it be the will of God to take you, sir, you may confidently rely, as far as circumstances will permit me, on my faithfully performing all that you have desired; but I hope and believe that the Almighty will yet spare you to see your home and country again.' 'I thought at one time,' continued he, 'that that would be the case, but I dare not entertain such hopes now; death is on me, and I shall not be long for this world; God's will be done.' He then took my hand betwixt his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear glistened in his eye, said in a tremulous melancholy tone: 'My dear Richard, if you had not been with me I should have died long ago. I can only thank you with my latest breath for your devotedness and attachment to me; and if I could live to return to England with you, you should be placed beyond the reach of want; the Almighty, however, will reward you.'

"This pathetic conversation, which occupied almost two hours, greatly exhausted my master, and he fainted several times while speaking. The same evening he fell into a slumber, from which he awoke in much perturbation, and said that he had heard with peculiar distinctness the tolling of an English funeral bell; but I entreated him to be composed, observing that sick people frequently fancy things which in reality can have no existence. He shook his head, but said nothing.

"About six o'clock on the morning of the 11th April, on my asking him how he did, my master replied in a cheerful tone that he felt much better; and requested to be shaved. He had not sufficient strength to lift his head from the pillow; and after finishing one side of the face I was obliged myself to turn his head in order to get at the other. As soon as he was shaved he desired me to fetch him a looking-glass which hung on the opposite side of the hut; and on seeing the reflection of his face in it, observed that he looked quite as ill in Bornou on his former journey, and that as he had borne his disorder for so long a time, there was some possibility of his yet recovering. On the following day he still fancied himself to be convalescent, in which belief I myself agreed, as he was enabled to partake of a little hashed guinea-fowl in the course of the afternoon, which he had not done before during the whole of his confinement, having derived his sole sustenance from a little fowl-soup, and milk and water.

"These flattering anticipations, however, speedily vanished, for on the morning of the 13th, being awake, I was greatly alarmed on hearing a peculiar rattling noise issuing from my master's throat, and his breathing at the same time was loud and difficult. At that moment, on his calling out 'Richard!' in a

low, hurried, and singular tone, I was instantly at his side, and was astonished beyond measure on beholding him sitting upright in his bed (not having been able for a long time previously to move a limb), and staring wildly around. Observing him ineffectually struggling to raise himself on his feet, I clasped him in my arms, and whilst I thus held him, could feel his heart palpitating violently. His throes became every moment less vehement, and at last they entirely ceased, inasmuch that thinking he had fallen into a slumber, or was overpowered by faintings, I placed his head gently on my left shoulder, gazing for an instant on his pale and altered features; some indistinct expressions quivered on his lips, and whilst he vainly strove to give them utterance, his heart ceased to vibrate, and his eyes closed for ever!

"I held the lifeless body in my arms for a short period, overwhelmed with grief; nor could I bring myself to believe that the soul which had animated it with being a few moments before had actually quitted it. I then unclasped my arms, and held the hand of my dear master in mine; but it was cold and dead, and instead of returning the warmth with which I used to press it, imparted some of its own unearthly chillness to my frame, and fell heavily from my grasp. O God! what was my distress in that agonizing moment? Shedding floods of tears, I flung myself along the bed of death, and prayed that Heaven would in mercy take my life."

By the permission of Sultan Bello, Mr. Lander buried his fellow-traveller at Jungavie, about five miles south-east from Soccotao. After describing the mournful scene, he thus proceeds to draw the character of his master:—

"No one could be better qualified than Captain Clapperton by a fearless, indomitable spirit, and utter contempt of danger and death, to undertake and carry into execution an enterprise of so great importance and difficulty as the one with which he was intrusted. He had studied the African character in all its phases—in its moral, social, and external form; and, like Alcibiades, accommodated himself with equal ease to good, as well as to bad fortune—to prosperity, as well as to adversity. He was never highly elated at the prospect of accomplishing his darling wishes—the great object of his ambition—nor deeply depressed when environed by danger, care, disappointment, and bodily suffering, which, hanging heavily upon him, forbade him to indulge in hopeful anticipations. The negro loved him, because he admired the simplicity of his manners, and mingled with pleasure in his favourite dance; the Arab hated him, because he was overawed by his commanding appearance, and because the keen penetrating glance of the British captain detected his guilty thoughts, and made him quail with apprehension and fear.

"Captain Clapperton's stature was tall; his disposition was warm and benevolent; his temper mild, even, and cheerful; while his ingenuous manly countenance portrayed the generous emotions that reigned in his breast. In fine, he united the figure and determination of a man with the gentleness and simplicity of a child; and, if I mistake not, he will live in the memory of many thousands of Africans, until they cease to breathe, as something more than mortal; nor have I the least doubt that the period of his visiting their country will be regarded by some as a new era, from which all events of consequence, that affect them, will hereafter be dated."

The surviving traveller was permitted to leave Soccotao a few days afterwards, and return on the way to Badagry. He reached that part of the coast after almost incredible hardships, and returning

safely to England, prepared for the press a work, entitled *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa*, which appeared in 1830, in two volumes 12mo. Before the publication of this book, Mr. Lander had set out on another expedition, in company with his younger brother John; and pursuing nearly the same route as that of Captain Clapperton, again reached the Niger at Boussa. It was an impression of Mr. Lander, that that river ran into the Bight of Benin, and he had, on his return, endeavoured to prove the fact by descending the stream, but was prevented by the natives. He now fairly settled the question by sailing down the river, and entering the sea by the outlet which is marked on the maps by the name of Nun. Thus was a youth of about twenty-six years of age at last successful in solving a problem which many older and better instructed men had failed to expound. It is to be allowed, however, that Clapperton is indirectly entitled to a large share of this honour, as it was he who introduced Lander to the field of African adventure, and who inspired him with the desire, and invested him with the accomplishments, necessary for the purpose.

CLEGHORN, GEORGE, a learned physician, was the son of a farmer at Granton, in the parish of Cramond, near Edinburgh; and was born there on the 13th of December, 1716. In 1719 the father of Dr. Cleghorn died, leaving a widow and five children. George, who was the youngest, received the rudiments of his education at the parish school, and in 1728 was sent to Edinburgh, to be further instructed in Latin, French, and Greek; where, to a singular proficiency in those languages, he added a considerable stock of mathematical knowledge. At the age of fifteen he commenced the study of physic and surgery, and had the good fortune to be placed under the tuition of the illustrious Monro, and under his roof. For five years he continued to profit by the instruction and example of his great master; at the same time he attended the lectures on botany, chemistry, materia medica, and the theory and practice of medicine; and by extraordinary diligence he attracted the notice of all his preceptors. He was at this time the intimate friend and fellow-student of the celebrated Fothergill, in conjunction with whom, and a few other young men, he established the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. So great was the distinction of Cleghorn, even as a student, that, when little more than nineteen years of age, he was appointed, by the recommendation of Dr. St. Clair, surgeon to the 22d regiment of foot, then stationed at Minorca, under the command of General St. Clair. During the thirteen years which he spent in that island, he applied himself most diligently to his improvement in medical and anatomical studies, in which he was much assisted by his friend Fothergill, who sent him out such books as he required from London. On leaving Minorca, in 1749, he went with the regiment to Ireland; and next year he repaired to London, in order to give to the world the fruit of some of his observations, in a work entitled *The Diseases of Minorca*. This work not only exhibits an accurate statement of the air, but a minute detail of the vegetable productions, of the island; and concludes with medical observations, important in every point of view, and in some instances either new, or applied in a manner which preceding practitioners had not admitted. The medical world was indebted to Dr. Cleghorn for proving the advantage of acescent vegetables in low, putrid, and remittent fevers, and the copious use of bark, which had been interdicted from mistaken facts, deduced from false

theories. While superintending the publication of this work, Dr. Cleghorn attended the anatomical lectures of Dr. Hunter; and on his return to Dublin, where he settled in practice in 1751, he began to give a similar course himself, and was the first person that established what could with propriety be considered an anatomical school in Ireland. Some years afterwards he was admitted into the university as lecturer on anatomy. From this period till his death, in December, 1789, Dr. Cleghorn lived in the enjoyment of a high and lucrative practice, the duties of which he varied and relieved by a taste for farming and horticulture, and by attentions to the family of a deceased brother which he undertook to support. In private life Dr. Cleghorn is said to have been as amiable and worthy as in his professional life he was great. He was enabled before his death to acquire considerable estates in the county of Meath, of which his nephew, George Cleghorn, of Kilkarty, was high-sheriff in the year 1794.

CLELAND, WILLIAM, the troubadour, as he may be called, of the Covenanters, was born about the year 1661, having been just twenty-eight years of age at his death, in 1689. When only eighteen he held command as a captain in the covenanting army at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. It would thus appear likely that he was born in a respectable grade of society. He seems to have stepped directly from the university into the field of arms; for it is known that he was at college just before completing his eighteenth year; at which age he enjoyed the rank above-mentioned in the Whig army. Although Cleland probably left the country after the affair at Bothwell, he is found spending the summer of 1685 in hiding, among the wilds of Clydesdale and Ayrshire, having perhaps returned in the unfortunate expedition of the Earl of Argyle. Whether he again retired to the Continent is not known; but, after the Revolution, he reappears on the stage of public life, in the character of lieutenant-colonel of the Earl of Angus' regiment, called the Cameronian regiment, in consequence of its having been raised out of that body of men, for the purpose of protecting the convention parliament. That Cleland had now seen a little of the world appears from a poem, entitled "Some Lines made by him upon the Observation of the Vanity of Worldly Honours, after he had been at several Princes' Courts."¹

It is a strong mark of the early popularity of Hudibras, that, embodying though it did the sarcasms of a cavalier against the friends of civil and religious liberty, it nevertheless travelled into Scotland, and inspired with the principle of imitation a poet of the entirely opposite party. Cleland, who, before he left college, had written some highly fanciful verses, of which we have preserved a copy below,² composed

¹ We also observe, in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, that he published *Disputatio Juridica de Probationibus*, at Utrecht, in 1684; which would imply that he studied civil law at that celebrated seminary.

² These form part of a poem entitled "Hollo, my Fanny," which was printed in Watson's *Collection of Scottish Poems*, at the beginning of the last century:—

"In conceit like Phaeton,
I'll mount Phœbus' chair,
Having ne'er a hat on,
All my hair a-burning,
In my journeying,

Hurrying through the air.
Fain would I hear his fiery horses neighing!
And see how they on foamy bits are playing!
All the stars and planets I will be surveying!
Hollo, my fanny, whither wilt thou go?

"O, from what ground of nature
Doth the pelican,

a poem in the Hudibrastic style, upon the celebrated expedition of the Highland host which took place in 1678. His object was to satirize both the men who composed this expedition and those who directed it to take place. It chiefly consists in a ludicrous account of the outlandish appearance, senseless manners, and oppressive conduct of the northern army. So far as satire could repay the rank cruelty of that mode of constraining men's consciences, it was repaid—for the poem is full of poignant sarcasm, expressed in language far above the poetical diction of that day, at least in Scotland. It was not published, however, till 1697, nearly twenty years after the incident which called it forth, when at length it appeared in a small volume, along with several other poems by the same author.

Colonel Cleland was not destined long to enjoy his command in the Cameronian regiment, or the better times which the Revolution had at length introduced. In August, 1689, the month after the battle of Killiecrankie, he was sent with his men to take post at Dunkeld, in order to prepare the way for a second invasion of the Highlands. The remains of that army which Dundee had led to victory, but without gaining its fruits, gathered suddenly into the neighbourhood, and, on the 21st of August, made a most determined attack upon the town. Cleland, though he had only 800 men to oppose to 4000, resolved to fight it out to the last, telling his men that, if they chose to desert him, he would stand out by himself, for the honour of the regiment and the good cause in which he was engaged. The soldiers were animated so much by his eloquence and example, that they withstood the immense odds brought against them, and finally caused the Highlanders to retire discomfited, leaving about 300 men behind them. Perhaps there was not a single skirmish or battle during the whole of the war of liberty, from 1639 to 1689, which conferred more honour on either party than this affair of Dunkeld. Cleland, to whom so much of the glory was due, unfortunately fell in the action, at the early age of twenty-eight. He was employed in encouraging his soldiers in front of Dunkeld House, when two bullets pierced his head and one his liver simultaneously. He turned about, and endeavoured to get back into the house, in order that his death might not discourage his men; but he fell before reaching the threshold.

It is stated by the editor of the *Border Minstrelsy*, but we know not with what authority, that this brave officer was the father of a second Colonel Cleland, who flourished in the *beau monde* at London in the reign of Queen Anne and George I., and who, besides enjoying the honour of having his character embalmed in the *Spectator* under the delightful fiction of Will. Honeycomb, was the author of a letter to Pope prefixed to the *Dunciad*. The son of this latter gentleman was also a literary character, but one of no good fame. John Cleland, to whom we are alluding, was born in 1709, and received a good education at Westminster School, where he was the contemporary of Lord Mansfield. He went on some mercantile pursuit to Smyrna, where he perhaps imbibed those loose principles which afterwards tarnished his literary reputation. After his return from the Mediterranean, he went to

the East Indies, but, quarrelling with some of the members of the presidency of Bombay, he made a precipitate retreat from the East, with little or no advantage to his fortune. After living for some time in London, in a state little short of destitution, he was tempted by a bookseller, for the sum of twenty guineas, to write a novel of a singularly indecent character, which was published in 1749, in two volumes, and had so successful a run that the profits are said to have exceeded £10,000. It is related that, having been called before the privy-council for this offence, he pleaded his destitute circumstances as his only excuse, which induced the president, Lord Granville, to buy the pen of the unfortunate author over to the side of virtue, by granting him a pension of £100 a year. He lived many years upon this income, which he aided by writing occasional pieces in the newspapers, and also by the publication of various works; but in none of these was he very successful. He published a novel called the *Man of Honour*, as an *amende honorable* for his flagitious work, and also a work entitled the *Memoirs of a Coxcomb*. His political essays, which appeared in the public prints under the signatures Modestus, a Briton, &c., are said to have been somewhat heavy and dull. He wrote some philological tracts, chiefly relating to the Celtic language. But it was in songs and novels that he chiefly shone; and yet not one of these compositions has continued popular to the present day. In the latter part of his life he lived in a retired manner in Petty France, Westminster, where he had a good library; in which hung a portrait of his father, indicating all the manners and *d'abord* of the fashionable town-rake at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Though obliged to live frugally, in order that he might not exceed his narrow income, Mr. Cleland occasionally received visits from his friends, to whom his conversation, enriched by many observations of foreign travel and all the literary anecdote of the past century, strongly recommended him. He spoke with fluency the languages of Italy and France, through which countries, as well as Spain and Portugal, he had travelled on his return from the East Indies. He died in his house in Little France, January 23, 1789, at the age of eighty.

CLERK, JOHN, of Eldin, inventor of some invaluable improvements in the modern system of naval tactics, was the sixth son of Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, Baronet, who filled the situation of a baron in his majesty's Scottish exchequer between the years 1707 and 1755, and was one of the most enlightened men of his age and country. The mother of John Clerk was Janet Inglis, daughter of Sir John Inglis of Cramond. He appears at an early period of his life to have inherited from his father the estate of Eldin, in the neighbourhood of Pennycuik, and southern part of the county of Edinburgh, and to have married Miss Susanna Adam, sister of the celebrated architects, by whom he had several children. The private life of Mr. Clerk of Eldin presents as few incidents as that of most country gentlemen. He was distinguished chiefly by his extraordinary conceptions on the subject of naval tactics, the birth and growth of which are thus described by the late Professor Playfair, in the fragment of a life of John Clerk published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*:—

"From his early youth a fortunate instinct seems to have directed his mind to naval affairs. It is always interesting to observe the small and almost invisible causes from which genius receives its first impulses, and often its most durable impressions.

That self-devouring creature,
Prove so froward
And untoward

Her vitals for to strain!

And why the subtle fox, while in death's wounds lying,
Doth not lament his wounds by howling and by crying!
And why the milk-white swan doth sing when she's a-dying!
Hollo, my fancy, whither wilt thou go?"

Æc.

Æc.

Æc.

'I had (says he) acquired a strong passion for nautical affairs when a mere child. At ten years old, before I had seen a ship, or even the sea at a less distance than four or five miles, I formed an acquaintance at school with some boys who had come from a distant seaport, who instructed me in the different parts of a ship from a model which they had procured. I had afterwards frequent opportunities of seeing and examining ships at the neighbouring port of Leith, which increased my passion for the subject; and I was soon in possession of a number of models, many of them of my own construction, which I used to sail on a piece of water in my father's pleasure-grounds, where there was also a boat with sails, which furnished me with much employment. I had studied *Robinson Crusoe*, and I read all the sea voyages I could procure.'

"The desire of going to sea," continues Mr. Playfair, "which could not but arise out of these exercises, was forced to yield to family considerations; but fortunately for his country, the propensity to naval affairs, and the pleasure derived from the study of them, were not to be overcome. He had indeed prosecuted the study so far, and had become so well acquainted with naval affairs, that, as he tells us himself, he had begun to study the difficult problem of the way of a ship to windward. This was about the year 1770, when an ingenious and intelligent gentleman, the late commissioner Edgar, came to reside in the neighbourhood of Mr. Clerk's seat in the country. Mr. Edgar had served in the army, and with the company under his command had been put on board Admiral Byng's ship at Gibraltar, in order to supply the want of marines; so that he was present in the action off the island of Minorca, on the 20th of May, 1756. As the friend of Admiral Boscawen, he afterwards accompanied that gallant officer in the more fortunate engagement of Lagoo Bay."

To what extent Mr. Clerk was indebted for his nautical knowledge to this gentleman we are not informed; but it appears that previous to the year 1779 he had become very extensively and accurately acquainted with both the theory and practice of naval tactics. The department to which Mr. Clerk more particularly applied his active genius was the difficulty of bringing the enemy to action. The French, when they met a British fleet eager for battle, always contrived, by a series of skilful manœuvres, to elude the blow, and to pursue the object of their voyage, either parading on the ocean, or transporting troops and stores for the attack and defence of distant settlements; and thus wresting from the British the fair fruits of their superior gallantry, even while they paid a tacit tribute to that gallantry by planning a defensive system to shelter themselves from its effects; in which they succeeded so well that the fleets of Britain and France generally parted after some indecisive firing. Mr. Clerk now assured himself from mathematical evidence that the plan followed by the British of attacking an enemy's fleet at once, from van to rear, exposed the advancing ships to the formidable battery of the whole adverse fleet; by which means they were crippled and disabled either for action or pursuit, while the enemy might bear away and repeat the same manœuvre, until their assailants are tired out by such a series of fruitless attacks. This Scottish gentleman, in the solitude of his country-house, where after dinner he would get up a mimic fight with bits of cork upon the table, discovered the grand principle of attack which Buonaparte after-

wards brought into such successful practice by land—that is to say, he saw the absurdity of an attacking force extending itself over the whole line of the enemy, by which the amount of resistance became everywhere as great as the force of attack; when it was possible, by bringing the force to bear upon a particular point, and carrying that by an irresistible weight, to introduce confusion and defeat over the whole. He conceived various plans for this purpose; one was to fall upon the rear vessels of the enemy, and endeavour to disable him, as it were; another and more splendid idea was to direct the line of attacking vessels through the line of those attacked; and by doubling in upon the ships cut off, which of course must strike to so superior a force, reduce the strength of the enemy, and even subject the remaining ships to the risk of falling successively a prey, as they awkwardly endeavoured to beat up to the rescue of their companions. At the time when he was forming these speculations, the British arms suffered great depression both by sea and land. A series of great and ill-directed efforts, if they had not exhausted, had so far impaired, the strength and resources of the country, that neighbouring nations thought they had found a favourable opportunity for breaking the power and humbling the pride of a formidable rival. In the naval encounters which took place after France had joined herself to America, the superiority of the British navy seemed almost to disappear; the naval armies of our enemies were every day gaining strength; the number and force of their ships were augmenting; the skill and experience of their seamen appeared to be coming nearer an equality with our own. All this was owing to the generous waste of strength which the British commanders had undergone in their gallant but vain attempts to come to a fair engagement with the enemy.

"Being fully satisfied," says Mr. Playfair, "as to the principles of his system, Mr. Clerk had begun to make it known to his friends so early as 1779. After the trial of Admiral Keppell had brought the whole proceedings of the affair off Ushant before the public, Mr. Clerk made some strictures on the action, which he put in writing, illustrating them by drawings and plans, containing sketches of what might have been attempted if the attack had been regulated by other principles, and these he communicated to several naval officers, and to his friends both in Edinburgh and London. In the following year [January, 1780] he visited London himself, and had many conferences with men connected with the navy, among whom he has mentioned Mr. Atkinson, the particular friend of Sir George Rodney, the admiral who was now preparing to take the command of the fleet in the West Indies. A more direct channel of communication with Admiral Rodney was the late Sir Charles Douglas, who went out several months after the admiral, in order to serve as his captain, and did actually serve in that capacity in the memorable action of the 12th of April, 1782. Sir Charles, before leaving Britain, had many conversations with Mr. Clerk on the subject of naval tactics, and before he sailed was in complete possession of that system. Some of the conferences with Sir Charles were by appointment of the late Dr. Blair of Westminster, and at one of these interviews were present Mr. William and Mr. James Adam, with their nephew, the late lord chief commissioner for Scotland. Sir Charles had commanded the *Stirling Castle* in Keppell's engagement, and Mr. Clerk now communicated to him the whole of his strictures on that action, with the plans and demonstrations on which the manner of the attack from the leeward was fully developed.

¹ Preface to the second edition of his *Essay on Naval Tactics*, 1804.

"The matter which Sir Charles seemed most unwilling to admit was the advantage of the attack from that quarter; and it was indeed the thing most inconsistent with the instructions given to all admirals.

"Lord Rodney himself, however, was more easily convinced, and in the action off Martinico, in April, 1780, the original plan seemed regulated by the principles of the *Naval Tactics*. . . . It was not till two years afterwards, in April, 1782, that Lord Rodney gave the first example of completely breaking through the line of the enemy, and of the signal success which will ever accompany that manœuvre when skillfully conducted. The circumstances were very remarkable, and highly to the credit of the gallantry as well as conduct of the admiral. The British fleet was to leeward, and its van, on reaching the centre of the enemy, bore away as usual along his line; and had the same been done by all the ships that followed, the ordinary indecisive result would infallibly have ensued. But the *Formidable*, Lord Rodney's own ship, kept close to the wind, and on perceiving an opening near the centre of the enemy, broke through at the head of the rear division, so that, for the first time, the enemy's line was completely cut in two, and all the consequences produced which Mr. Clerk had predicted. This action, which introduced a new system, gave a new turn to our affairs at sea, and delivered the country from that state of depression into which it had been thrown, not by the defeat of its fleets, but by the entire want of success.

"It was in the beginning of this year that the [*Essay on*] *Naval Tactics* appeared in print, though, for more than a year before, copies of the book had been in circulation among Mr. Clerk's friends.¹ Immediately on the publication, copies were presented to the minister and the first lord of the admiralty; and the Duke of Montague, who was a zealous friend of Mr. Clerk's system, undertook the office of presenting a copy to the king.

"Lord Rodney, who had done so much to prove the utility of this system, in conversation never concealed the obligation he felt to the author of it. Before going out to take the command of the fleet in the West Indies, he said one day to Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, 'There is one Clerk, a countryman of yours, who has taught us how to fight, and appears to know more of the matter than any of us. If ever I meet the French fleet, I intend to try his way.'

"He held the same language after his return. Lord Melville used often to meet him in society, and particularly at the house of Mr. Henry Drummond, where he talked very unreservedly of the *Naval Tactics*, and of the use he had made of the system in his action of the 12th of April. A letter from General Ross states very particularly a conversation of the same kind, at which he was present. 'It is,' says the general, 'with an equal degree of pleasure and truth that I now commit to writing what you heard me say in company at your house, to wit, that at the table of the late Sir John Dalling, where I was in the habit of dining often, and meeting Lord Rodney, I heard his lordship distinctly state, that he owed his success in the West Indies to the manœuvre of breaking the line, which he learned from Mr. Clerk's book. This honourable and liberal confession of the gallant admiral made so deep an impression on me, that I can never forget it; and I am pleased to think that my recollection of the cir-

cumstance can be of the smallest use to a man with whom I am not acquainted, but who, in my opinion, has deserved well of his country.'

Mr. Playfair then proceeds to mention a copy of Mr. Clerk's *Essay*, on which Lord Rodney had written many marginal notes, full of remarks on the justness of Mr. Clerk's views, and on the instances wherein his own conduct had been in strict conformity with those views; and which copy of the *Essay* is now deposited in the family library at Pennycuik. The learned professor next relates "an anecdote which sets a seal on the great and decisive testimony of the noble admiral. The present [now late] Lord Haddington met Lord Rodney at Spa, in the decline of life, when both his bodily and his mental powers were sinking under the weight of years. The great commander, who had been the bulwark of his country, and the terror of her enemies, lay stretched on his couch, while the memory of his own exploits seemed the only thing that interested his feelings, or afforded a subject for conversation. In this situation he would often break out in praise of the *Naval Tactics*, exclaiming with great earnestness, 'John Clerk of Eldin for ever.' Generosity and candour seemed to have been such constituent elements in the mind of this gallant admiral, that they were among the parts which longest resisted the influence of decay."

Mr. Playfair then details some of the victories of the succeeding war, in which Mr. Clerk's system had been pursued. The great action fought by Lord Howe, on the 1st of June, 1794, was, in its management, quite conformable to that system, and its success entirely owing to the manœuvre of breaking the line. Mr. Playfair mentions that Mr. James Clerk, the youngest son of the author of the *Essay*, and who was a midshipman on board Lord Howe's ship, in 1793, had a copy of the recent edition of the work, "which was borrowed by Captain Christian, no doubt for the admiral's use." Lord St. Vincent, who possessed a copy of the book, also gained the famous battle off the coast of Spain by breaking the line of the enemy—as did Lord Duncan the more important victory of Camperdown. But the grandest testimony of all to the excellence of Mr. Clerk's system, was the battle of Trafalgar, which finally set at rest the dominion of Britain over the sea. Lord Nelson's instructions on that occasion contained some entire sentences out of the *Essay on Naval Tactics*. And it must also be mentioned, that, in his splendid victory of the Nile, he had pursued the same system.

We have hitherto pursued the train of demonstration favourable to Mr. Clerk, and to the originality and utility of his system; it must now be mentioned that a controversy, menacing the better part of his reputation, has arisen since his decease. The family of Rodney, in a late publication of his memoirs, disavow the claim made by the friends of Mr. Clerk, and maintain that no communication of that gentleman's plan was ever made to their relative, or that he had the least knowledge of any such book or plan as that of Mr. Clerk. Immediately after the publication of this disavowal, Sir Howard Douglas, son of the late Sir Charles Douglas, who was Rodney's captain at the time of the victory, came forward, in a pamphlet, supported by authentic documents, to claim the honour on behalf of his father. It would be vain to enter into a full discussion of the controversy which has arisen on this subject; the result seems to be, that Mr. Clerk's friends have not proved that Lord Rodney adopted the idea of breaking the enemy's line, on the 12th of April, from his system, although there are several reports by most honour-

¹ Fifty copies were printed of this edition, and distributed in a private way. The work was not published for sale till 1790. The edition of that year is therefore styled the *first*, and that of 1804 the *second* edition.

able men, of acknowledgments from his lordship to that effect. The testimony of these men would, in ordinary cases, be very good; but in this case it is invalidated by a *tache* of a very extraordinary nature, which has fallen upon a particular part of Professor Playfair's narrative. In contradiction of the assertion that Mr. Clerk had frequent interviews with Sir Charles Douglas, for the explanation of his system, previous to the battle, Sir Howard, the son of that officer, brings forward a letter written by his father at St. Lucie, March 2, 1783, in answer to some representation of Mr. Clerk's claim, which had been set forward by one of his friends. Of this letter Sir Howard gives the following account and extracts:—

"After acknowledging the receipt of the letter communicating Mr. Clerk's claim to the honour of having suggested the manœuvre of breaking the line, by which the victory had been gained, my father declares 'the whole story to be so far-fetched, improbable, and groundless, as not to deserve a serious refutation.' That, in being so near his commander-in-chief, he had a far more experienced instructor to guide and direct him in the execution of his duty, than the author alluded to; and so entirely positive was he that he had never spoken on such matters with any civilian of the name, that he took the person to whom allusion had been made, to be a Lieutenant Clerk of the navy; but that even of such conversation he (my father) had no recollection whatever. He then instructs his correspondent that, inasmuch as he is mentioned or alluded to, 'the subject should be treated as a production offensive to himself, and as highly injurious to the person who commanded in chief on that celebrated day,' and who certainly did not stand in need of any instruction derived, or that could be derived, from Lieutenant Clerk, or any other person that he knew of."

Whether Mr. Clerk be really entitled or not to the merit of having suggested the manœuvre of breaking the line, there can be no doubt that he conceived on land, and without the least experience of sea life, that idea, at a period antecedent to the time when it was put in practice.¹ There is also no pretence in any quarter to deny that his system became a guide to all the operations of the British navy subsequent to the particular victory in which it first seemed to be acted upon, and thus was the means of enabling British valour to gain a series of conquests, which unquestionably proved the salvation of the country.

Mr. Clerk died at an advanced age, on the 10th of May, 1812; and, strange to say, there exists no public monument whatsoever, to record the gratitude of the country for his services. It may be mentioned, that Mr. Clerk was the father of the late John Clerk, Esq., advocate (afterwards raised to the bench, where he took the designation of Lord Eldin), whose professional abilities, joined to his exquisite taste in the fine arts, and the rich eccentricity of his manners and conversation, will long be remembered.²

CLYDE, LORD. See CAMPBELL, COLIN.

COCHRANE, SIR ALEXANDER FORRESTER INGLIS, G.C.B. This admiral belonged to a family of which the naval service is justly proud, being the ninth son of Thomas, eighth Earl of Dundonald, and consequently uncle to the late earl, who is better known by the name of Lord Cochrane. Alexander Cochrane was born on the 23d of April, 1758. Being destined for the sea service, he embarked at an early age; and, after the usual intermediate steps, was appointed lieutenant in 1778. In this capacity he acted as signal-officer to Lord Rodney, in the action with De Guichen and the French fleet, on the 17th April, 1780, off Martinique; and it is evident, from the complicated manœuvres which the British commander was obliged to adopt in bringing the enemy to action, that Lieutenant Cochrane's office on this occasion was one of great trust. After the action his name was returned among the list of the wounded. His next step of promotion was the command of the *St. Lucia*, sloop of war, and afterwards of the *Pachahunter*, which last command he subsequently exchanged with Sir Isaac Coffin for that of the *Avenger*, an armed sloop employed in the North River in America. At the end of 1782 he was appointed, with the rank of post-captain, to the command of the *Kangaroo*, and afterwards to the *Caroline*, of 24 guns, employed on the American station.

After peace was established with our North American colonies, by which the latter were confirmed as an independent government, Captain Cochrane's occupation for the time was ended; and he spent several years in retirement, until he was called again to service in 1790, in the prospect of a rupture with Spain. On this occasion he was appointed to the command of a small frigate, the *Hind*, when, on the renewal of hostilities with France, he was removed to the *Thetis*, of 42 guns and 261 men. With such means at his disposal he soon showed himself an active, bold, and successful cruiser, so that, during the spring and summer of 1793 he captured eight French privateers, mounting in all above eighty guns. In 1795 he also signaled himself by a bold attack upon five French sail off Chesapeake, being aided by the *Hussar*, a British frigate of 34 guns, and succeeded in capturing one of the largest vessels, the rest having made their escape after they had struck. Several years of service on the coast of America succeeded, in which Captain Cochrane made important captures of not a few French privateers, and established his character as an able naval commander; so that, in February, 1799, he was appointed to the *Ajax*, of 80 guns, and sent in the following year upon the expedition against Quiberon, Belleisle, and Ferrol. This expedition, as is well known, was all but useless, as the French royalists, whom it was sent to aid, were too helpless to co-operate with the invaders. The *Ajax*, having subsequently joined the fleet on the Mediterranean station under the command of Lord Keith, proceeded to Egypt as part of the convoy of Abercromby's expedition for the expulsion of the French from that country; and on this occasion the professional talents of Captain Cochrane were brought into full play. He was commissioned by Lord Keith to superintend

¹ Mr. Clerk has been heard to acknowledge, in the later part of his life, that he never enjoyed a longer sail than to the island of Arran, in the Firth of Clyde.

² Sir George Clerk Maxwell, of Pennycuik, an elder brother of the author of the *Naval Tactics*, born in 1715, and who succeeded his elder brother, Sir James, in the baronetcy, in 1783, was distinguished by his public-spirited efforts to advance the commercial interests of Scotland, at a time when they were in a state of infancy. He established, at a considerable expense, a linen manufactory at Dumfries, and likewise set on foot many different projects for working lead and copper mines. In 1755 he addressed two letters to the trustees for fisheries, manufactures, and improvements in Scotland, containing observations on the common mode of treating wool in this country, and suggesting a more judicious scheme of management. These were published, by direction of the Board, in 1756.

He likewise wrote a paper on the advantages of shallow ploughing, which was read to the Philosophical Society, and is published in the third volume of their essays. In 1741 this ingenious person was appointed king's remembrancer, an office of trust in the exchequer, of which his father was then one of the judges; and, in 1763, commissioner of the customs in Scotland. Sir George Clerk Maxwell (the latter name had been assumed for an estate) died in January, 1784.

the landing of the British troops; and this disembarkation, performed so successfully in the face of so many difficulties, will ever constitute a more important episode in history than a victory won in a pitched field. With such admirable skill were the naval and military details of this process conducted, and so harmoniously did the two services combine on the occasion, that a landing, which in the ordinary form might have been attended with utter defeat, or the loss of half an army, was effected with only 20 sailors and 102 soldiers killed. At the capture of Alexandria, by which the war in Egypt was successfully terminated, Captain Cochrane, with a detachment of armed vessels, was stationed on the Lake Moerotis, to protect the advance of the British troops upon the city, a duty which he performed with his wonted ability. So valuable, indeed, had his services been during the six months of the Egyptian campaign, that at the end of it they were most honourably mentioned in the despatches of Lord Keith, as well as those of General Hutchinson, by whom Abercromby was succeeded.

The peace of Amiens occasioned the return of the *Ajax* to England in February, 1802, and Cochrane, with the true restlessness of a sailor ashore, as well as the true patriotism of a good British subject, still wished to do something for his country. He accordingly turned his attention to parliament, and became a candidate for the representation of the united boroughs of Stirling, Dunfermline, &c., at the general election that had now occurred. As the votes for Sir John Henderson, his antagonist, and himself were equal, the contest was followed by petition, and the result was that in 1804, after a long investigation, Cochrane's election was confirmed. Two years after the wind completely changed, for at the election of 1806 Henderson was chosen. The quarter-deck, and not the hustings, was the proper arena for Cochrane. Fortunately for him, the peace, or rather hollow truce, of Amiens was at an end while the ink was scarcely dry upon the paper, and in 1803 he was appointed to the command of the *Northumberland*, 74; and in the following year he was sent out, with the rank of rear-admiral, to watch the port of Ferrol, in anticipation of a war with Spain. In 1805 he was commissioned to pursue a French squadron that had stolen out of the blockaded port of Rochefort. Its destination was unknown, but the most serious consequences were apprehended, as it consisted of five ships of the line, three frigates, two brigs, and a schooner, and had 4000 troops on board. Cochrane went off with six ships of the line in pursuit of these dangerous fugitives, and after a long cruise, in which the coasts of France and Spain, and the West India Islands, were successively visited, he found it impossible to come in sight of his nimble fear-stricken adversaries; all that he could learn of their whereabouts was in the instances of a few paltry captures they had made of British merchantmen, and their throwing a supply of troops into the town of St. Domingo. The timidity of this flying squadron was rewarded by a safe return to Rochefort, which they effected in spite of the British cruisers that were sent in all directions to intercept them. Admiral Cochrane then assumed the command of the Leeward Islands station, and joined Lord Nelson in his active pursuit after the combined fleets of France and Spain. In the following year (1806) he formed a junction with Vice-admiral Sir John G. Duckworth, for the pursuit of a French squadron that had sailed from Brest to relieve the town of St. Domingo. On this occasion the French were overtaken, and in the action that followed, and which lasted nearly two hours, they were so utterly defeated, that of their

five ships of the line two were burned, and the other three captured: nothing escaped but two frigates and a corvette. On this occasion Cochrane's ship, the *Northumberland*, which had been in the hottest of the fire, had by far the greatest number of killed and wounded, while himself had a narrow escape, his hat being knocked off his head by a grape-shot. So important were his services on this occasion, that he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and of the corporation of London; while the latter, not confining itself to verbal acknowledgments, presented him with the honour of the city, and a sword of the value of a hundred guineas. This was not all; for the underwriters at Barbadoes presented him with a piece of plate valued at £500; and the committee of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's with a vase worth £300. The honour of knighthood crowned these rewards of his highly-valued achievements, and on the 29th of March, 1806, he was created Knight of the Bath. Nothing could more highly attest the estimation in which his exploit at St. Domingo was held, than that so many acknowledgments should have rewarded it, at a season, too, when gallant actions at sea were events of everyday occurrence.

Soon after, war was declared against Denmark; and on hearing of this, Sir A. Cochrane concerted measures with General Bowyer for the reduction of St. Thomas, St. John's, and St. Croix, islands belonging to the Danish crown. In a few months the whole were captured, along with a valuable fleet of Danish merchantmen. His next service was in the reduction of Martinique, where he co-operated with General Beckwith; and for this acquisition he and his gallant land partner received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. The reduction of Guadaloupe followed, in which both commanders joined, and were equally successful; and in 1810 Cochrane, in reward of his services, was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of Guadaloupe and its dependencies. In this situation he continued till 1813, when a war with the United States called him once more into action. He was appointed to the command of the fleet on the coast of North America, and on assuming office, he shut up and watched the ports of the United States with a most vigilant and effectual blockade. Soon after this the universal peace ensued, and in 1815 Sir Alexander Cochrane returned to England. He was raised to the rank of full admiral in 1819, and held the office of commander-in-chief at Plymouth from 1821 to 1824.

The brave old admiral, like the rest of his contemporaries of the land and sea service, was now obliged to change a life of action for the tranquillity of home and the pleasures of social intercourse; and he passed the rest of his days honoured and beloved by all who knew him. His death, which occurred at Paris, was fearfully sudden. Accompanied by his brother he went, on the morning of the 26th of January, 1832, to visit his daughter, Lady Trowbridge, for the purpose of inviting his young grandchildren to an evening entertainment; but while he was affectionately caressing them, he suddenly started, placed his hand on his left side, and exclaiming to Mr. Cochrane, "O brother, what a dreadful pain!" he fell back into his arms, and instantly expired.

COCHRANE, ARCHIBALD, ninth Earl of Dundonald, a nobleman distinguished by his useful scientific investigations, was the son of Thomas, the eighth earl, by Jane, daughter of Archibald Stewart of Torrence; and was born on the 1st of January, 1748. His lordship, before his father's decease, entered public life as a cornet in the 3d dragoons, which com-

mission he afterwards abandoned, in order to become a midshipman under his countryman Captain Stair Douglas. While stationed as acting-lieutenant in a vessel off the coast of Guinea, he had occasion to observe the liability of vessels to be rotted by the sea, which in some cases was so very great, that a few months was sufficient to render them not seaworthy. He conceived the idea of laying them over with tar extracted from coal, a substance which was then little known, though now identified with the very idea of marine craft. The experiment was first tried in Holland, and found to answer all the purposes required. Being then tried upon a decked boat at the Nore, and found equally answerable, his lordship procured a patent of his invention for a short term, which was afterwards (1785) changed for an act of parliament, vesting it in him and his heirs for twenty years. Unfortunately, the general adoption of copper-sheathing rendered the speculation not only abortive, but ruinous to the inventor, who had burdened all his estates in order to raise the necessary works. His lordship had succeeded to the family honours in 1778. In 1785 he published two pamphlets—one entitled *The Present State of the Manufacture of Salt Explained*; the other, *An Account of the Qualities and Uses of Coal Tar and Coal Varnish*. In 1795 his lordship published a treatise showing the intimate connection between agriculture and chemistry, and in 1807 he obtained a patent for improvements in spinning machinery. It unfortunately happened that his lordship's inventions, although all of them seemed to tend to the public good, proved unprofitable to himself. The latter half of his long life was, on this account, spent in embarrassments and privations which may well excite our sympathy. His lordship was thrice married; first to Anne, daughter of Captain Gilchrist of Annsfield, R.N.; secondly, to Isabella, daughter of Samuel Raymond, Esq. of Belchamp, in Essex; thirdly, to Anna Maria Plowden, daughter of the well-known historian of Ireland. By the first of these unions he had six sons, the eldest of whom, under the designation of Lord Cochrane, distinguished himself by his gallant naval achievements in the war of the French revolution. The following remarks were made in allusion to this noble and unfortunate votary of science, in the annual address of the registrars of the Literary Fund Society, in the year 1823:—

“A man born in the high class of the old British peerage has devoted his acute and investigating mind solely to the prosecution of science; and his powers have prevailed in the pursuit. The discoveries effected by his scientific research, with its direction altogether to utility, have been in many instances beneficial to the community, and in many have been the sources of wealth to individuals. To himself alone they have been unprofitable; for with a superior disdain, or (if you please) a culpable disregard of the goods of fortune, he has scattered around him the produce of his intellect with a lavish and wild hand. If we may use the consecrated words of an apostle, ‘though poor, he hath made many rich,’ and though in the immediate neighbourhood of wealth, he has been doomed to suffer, through a long series of laborious years, the severities of want. In his advanced age he found an estimable woman, in poverty, it is true, like himself, but of unspotted character, and of high though untitled family, to participate the calamity of his fortunes; and with her virtues and prudence, assisted by a small pension which she obtained from the benevolence of the crown, she threw a gleam of light over the dark decline of his day. She was soon, however, torn from him by death, and, with an infant which she bequeathed to

him, he was abandoned to destitution and distress (for the pension was extinguished with her life). To this man, thus favoured by nature, and thus persecuted by fortune, we have been happy to offer some little alleviation of his sorrows; and to prevent him from breathing his last under the oppressive sense of the ingratitude of his species.”

The Earl of Dundonald died in poverty at Paris on the 1st of July 1831, at the advanced age of eighty-three years.

COCHRANE, THE HON. THOMAS, Earl of Dundonald and Baron Cochrane. This gallant ocean hero and successful admiral—whom we commemorate by the simple title under which his remarkable deeds were wrought, and who made the name of “Lord Cochrane” so illustrious that the higher rank which he finally attained could not aggrandize it—was the eldest son of Archibald, ninth Earl of Dundonald, of whom a notice has been given in the preceding article. He was born on the 14th December, 1775, at Annsfield, Lanarkshire. The family of Cochrane was descended from that architect of the name who was the chief favourite of James III., and whose superior share of the royal favour only procured him a higher gibbet than the rest, when all the king's favourites were summarily hanged by the revolted Scottish nobles at the Bridge of Lauder. Although that branch of his descendants from whom our naval hero was derived was ennobled by Charles I., and finally raised to the earldom of Dundonald at the Restoration, a series of political fines and forfeitures, combined with personal improvidence and mismanagement, had so dilapidated the family estates that little else remained to the Cochranes but the high hereditary title. This descending career of poverty was at last completed by the Earl of Dundonald, the father of the subject of our memoir, whose enthusiastic devotedness to science, and the expensive experiments into which it led him, involved the family in utter bankruptcy. So hopeless indeed was their condition that the earl's children owed their early education to the gratuitous labours of the minister of Culross, to which parish the latter had been presented by the earl, who held the patronage of the living. This kind interposition was also supplemented by the maternal grandmother of the boys, who provided them with a tutor from her own scanty revenues. Thus, while the earl's splendid discoveries in science were either overlooked, or pirated by those who were more skilful in turning them to a practical or profitable account, his children were obliged to depend upon the kindness of others for even the means of an ordinary education. It was no wonder if, in his subsequent naval captures, Lord Cochrane could occasionally have an eye to the advantages of prize-money.

As the present destination of the heir to a noble title and nothing else was a question of some importance, the father selected the army for his son, as his best chance of rising in the world; but Thomas, who already had a will of his own, and a preference to the element on which he was to shine, chose the navy. This contrariety led to a game at cross purposes, in which, however amusing it might look, a great hero was to be made or marred. The earl obtained for him an army commission; but the youth's uncle, Sir Alexander Cochrane, had already destined him for the sea, and put his name on the books of the several ships which he had successively commanded. In this way Lord Cochrane, without any effort of his own, found himself at one and the same time an army ensign and a navy midshipman—the last-mentioned commission not being of yes-

terday neither, but of some standing. To put an end to this amphibious condition, the father thrust him into regimentals, that he might march at once to head-quarters; and here the long-smothered rebellion broke out. The young rising hero, now six feet in height, felt himself so hampered by the pedantic military costume, and cutting such a bizarre figure, that he vowed he would not be a soldier, although the declaration brought him no trivial amount of blows, cuffs, and reproaches. A sailor he would be, and nothing else, so that the earl was compelled to yield. The Earl of Hoptoun, a connection of the family, advanced £100 for the youth's outfit; the Earl of Dundonald gave him his gold watch and his blessing—all the fortune he had to bestow; and at the age of seventeen Lord Cochrane joined the *Hind*, of 28 guns, at Sheerness, on the ship's books of which he already stood rated as midshipman, his uncle Sir Alexander being captain. The die for life being thus cast, the young midshipman was not slow in learning his profession, or indicating his fitness to command. After serving some time in the *Hind*, he was transferred to the *Thetis*—a better frigate—of which he was made acting third lieutenant only eighteen months after he had joined the service; and after remaining five years on the North American station, he served under Lord Keith in the Mediterranean—first in the *Barfleur*, and afterwards in the *Queen Charlotte*. While thus employed in the Mediterranean various stories of his lordship's daring were told, after he became a man of high mark; but of these we shall only notice one, as it opened the way for his career in a separate command. To the *Genereux*, 74, a capture of Lord Nelson's, Cochrane was appointed prize-master; but the ship's rigging was in a very dangerous condition, while the crew serving under him were very scanty and inefficient for such a charge. In this state of matters the *Genereux* was caught in a gale of wind, her masts and spars were in peril, and none of the crew could be induced to go aloft. At this crisis Lord Cochrane ascended the precarious rigging, accompanied by his brother Archibald, who had also entered the naval service, and followed by a few sailors whom their example had inspired; the mainsail was furled, and the vessel, which otherwise would have foundered, was carried safely into Port Mahon. This appointment to the perilous charge of such a prize-ship in all probability saved his lordship's life, as, during his absence, the *Queen Charlotte*, in which he was junior lieutenant, took fire at Leghorn, and her captain, the greater part of the officers, and 600 of the crew perished.

The gallant devotedness of Cochrane in saving the prize-ship was so well appreciated, that the admiral recommended him for promotion, and in the meantime appointed him to the command of a little nondescript man-of-war, called the *Speedy*. Notwithstanding her name, her powers of sailing were of the slowest, her scanty and uncomfortable accommodation was crowded with a crew of eighty-four men and six officers, while her armament consisted of fourteen guns that were nothing more than four-pounders. Strange ships of war were occasionally to be found in the British navy even at the close of the eighteenth century; but of them all, the *Speedy* might be considered the climax. On taking possession of his cabin, Lord Cochrane found that the roof was only five feet in height, so that when he stood upright in this cage, the skylight had to be removed. Even the process of shaving he could only perform by thrusting his head and shoulders through this opening, and using the deck for a toilet-table. But in this strange craft he was to show the wonderful

power of his genius, that could rise superior to difficulties, and perform great deeds with inadequate means. He was appointed to cruise in the Mediterranean, and his first exploit was to rescue a Danish brig, and capture her assailant, a French privateer of six guns and forty-eight men. Onward he then continued in his career, at one time capturing merchant vessels and smaller privateers, and at another escaping the pursuit of gun-boats, the *Speedy* having acquired under his command an adroitness in manœuvring and quickness in sailing, that changed her character, and made her worthy of her name. Such, indeed, was the terror inspired by this vessel along the Spanish coast, by the daring nature of her exploits and the number of her captures, that various plans were devised for its seizure; and as this could not easily be done either by quick sailing or direct attack, it was resolved to allure her within reach by stratagem. For this purpose a frigate was disguised into the appearance of a well-laden merchantman; the *Speedy* pursued, and was allowed to near her, when the frigate suddenly turned, and opened such a cannonade as would have soon annihilated her tormenting adversary. But Lord Cochrane had also disguised the *Speedy*, so that she might pass for a Dane; and, on hoisting Danish colours, the Spaniards ceased to fire, and sent out a boat, to make sure that they had not committed a mistake. But even for this awkward inquest his lordship had prepared, by shipping a quarter-master on board with a sort of Danish uniform; and, on the boat coming nigh, a yellow flag, the sign of the plague, was run up by the *Speedy*, while the quarter-master declared that the ship had two days ago left Algiers, where the pestilence was raging. This dreaded word was enough for the Spaniards, who did not venture to come on board, and the *Speedy* was allowed to continue her course without further question. And if there was any reluctance at such a peaceful parting, it was on the part of his lordship's crew, who had thus so narrowly escaped the jaws of death. Hitherto their successes had been so many and so marvellous, that they thought nothing impossible under such a leader; and they murmured, because they had not been allowed to give battle to the Spanish frigate, although it was mounted with at least thirty guns.

The great naval exploit of Cochrane in the affair of the *El Gamo*, in the following year, showed that this confidence, apparently so overweening, had not been unreasonable. After several appearances at places where the *Speedy* was least expected, so that she seemed at once to be everywhere, and dealing such heavy blows as made her visits most unwelcome wherever she came, she arrived off Barcelona at midnight, on the 5th of May, 1801. Here gun-boats were on the watch, that fled at the appearance of the intruder; but, suspecting that this flight was for the purpose of alluring him into some net, Lord Cochrane made a cautious and exploratory fight, that night and the following morning. His caution was justified by the result, for on the morning of the 6th, on approaching Barcelona, a large Spanish xebec frigate running under the land suddenly appeared. This, then, was the cause of the pretended flight of the gun-boats. Resolved to accept the offered challenge, and mindful of the dissatisfaction of his crew at the forbearance he had manifested towards the former frigate, his lordship mustered them upon deck, and although they only amounted, officers and boys included, to fifty-four, the rest of his hands having been sent to Port Mahon in charge of two prizes, he told them that now they should have a fair fight of it. The *Speedy* was boldly directed against the coming enemy; and, on the latter hoist-

ing Spanish colours, the former, to avoid the other's broadside, and increase the enemy's perplexity, hoisted American colours. The *Speedy* thus got on the other tack, and when she hoisted English colours, she received the Spaniard's broadside without damage. Another broadside equally harmless followed, the *Speedy* making no reply until she had run under the enemy's lee, and locked her yards among the other's rigging. Thus locked, she was safe from the enemy's cannonade, that went harmlessly over the heads of the English, while the little popguns of the *Speedy*, that would have been useless at a distance, made a fearful havoc upon the deck of the frigate, as they were trebly shotted, and fired at an elevation. Their first discharge killed the captain and boatswain of the Spanish ship, and produced such confusion among her crew, that they resolved to board the *Speedy*; but as the order to that effect was distinctly heard on board the latter vessel, she was promptly withdrawn from the attempt, plying the enemy in return with a discharge of her guns, and a volley of musketry. Twice the enemy attempted to board, and as often was the attempt baffled by the same manœuvre. The Spaniards then confined themselves to a cannonade, which did little damage except to the rigging of the *Speedy*; this, however, was becoming so serious, that Lord Cochrane told his crew they must either take the Spaniard, or be themselves taken, in which case the enemy would give no quarter. His ardour was shared by his crew, and in a few seconds every man and boy of the *Speedy* was on the deck of the Spaniards, who gazed in bewilderment, unable to believe their eyes, or that a mere handful would make such a daring attempt. They rallied, however, upon the waist of their ship, and maintained a gallant resistance; but, in the heat of it, Lord Cochrane ordered one of his men to haul down the Spanish colours, which were still flying. This prompt act decided the conflict; the crew of the *Gamo* saw their flag struck, and believing that it had been done by the command of their own officers, they ceased their resistance, and surrendered. In this manner the *Gamo*, a frigate of thirty-two heavy guns, and a crew of 319 men, was encountered, boarded, and taken by a British vessel that was nothing better than a common coaster, manned by fifty-four hands. No exploit could better indicate the coolness of mind and wonderful resources of Lord Cochrane, who seemed to have a ready expedient for every emergency, however trying. If anything could enhance the glory of victory in such an unequal trial, it was the small price at which it had been won, for while the *Speedy* had only three seamen killed and eighteen wounded, the *Gamo* had fifteen killed and forty-one wounded.

Not long after this remarkable exploit, while cruising off Barcelona, Lord Cochrane, on the 1st of June, fell in with the English brig *Kangaroo*, commanded by Captain Pulling; and having learned that a Spanish convoy of five armed vessels and twelve ships were about three days' sail a-head, the two British commanders resolved to go in chase of it. They found indeed the convoy, but it was at anchor under the shelter of the battery of Oropesa, and with the additional protection of a xebec of twenty guns and three gun-boats. Undismayed by such difficulties, the *Kangaroo* and *Speedy* advanced to the attack; the battle commenced with a heavy cannonade, which was deepened by the arrival of a Spanish felucca and two gun-boats to the aid of the convoy. This hot fight continued from noon until seven o'clock in the evening, when the xebec and several of the gun-boats were sunk and the battery silenced. Three prizes on this occasion were se-

cured, but the rest of the convoy had either been sunk or driven on shore.

Lord Cochrane had now done enough to merit both rapid and high promotion. With a vessel that was reckoned a mere tub, and during the short space of thirteen months in which he commanded her, he had captured in all thirty-three vessels, mounting 128 guns and manned by 533 hands. But on returning from his successful cruise to Port Mahon, he found that no promotion as yet awaited him, while, instead of being transferred to the command of the *Gamo*, that fine ship which he had so nobly won, it had been sold by the British admiralty to the Dey of Algiers. He was again to put to sea in no better ship than the *Speedy*, and with no higher commission than to convoy a mail-boat to Gibraltar. As if to tie his hands also from action, he was prohibited from holding any communication with the shore. But he did not think that this prohibition prevented him from setting fire to ships that were ashore, and having chased some Spanish vessels and driven them ashore near Alicante, he forthwith burned them. The blaze, however, served as a signal to three French line-of-battle ships, and when they appeared Lord Cochrane gave chase, mistaking them for galleons. On discovering his error he tried every art in navigation to elude his adversaries, and succeeded for several hours to elude their shot; but all his attempts to run through or outstrip his numerous pursuers were in vain. One of the French ships, that got within musket-range of the *Speedy*, discharged a whole broadside at her, and though the damage inflicted was but slight, the next discharge would suffice to send her to the bottom. For the first and last time Lord Cochrane was compelled to strike, but did not long remain a prisoner, as he was soon after exchanged for the second captain of the *San Antonio*, taken by Admiral Saumarez. On the following month, August 8th, his tardy promotion came, but it was commensurate neither with his merits nor his deeds, being simply the rank of post-captain, while his name was placed at the bottom of the list, below those who had received the same rank subsequent to the capture of the *Gamo*. His just but bold and indignant remonstrances had already made him a marked man with the lords of the admiralty, but not for the purposes of patronage and advancement. The peace of Amiens which speedily ensued obliged Lord Cochrane to turn his restless spirit to a new sphere of action, but it was to a sphere as honourable to himself as it was unexpected by either friend or enemy. He became a student in the university of Edinburgh! It was the very step which he ought to have taken, as, notwithstanding his high deeds, he still felt the defects of his early education. Under the strict scientific training also to which he subjected himself, his remarkable intellectual powers were developed, and directed into their proper sphere. Lord Cochrane was to become one of our greatest, because he was one of the most scientific, of British admirals.

The studies of his lordship at college were ended with the termination of the short-lived peace of Amiens, and the return of war restored him to active employment. He applied for a ship, and the admiralty appointed him to the command of the *Arab*. But what was his astonishment to find that this vessel was only an old collier patched up from the fragments of sundry broken vessels, and useful for little else than firewood, while, notwithstanding her name, her powers of sailing were even worse than those of the *Speedy*. The duty also upon which he was ordered was commensurate with the qualities of the *Arab*—for it was to watch the motions of the flotilla

at Boulogne. On finding that his ship could only drift with the wind and tide, and was useless for such a service, his lordship remonstrated, and in return was sent by the admiralty to cruise in the North Sea, for the protection of fisheries that had no existence. In this irritating fashion Lord Cochrane was to be thrust aside, and condemned to inactivity, in consequence of his independent spirit, and insubordination to the ruling powers. Nearly fourteen months did he endure this intolerable penance, when, fortunately for him, Lord Melville, his countryman, was placed at the head of the admiralty, and Cochrane was transferred to the command of the *Pallas*, a fine new frigate of 38 guns. To compensate also for his exile in the North Sea, he was commissioned to cruise for a month off the Western Isles, where the chance of prizes was most abundant. His short cruise more than justified the hopes that had been formed of his success. On the way to his appointed station, he captured a valuable ship from the Havannah to Cadiz, forming part of a convoy; in a few hours after he made a still richer capture; and two days after a third, more profitable than the preceding two. On the succeeding day, he took a letter of marque well stored with dollars. The arrival of so many rich prizes at Plymouth, captured in so short a time, and by one vessel, set the whole town astir; and this feeling of triumph was enhanced by the arrival of the *Pallas* herself, carrying as trophies upon her mast-heads three golden candlesticks, each of which was five feet high.

Having now won so much renown, and being furnished with the sinews of political warfare, while the country was on the eve of a general election, Lord Cochrane resolved to enter parliament, where he could obtain for his complaints on the abuses in the administration of the navy an attentive hearing. He selected Honiton as the borough for canvass, and as bribery was the prevalent fashion of such elections, his lordship felt no scruple in following the usual course. But he was outbid by his opponent, who in consequence was returned. Another election for Honiton occurred soon afterwards, in which Lord Cochrane was returned by a large majority, the electors hoping to be richly rewarded with Spanish gold for their suffrages; but his lordship, who on this occasion had promised nothing, also paid nothing. He had not long held his parliamentary honours, when he was ordered out to sea, and to convoy a fleet of slow-sailing merchant ships to Quebec; but on his return, he was appointed to a more congenial service, which was to cruise off the French coast. On this occasion he performed one of those daring and successful exploits that characterized his whole career. Having learned, while off the Garonne, that several corvettes were lying up the river, he resolved to capture or destroy them; and although the Garonne is the most difficult in navigation of all the rivers on the French coast, this circumstance was only an additional incentive to his purpose. He sailed up the mouth of the river, and having reached close to the Cordovan lighthouse, he anchored a little after dusk on the evening of the 5th of April, 1806, manned his ship's boats so that only forty hands were left on board the *Pallas*, and sent the boats up the river under the command of Lieutenant Halswell. Twenty miles up the river they found the corvettes under the protection of two batteries, and immediately attacked the *Tapageuse*, a corvette of fourteen long-pounders and ninety-five men, which they cut out, and although two other corvettes came to its rescue, Halswell beat them off with the guns of his capture. While he was thus successful, the situation of Lord

Cochrane had become very critical: the French had taken the alarm, and three strongly armed corvettes bore down upon the *Pallas*, when she had scarcely hands enough to work her. But Lord Cochrane concealed his weakness by meeting the enemy half-way; and dismayed at finding that their enemy was a frigate, they endeavoured to sheer off, and were successively run on shore and destroyed by the *Pallas*. To add to the pleasure of such signal success, these three vessels, mounting in all sixty-four guns, were destroyed without the *Pallas* losing a man, while only three of her crew were wounded.

In the following month [May] Lord Cochrane distinguished himself by a war against the semaphores which had been erected upon the French coast, and were so successful in giving warning of the approach of hostile vessels, that they had interfered with his plans and operations. He therefore landed, and destroyed several of these hostile indicators, notwithstanding the troops that had been stationed to protect them. But while thus occupied, he also attempted an enterprise in which he was almost overpowered by numbers. While cruising off the island of Aix, he fell in with a French frigate, the *Minerve*, of 40 guns, attended by three brigs well armed; and as this vessel was the guardship of the Aix Roads, and had greatly annoyed the English, Lord Cochrane, notwithstanding their great superiority in men and metal, resolved to attack them. By a bold manoeuvre he ran his ship between the *Minerve* and the shore, by which the batteries on land were obliged to pause, and had almost succeeded in boarding his opponent, when two frigates arrived to its assistance, in consequence of which his lordship was compelled to retire from such an unequal fight. It was much, however, that in such a daring attempt he had only one man killed and five wounded, and that he extricated his ship from the danger, even when it had become a complete wreck. After this he was appointed to the *Imperieuse*, a fine frigate of 40 guns; and with these enlarged means he became more formidable than ever, so that in little more than three weeks, he destroyed fifteen merchant ships of the enemy, and demolished Fort Roquette at the entrance of the basin of Arcasson, with a great quantity of military stores. This last important achievement also was so well planned and conducted, that he did not lose a man.

Very soon after Lord Cochrane returned from this short cruise, parliament was dissolved, and at the new election he presented himself as a candidate for Westminster, along with Sir Francis Burdett. Both were returned, and his lordship, with his wonted zeal and boldness, proceeded to attack the prevalent abuses in government. He had brought forward two motions, one on sinecures and the other on the pernicious administration of the navy, when the alarmed ministry resolved to silence him, and this they effected by grudgingly sending him to sea, where he was certain to win fresh honours and distinction. The usurpations of Napoleon I. in Spain, and the revolt of the Spaniards against his dominion, had converted them from enemies into allies of the British government, and Lord Cochrane was commissioned to aid the same people against whom he had fought with such destructive effect. He accepted the change of this new political relationship, and left his seat in parliament to cruise in the Mediterranean. His commission was to harass the French on the coasts of France and Spain, and never was an order more completely fulfilled. His ship, the *Imperieuse*, seemed to be everywhere, and everywhere successful in deeds of incredible daring; and the manner in which he swept the seas of their hostile craft, rum-

aged every harbour in quest of an enemy, demolished batteries, signal posts and towers, and crippled the advance of French armies into the Peninsula, were important events among the achievements of this momentous war, and would of themselves require a volume. The importance of these deeds performed by a single frigate, and their effect in the Peninsular war, were thus characterized in the despatch of the commander-in-chief: "Nothing can exceed the activity and zeal with which his lordship pursues the enemy. The success which attends his enterprises clearly indicates with what skill and ability they are conducted; besides keeping the coast in constant alarm, causing a total suspension of trade, and harassing a body of troops employed in opposing them, he has probably prevented those troops which were intended for Figueras from advancing into Spain, by giving them employment in the defence of their own coasts." Of his services to the Spanish cause on shore a single instance from the many must suffice. Learning that Rosas was besieged by the French, Lord Cochrane volunteered for the defence of Fort Trinidad—an outwork on which the safety of Rosas depended. The garrison of the fort was already reduced to eighty Spaniards, who were on the point of surrendering, when, on the 22d of September, 1808, his lordship arrived with eighty seamen and marines. The arrival of this small reinforcement with such a leader changed the scene. The resistance was continued; and when the enemy attempted, on the 30th, with 1000 picked soldiers, to take Fort Trinidad by storm, his lordship with his small garrison routed his numerous assailants, killed their leader, and destroyed their storming equipage. In this protracted siege, which lasted twelve days, the personal valour of Lord Cochrane was as conspicuous as his skilful leadership. There was such a dash of chivalrous romance in it as charmed the enthusiastic Spaniards, and reminded them of the heroes of their ballads—their cids and campeadors of the olden times. On one occasion a shot struck the Spanish flag, so that it fell into the ditch. Unwilling that such a trophy of the place he defended should be carried off, and to encourage the garrison in their resistance, he leaped after it into the ditch amidst a shower of bullets, brought it back in safety, and planted it again in its place. Although Rosas could not be ultimately preserved, it was much that the surrender had been thus delayed; and when it yielded at last to a whole besieging army, Lord Cochrane blew up the magazines of the fort, and withdrew his followers in safety to the *Imperiense*. And still the prudence with which this desperate deed of daring was conducted, was shown in the smallness of the loss he sustained; for during these days of hard fighting against such overwhelming numbers, he had only three men killed and seven wounded.

This last circumstance may fitly introduce some explanation of the character of Lord Cochrane's modes of warfare. From the mere aspect of his exploits, it might be supposed that he was at all times ready to encounter any odds—that he rushed blindly into battle, and was in all cases favoured by singular good luck. But no conclusion can be more unphilosophical or more absurd. Never, perhaps, in a belligerent brain was such fearless onward daring combined with such prudence and cool calculation. He might plan such a deed as appeared to others not only desperate, but impossible; but he had considered it in all its bearings, and made a just estimate of his means of success; and when he rushed into the fight, he had previously calculated every movement of the enemy to thwart him, and devised an expedient

by which every such movement could be defeated. Nor did he entirely trust to mere abstract calculations, for previous to an engagement he had carefully reconnoitred the enemy, spy-glass in hand; plummed the soundings and bearings with the lead-line; and passed whole nights under the enemy's batteries, to observe everything with his own eye, and verify his calculations. In an attack upon a ship or battery, he was cautious, unless justified by circumstances, not to let his boats go beyond the protection of his vessel; when the wind was on shore, he moored a boat in by a light Indian rope that floated on the water, so that a communication was established with the ship; and in the event of a reverse or check, his boats were recalled by the ship's capstan, so that their crews had only to attend to their weapons. Never, indeed, had naval warfare been so reduced by any commander to an exact science; and hence the secret of his wonderful successes. With courage equal to that of Nelson, with as much skill in the handling of ships, with a mind still more fertile in resources, and with scientific means applicable to the purposes of naval warfare that were unknown to Nelson—what might have been their respective histories had Cochrane in point of time preceded the latter? But the hero of the Nile and Trafalgar had terminated his glorious career when the other was only entering upon the scene, and to Cochrane little else was left than the gleanings of the harvest.

After a cruise of eighteen months, during which the services of his lordship had been worth whole fleets and armies, his chief wish was to be allowed to take possession of the French islands in the Bay of Biscay, and be placed in command of a squadron of small cruisers, in which case he could have kept the enemy in a state of constant alarm, and compelled the French armies to stay at home for the defence of their own coasts. But at present government had other work for him to do. A large French fleet under the command of Admiral Allemande was anchored in the Basque Roads, between the island of Aix and the Ruyant shoal, while Lord Gambier closely blockaded it with a strong squadron of the Channel fleet; but such was the strength of the French shipping and the batteries by which they were defended, as well as the security of their position and the difficulty of approaching them, that they reposed without fear of interruption. This was a standing bravado which our country would not tolerate, and as the hostile fleet could not be allured out into the open sea, it was resolved by the British admiralty to assail it in its place of safety at whatever cost or hazard. But to whom should such a difficult commission be intrusted? Lord Cochrane appeared to them the only competent man for such a deed; and on being recalled from his cruise, he laid before them a plan characterized by boldness, calculation, and scientific knowledge, of which they heartily approved, so that, passing over the usual routine of service, they commissioned him, notwithstanding his inferiority in age and naval rank, to carry it into execution. It was a confession of their helplessness, and a testimony in their hour of need to the superior worth of an officer whose services they had hitherto depreciated. As his proposal was to destroy the French fleet by fireships, a sufficient number of these were granted to him, with bomb-ships and rocket-vessels, and thus provided, he joined the blockading squadron of Lord Gambier. On the night of the 11th of April, 1809, all being in readiness, Lord Cochrane set out on his terrible expedition with his fleet of fire-ships, bombs, and explosion-vessels, commanded by officers who had volunteered for the service. As the chief hope was in the explosion-ships, a description of one

of these, which Lord Cochrane himself had charged, gives a frightful idea of the storm that was soon to rouse the French fleet from its security. It was stored with the contents of 1500 barrels of gunpowder started into puncheons, which were placed with their ends uppermost; upon these were laid three or four hundred shells charged with fuses, and between them were nearly three thousand hand-grenades. The puncheons were fastened to each other by cables wound round them, and jammed together with wedges; and moistened sand was rammed down between them, to make the whole mass compact and solid from stem to stern. In one of the three vessels armed in this manner, Lord Cochrane, with a lieutenant and four seamen, advanced to the attack at eight o'clock at night. The result of this strange encounter is so well known that only a few particulars need be mentioned. Lord Cochrane in the ship he commanded ran against the boom that defended the narrow passage, and dashed it to pieces; the fireships rushed through the opening, and closed with the French fleet; the explosion-vessels were fired with such deadly determination, that even their own crews were almost involved in the fate they brought to others, and the enemy's ships, cutting their cables, and flying hither and thither in wild confusion, were wrecked upon sand-banks or blown into the air. When the light of the morning dawned upon this midnight havoc, seven sail of the French line were seen lying on the shore, and all were in a mood to surrender, so that nothing was needed but the advance of the blockading squadron to make the victory complete. This was so evident that Cochrane, amidst the fire of the engagement, threw out signal after signal, and Lord Gambier accordingly weighed anchor; but when he was within three miles of Aix, he stopped short, called a council of war, and judged it inexpedient to proceed any farther. How this cold delay acted on the ardent spirit of Lord Cochrane, more especially when he saw the tide rise, and the stranded ships floated off without his having the means to capture them, may be easily imagined. But even as it was, much had been effected. Out of a powerful French fleet, consisting of ten sail of the line, a fifty-gun ship, and four frigates, defended by strong batteries on the island of Aix, and by a dangerous shoal and a boom, three ships of the line and a fifty-six were burned, a seventy-four in consequence of this attack was lost a few days after, and the other ships that had stranded, but escaped, were so damaged, that for a long time afterwards they continued unfit for service. Enough had been done by Lord Cochrane to show what might have been achieved had he been properly seconded. Amidst this wild midnight work, in which men might seem to be transformed into demons, it is pleasing to detect some redeeming traits of humanity, and such were not wholly wanting. They were also displayed by Lord Cochrane himself. In the heat of the engagement, when a French ship, the *Varsovie*, was set on fire, and its crew removed by the assailants for safety, a dog was left alone, and ran howling about the deck; upon which his lordship leaped on board at the risk of being blown into the air, and carried off the poor creature in his arms. On the captain of one of the captured ships lamenting to him that all he had in the world would be lost in the conflagration, Lord Cochrane got out his boat, and pushed off to the ship; but, in passing one of the burning vessels, its guns went off, by one of which the captain was killed, and the boat all but sent to the bottom. If the smallness of the loss in human life which his boldest enterprises cost is also to be accepted as a proof of humane considerateness,

this terrible exploit in the Roads of Aix will fully stand the test, for of the conquerors, only ten men were killed, thirty-seven wounded, and one missing.

For this signal success, the whole merit of which was due to Lord Cochrane, his majesty conferred upon him the order of Knight of the Bath, and a motion was made in parliament for a vote of thanks to Lord Gambier, Lord Cochrane, and the officers and seamen. But here our hero refused to be included, and opposed the vote. He was still so indignant at Lord Gambier, and so loud in his complaints of his over-cautious proceedings, that the latter was obliged to demand a court-martial, by which he was acquitted. Of this trial and acquittal, the proceedings, according to Lord Cochrane in his autobiography, were so unfair and one-sided, that it is painful to peruse the account, and to the close of his days he never ceased to characterize them as a climax of iniquity and injustice. In 1812 his lordship married, and the circumstances of this union partook of the romance of his character. His uncle, Basil Cochrane, who had acquired a large fortune in India, and designed to make his nephew his heir, was also urgent that he should marry a certain young lady, whose great dowry would raise the empty earldom of which he would be the occupant to its former wealth and grandeur; but Lord Cochrane, disregarding such sordid calculations, espoused a lady who had no fortune whatever except an amiable character, and a mind congenial to his own. The usual result of such disobedience followed: the uncle disinherited his nephew, and left him to shift for himself.

We now come to the most painful incident of Lord Cochrane's career. During the cessation of professional service after his exploit in the Aix Roads, his active spirit turned to politics, in the intrigues of which he was unfitted to shine, and to speculations on the stock exchange, in which he was still more incompetent, and by which he was a considerable loser. On the 20th of February, 1814, one of those daring frauds was committed by which a temporary rise in the value of stock is effected in the market. At the midnight of that day a person calling himself Colonel de Bourg, aide-de-camp to Lord Cathcart, appeared at the Ship Hotel, Dover, with the information that Bonaparte had been killed, that the allies were in triumphant march for Paris, and that instant peace might be expected—after which he drove to London, and repaired to the house of Lord Cochrane. His lying report was spread abroad, a rapid rise in the funds was the consequence, and when a reaction followed, a strict search for the impostor ensued, who was found under his real name of De Berenger. His visit also to Lord Cochrane was discovered, who was supposed to be implicated in the fraud. His uncle, Sir Alexander Cochrane, having been appointed to the North American station, had selected his nephew for his flag-captain, and his lordship was about to sail in the flag-ship, the *Tonnant*, but on hearing the rumour he instantly hastened from Chatham to London, and gave a full statement of the suspicious interview, and his connection with the wretched De Berenger. The latter, it appeared, had called upon him as a stranger, had told him a piteous tale of distress, and had borrowed from him a hat and coat, pretending that he was a prisoner of the Queen's Bench, and could not return to his lodgings in his present costume. But although every incident connected with De Berenger's visit was gratuitously stated and explained, the affidavit was of no avail, and his lordship's connection with the stocks, and interest in their rise, were allowed to preponderate. It was remembered also that on the 12th of February he

had purchased £139,000 of Omnium on a time-bargain, and had sold it at a profit on the 21st, when the imposture was prevalent. A trial of the parties charged with the fraud, Lord Cochrane being among the number, was held in the court of Queen's Bench before Lord Ellenborough, and the political offences of the popular hero of radicalism were such, as with or without evidence would have insured his condemnation. He had exposed the abuses of the admiralty, and the whole board was arrayed against him. He had been appointed, notwithstanding his youth and inferior rank, to conduct the expedition of the Basque Roads, and older commanders were indignant at the preference, and regarded him as their enemy. And above all, he was a keen reformer, whose uncompromising opposition to the powers that be, and exposure of their errors and iniquities, had kindled the resentment of government, and made it their interest to find him guilty. With such a weight of opposition it mattered not though the evidence brought against him was equivocal, weak, and unsatisfactory, and that a most respectable minority were dissatisfied with the trial, and persisted in holding him innocent. He was pronounced guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of £1000; to be imprisoned twelve months in the Marshalsea; and to stand one hour in the pillory in front of the Royal Exchange, along with De Berenger and another of the convicted conspirators. But this last shameful part of the sentence was not executed—for it might have brought a worse than Spithead or Sheerness mutiny into the heart of London itself. He was also dismissed from the navy, expelled from the House of Commons, and degraded from the knighthood of the Bath, his banner being thrown down, and kicked out of the chapel by the king-at-arms, according to the ancient prescribed form. Notwithstanding this load of indignity his constituents of Westminster continued to proclaim him guiltless, and when a new election took place on the 16th of July, 1814, he was again, though a prisoner, chosen to represent the city. This was enough to rouse him into action: maddened by the wrongs endured from his enemies, and encouraged by this honourable approval, he scaled the walls of his prison, entered the astonished House of Commons, and took his seat among the members. For this outbreak he was remanded to the Marshalsea, and visited with a fresh fine.

After his term of durance had expired, Lord Cochrane found little or no benefit by the recovery of his personal liberty. He was still indeed, as before, proclaimed guiltless by the reflecting and judicious few; his friends still clung to him, and the sailors worshipped him as the *beau idéal* of a commander and a hero. But still he felt the brand inflicted by government to be ineffaceable, and that, however he might remonstrate, neither his complaints nor his justification could obtain a hearing. He felt that he had no longer a country and a home, and for all the purposes of life might as well be elsewhere. Something however he must do, for such a spirit could not remain at rest; and in 1818 an opportunity for action occurred. The Spanish provinces of South America were throwing off the yoke of the mother country, which had become too oppressive to be borne; the republic of Chili offered him the command of its naval force; and as the cause was that of liberty, of which he was so enthusiastic an advocate, he closed with the offer, and repaired with his wife and family to Valparaiso. On arriving he found the office to which he was invited so hopeless that any other commander would have despaired. The Spanish fleet, which was large and powerful, held possession of the sea, and in the principal cities the authority of the

viceroy was still supreme; while the whole naval force of the insurgents consisted of only three frigates and a few sloops of war manned by heterogeneous crews, half of whom had never been trained to the sea, while all were equally in a state of insubordination. None but a master intellect of the highest power could have reduced such elements to order, and made them fit for great achievements; and these were precisely the difficulties which his lordship had been accustomed to overcome. His exploits more than justified the high expectations of the insurgents; for no sooner was it known that he was admiral of the Chilian fleet than the Spanish ships of war hurried behind the shelter of their fortresses, and left the sea open to their lately despised enemies. Having thus found the coast of Chili free from the enemy, Lord Cochrane carried the war to the coast of Peru, and soon signalized it by the capture of Valdivia. This was a sea-fortress of such strength that a powerful fleet would have been required for an attack upon it according to the usual operations; but his lordship, who calculated upon secrecy and a sudden blow for success, resolved to attack it with nothing but his flagship, a frigate of 50 guns, and three small vessels carrying 250 land troops. He approached the harbour under Spanish colours, and as a ship was expected from Cadiz, a boat pushed out from the harbour with pilots, who, on stepping on board the flagship, were made prisoners. Availing himself of the information they gave, the flagship and small vessels advanced towards the harbour; but the Spaniards, alarmed at these suspicious movements, opened a heavy fire, and the battle commenced in earnest. But one fort after another was taken by the assailants, while the defenders, confounded by the boldness of the attack, which was made at once both from east and west, offered a confused and feeble resistance. In this manner all the forts were captured before daybreak, and, to add to the success of this exploit, the Spanish governor of Valdivia, terrified at such a sudden capture, collected his troops and whatever valuables he could transport, and sought safety in flight. Thus Lord Cochrane found himself master of fifteen forts, the city of Valdivia, large magazines, and many cannon, with a numerous population; while to rule, retain, and manage such a conquest, he had only a few hundred soldiers and sailors, the last of whom were needed for the ships. And who could tell how long the panic of the governor would last, or how soon he might return with such a force as would suffice to overpower the captors? Lord Cochrane resolved to trust to the terrors of his name and the additional dread which this capture had inspired: he therefore left the place as it stood, and with its stores untouched, confident that none would reoccupy Valdivia from the fear of a second and more terrible return. His confidence was justified, for the Spaniards held aloof; and this city, the chief military Spanish depôt of the province, became the property of the insurgent government.

Equally daring with this remarkable deed was that which his lordship performed at Callao, the port of Lima. It had been resolved that Callao should only be blockaded, as its defences were such that its capture by direct attack was judged impossible. Its harbour was defended at every point by 300 pieces of cannon; the garrison was composed of tried soldiers and skilful artillery-men; and under the guns and within the fort the Spanish frigate *Esmeralda*, of 40 guns, lay moored, having on board a numerous crew of seamen and marines, who kept careful watch night and day. These defences of the *Esmeralda* had also in addition a strong boom with chain moorings, armed blockships, and a guard of twenty-seven gun-

boats. But a dull blockade did not suit the ardent genius of Lord Cochrane, and he resolved, in spite of its formidable advantages, to attack and carry this frigate. Besides the glory of such an enterprise, it would be a death-blow to the Spanish cause in South America. From his three frigates he selected 160 seamen and 80 marines; these, after dark, were placed in fourteen boats alongside of his flag-ship, each man armed with a cutlass and pistol, and dressed in white, with a blue band on the left arm. What followed will be best given in his lordship's own account. "At ten o'clock all was in readiness, the boats being formed in two divisions, the first commanded by my flag-captain Crosbie, and the second by Captain Guise, my boat leading. The strictest silence and the exclusive use of cutlasses were enjoined, so that, as the oars were muffled and the night dark, the enemy had not the least suspicion of the intended attack. It was just upon midnight when we neared the small opening left in the boom, our plan being well-nigh frustrated by the vigilance of a guard-boat, upon which my launch had unluckily stumbled. The challenge was given, upon which, in an undertone, I threatened the occupants of the boat with instant death if they made the least alarm. No reply was made to the threat, and in a few minutes our gallant fellows were alongside the frigate in line, boarding at several points simultaneously. The Spaniards were completely taken by surprise, the whole, with the exception of the sentries, being asleep at their quarters; and great was the havoc made among them by the Chili cutlasses whilst they were recovering themselves. Retreating to the fore-castle, they there made a gallant stand, and it was not until the third charge that the position was carried. The fight was for a short time renewed on the quarter-deck, where the Spanish marines fell to a man, the rest of the enemy leaping overboard and into the hold to escape slaughter. On boarding the ship by the main-chains I was knocked back by the butt-end of the sentry's musket, and falling on a thole-pin of the boat, it entered my back near the spine, inflicting a severe injury, which caused me many years of subsequent suffering. Immediately regaining my footing, I reascended the side, and when on deck, was shot through the thigh; but binding a handkerchief tightly round the wound, managed, though with great difficulty, to direct the contest to its close. The whole affair from beginning to end occupied only a quarter of an hour, our loss being eleven killed and thirty wounded, while that of the Spaniards was 160, many of whom fell under the cutlasses of the Chilenos before they could stand to their arms." In this manner, by a wonderful combination of skill and daring, the *Esmeralda* was boarded and won. The danger, however, was not yet over: alarmed by the tokens of a struggle in the harbour, the garrison opened its guns upon the *Esmeralda*, and as they were accurately pointed, they knocked down friend and enemy alike on board, and might have soon recovered the prize had it not been for an expedient of Cochrane. Nigh the vessel were lying an English and an American frigate, which, being neutral, hoisted their distinctive lights to avert the fire of the garrison from themselves; but his lordship, who had foreseen this, also hoisted the same lights, so that the Spaniards, unable to distinguish between friends and foes, withheld their fire. There also lay in the port a Spanish sloop of war and many merchant vessels, one of which had a million of dollars on board; and it was part of his lordship's design to board ship after ship, and make himself master of the whole. But the English and American frigates having cut their cables and drifted out of the fire, the captors of the *Esmeralda* followed their ex-

ample, although contrary to Lord Cochrane's orders; and thus the rich booty which would have rewarded such a victory escaped from their grasp. But such an exploit as the capture of the *Esmeralda* was enough for fame, and while the world rang with the report of the deed, the British seamen everywhere exulted in the success of their favourite hero, and expressed their indignation at his dismissal from the national service.

While by a series of such actions Lord Cochrane was establishing the emancipation of Chili and Peru, his position was by no means comfortable. The chiefs of the revolt were indignant that a foreign leader should thus eclipse them; and while they boasted of their own counsels and arrangements as the source of these achievements, they rapaciously seized the spoil of every naval victory, and alienated it to the land-service and the operations in which themselves were personally concerned. Thus, with no prize-money and scantily paid wages, the seamen became indignant, and it was natural that their leader should sympathize in their complaints. At last they got no pay whatever, and broke out into open mutiny; while, to quell it, the Chilean dictator could devise no better expedient than that of selling the fleet itself by which their best successes had been effected. This brought matters to their crisis; and while an immense amount of public and private treasure was about to be removed by order of the dictator to the port of Ancon, the fleet, with the consent of their admiral, arrested the money as an indemnity for their past services. Lord Cochrane's distribution of the spoil thus obtained was both just and generous. What was private property he restored to the owners; what had been appropriated for the public debts he also allowed to pass; and from the surplus he paid every seaman a year's arrear of pay, but kept nothing for himself. And this arrear he was an actual loser to the amount of £25,000 by his interposition in behalf of these liberated states! San Martin, Bolivar, and the other chiefs of the colonial revolt, were indignant at this summary proceeding; and as the Spanish dominion was utterly broken in South America, they were impatient to be left to themselves, that they might enjoy their new freedom after their own fashion. And in what deplorable way they used it and enjoyed it, history has recorded! Meanwhile the position of Lord Cochrane among such proceedings was every day becoming more painful, when he was relieved by what he justly calls a "fortunate accident." The important colony of Brazil, animated by the successful example of the Spanish colonies of South America, had resolved to free itself from the dominion of Portugal, and sent to him an accredited agent inviting him to take the command of the Brazilian navy. He assented, and in March, 1822, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, and assumed his new command.

As it was not in his lordship's nature to be idle, he set himself to organize such a fleet as might enable the Brazilians to contend with the Portuguese on an element in which the latter were the stronger; and when all was judged fit for the purpose, he resolved to commence operations at Bahia, the ancient capital of Brazil. This important city had been placed under such a strict blockade by the troops of Don Pedro, that the authorities had resolved to withdraw all the soldiers and the greater part of the inhabitants to Maranhão, where they might effectually have held the whole Brazilian powers at defiance. With this design its magnificent port was alive with a fleet which the eye could scarcely number. Numerous armed transports containing the troops, and from sixty to seventy merchant vessels with Portu-

guese families and their furniture on board, were to be safely escorted to their destination by a 74-gun ship, one of 50 guns, a frigate of 44 guns, and nine smaller frigates of from 20 to 26 guns—in all a squadron of twelve ships of war. This important transference of a capital and its resources to a locality where their resistance might be more formidable, his lordship was resolved to interrupt, although for the purpose he had only a 74-gun ship, and a frigate of 32 light guns—the former called the *Pedro Primeiro*, and the latter the *Maria da Gloria*. On the 2d of July the Bahian squadron got under weigh; but no sooner had stood out to sea than his lordship was in chase of them. He ran aboard of their hindmost vessels, and so effectually damaged their masts and rigging, as compelled them to scud before the wind back to Bahia. He then dashed into the midst of the convoy, capturing ships to right and left; and three small frigates having come up and joined him in the chase, the whole Portuguese armament was scattered in every direction, and its ships compelled to strike at the first summons. For three days this desperate pursuit continued, and with such effect that the ships conveying the soldiers were boarded, their masts and rigging destroyed, and their captains bound by oath to carry their vessels into an insurgent port. While their convoy was thus scattered, the armed ships kept together, and presented too formidable a front to be attacked; but Lord Cochrane having now put the military force *hors-de-combat*, resolved to proceed at once to Maranham; knowing that once there the terror of his name would compel the enemy to keep aloof, and preclude all attempts to relieve the place by sea. He accordingly steered direct to Maranham, and no sooner had neared the harbour than a brig of war came out to welcome his ship, as the first arrival and precursor of the whole Portuguese squadron. Greatly, however, were they astounded, when on stepping on board they found themselves prisoners, and in the presence of the dreaded Lord Cochrane. He told them that the Portuguese fleet and army had been destroyed; that his flag-ship was only part of the whole Brazilian fleet, which would straightway enter their port; that it carried an invading force sufficient to compel submission; and under the terror of these representations the captain of the brig was easily induced to carry a message to the governor on shore representing the uselessness of resistance, and advising him to surrender. The authorities of Maranham were quelled by the captain's tidings and his message, and would have surrendered upon conditions; but as such half-measures did not suit his lordship, he moved his flag-ship abreast of the fort as if in readiness to commence a bombardment. This display was enough; the junta and bishop of Maranham came on board, surrendered unconditionally their city, forts, and island, and subscribed their adhesion to the empire and Don Pedro. This decisive blow, and by a single ship, settled the fate of the war. Bahia had already fallen, the important province of Maranham had yielded, and the Portuguese ships, despairing of resistance with Lord Cochrane opposed to them, had abandoned the American seas and returned home. The vast importance of this singular deed of daring was so justly appreciated by the emperor that he conferred upon his lordship the title of Marquis of Maranham, and awarded to him a large estate which was to be selected from the national domains.

With the establishment of the Brazilian empire, it might have been thought that our hero would have been allowed to repose under his laurels, and enjoy the fruits of his victories in peace. But

irresistible though he was on sea, Lord Cochrane was always unfortunate on shore, and every success was only a prelude to some disappointment or disaster at the hands of formal or intriguing politicians, whose modes of warfare he could not understand, and by whose stratagems he was baffled. Such it had been in his connection with Chili and Peru, and now the same lesson was to be repeated at Brazil. The division of the spoil among the victors, the share of the booty and prize-money to which the fleet was entitled, and the tendency of the government to appropriate the lion's share, without having performed the lion's part in running down the game, were again the subjects of controversy and quarrel; and after scenes of brawling which were in strange contrast with the heroic achievements out of which they sprang, Lord Cochrane sickened in such an ignoble element; and, in common phrase, resolved "to cut the concern." There was nothing in the shape of personal interest or possession to detain him at Brazil; for his title of Marquis of Maranham was merely nominal, the government having refused to confer upon him the estate which the emperor had awarded. He accordingly departed without even the ceremony of leave-taking, and the mode of his departure was sufficient to puzzle both friend and enemy. Resolved, as he tells us, to take a short cruise for health to a more bracing latitude, he shifted his flag from the *Pedro Primeiro* to the frigate *Piranaa*, and sailed northward; but after he had cruised far enough for such a purpose, he found his rigging in such a damaged state, and his provisions so short, that it was impossible to return to Rio de Janeiro. To Europe, therefore, he must go; and as a Portuguese port was dangerous, as being that of an enemy, and a Spanish port doubtful, he bore for Portsmouth, although the foreign enlistment act had condemned his late proceedings, and anchored at Spithead. As soon as this strange escapade was known at Brazil, the frigate was reclaimed, and himself ordered to return to Rio, to give an account of his proceedings; and on his refusal, he was tried during his absence as a deserter, and sentenced to the forfeiture of his arrears of pay and prize-money, and whatever contingent rewards he might have expected for his services. Twenty years afterwards, in consequence of his continued solicitations, the Brazilian court conducted a fresh inquiry into the case, and with a result that was honourable to his lordship; for his title of Marquis of Maranham was recognized, and the pension awarded him which had been originally stipulated.

On returning to England, Lord Cochrane, notwithstanding the renown he had won in South America, could obtain no mitigation of the sentence whose severity had driven him from service in his own country; and still as devoted to the cause of freedom as ever, and impatient of inaction, he turned his attention to Greece, that land of heroic remembrances, which had now risen from the oppression of ages, and was contending for liberty, although at a fearful disadvantage, against both Turks and Egyptians. Its appeal to his sympathies was not in vain, and on his repairing to the seat of war, he prevailed upon its factious and divided leaders to establish a regular government, with Count Capo d'Istria for its president. General Church, an English officer, was also appointed commander of its land forces; and his lordship commander-in-chief of the Greek fleet. Athens was already invested by the enemy; the first effort of Church and Cochrane was to raise the siege; and by their joint efforts 10,000 Greek soldiers were assembled under the walls of the city.

But it was found impossible to combine such discordant and undisciplined troops for united action, and an attempt which was made by the Greeks to relieve Athens by surprise ended in complete failure.

Two days after, the attempt was to be repeated in a more orderly and promising form; but the Greeks, who had miscalculated the time necessary for embarking and relanding, were themselves surprised by the enemy, and charged with such vigour by large bodies of cavalry, that they were soon put to the rout. Lord Cochrane himself was obliged to throw himself into the sea, and swim to one of his vessels which were lying at anchor along the coast. Greece had no longer an army; and when he endeavoured to rouse the fleet to a renewal of hostilities, he found his authority as admiral so little regarded, that while some of the captains took time to deliberate, others, who were owners of the vessels they commanded, weighed anchor, and went off upon enterprises of their own. Thus ended his Greek campaign of 1827, his last attempt of battle, as well as the only one in which he had failed; and thus melted away that *fata morgana* of Grecian liberty upon which the eyes of so many nations had been turned with hope. It was neither by romantic bravery nor deeds of arms that Greece was to be recalled from her long sleep of death and replaced among living nations, but by intimidation and political negotiation; and in the following year Turkey was compelled to listen to the remonstrances of the great European powers, and restore Greece to her ancient national independence.

On returning from this Greek expedition, with hopes disappointed, and a spirit embittered by unwanted failure, Lord Cochrane resumed the task he so seldom intermitted of vindicating his character from the effects of the De Berenger trial. But his enemies were still in office, and as they stood committed to their former award, his indignant appeals for justice were disregarded. Thus matters continued, until the death of George IV. and the succession of William IV. produced an entire change in the political horizon. As a sailor and a Whig, the new sovereign admired the naval achievements of his lordship, and sympathized in his wrongs; the party with which Lord Cochrane was identified, and by whom his innocence had been maintained, had succeeded to place and power; and the natural consequence of this change was, that his lordship was restored to his rank in the navy, an act of justice which was welcomed by the whole nation. But still, much more should have been done which was left undone, and his impassioned complaints were continued. To grant a second trial, by which the innocence of the condemned might be established, and the penalties of his sentence reversed, was contrary to the usage of English law, and his lordship's restoration to his naval rank was merely an act of royal clemency, by which his offence was forgiven, rather than declared a nonentity. In addition to this imperfect acquittal, his arrears of pay and restoration to rank as a knight of the Bath were still withheld. It was therefore in no mere spirit of discontent that he continued to feel himself a deeply injured man, and demand a full redress. This indeed came at last, but tardily enough. In 1841 he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue. In 1844 he received a good-service pension for services performed up to the period of his trial. In 1847 he was replaced in his rank as a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath; although, by some strange inconsistency, his banner was not restored to its place in the chapel of Henry VII., and was not indeed set up until the day before his funeral. In 1848 he was appointed admiral in command of the North American and

West India station. Previous to these reluctant dribbles of atonement, he had in 1831, in consequence of the death of his father, become Earl of Dundonald.

As the peace under which Europe still continued afforded no opportunity for active service, his lordship employed his declining years in those scientific studies to which, like his father, he was enthusiastically addicted, and which he had never failed to resume with every interval of leisure. His investigations, however, were chiefly connected with his profession, and of a substantial and practical character. He was especially aware of the great revolution that would take place in naval warfare by the use of steam, and was among the earliest who tried experiments in reference to the construction of steam-ships of war, having constructed for this purpose a vessel called the *Janus*, of extraordinary power and dimensions. Thus he remained chiefly secluded in his study until the Russian war, when its difficulties called him forth. One of the fruits of his early studies was the fabrication of a tremendous apparatus which would insure the destruction of armies and fortresses; and this he suggested to George IV., then prince regent, soon after his arrival from the exploit in the Basque Roads. A committee was appointed to examine and report, who found the scheme so terrible that they shrank from it in dismay; and Lord Cochrane, who would only use it in defence of his own country, kept his plan a profound secret. In 1846, when a war with France seemed imminent, he again brought forward his proposal, which was once more submitted to a commission of three most eminent engineers; but they too were so appalled by its fearfully destructive character, that they reported it as not in "accord with the feelings and principles of civilized warfare." He now came forward a third time with his plan, which was to annihilate the resistance of Cronstadt or Sebastopol; and when it was pronounced inexpedient, he offered, old as he was, to go against either of these forts, and superintend its destruction in person. But still he kept the secret locked within his own breast, and it was buried with him in his grave. And what was this mysterious destructive power? Curiosity was tantalized with the question, and theory after theory was given in reply. Some thought it must be some powerful agency, the force of which no ramparts constructed by human hands could resist. Others thought it must be some shell, or explosive instrument, the bursting of which would so poison the surrounding atmosphere, that every living thing within its range would expire. As no certainty could be obtained, it formed a boundless field for fancy and conjecture.

Besides these studies Lord Cochrane, during his long and varied career, published many works of scientific and professional interest; but the most popular of his writings were his *Autobiography of a Seaman*, being a history of his own life until the termination of his trial, and his *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru, and Brasil*; works which he published after his restoration to naval rank, and by which he hoped that his illustrious deeds would be known, and his fair fame vindicated, after he had passed away from the world. His death occurred at Kensington, on the 30th of October, 1860, at the ripe age of eighty-four years, and his remains were interred in Westminster Abbey, near the centre of the nave, the place reserved for the most illustrious of Britain; while the whole nation bewailed his departure. He was survived by his widow, and by four sons and a daughter, to perpetuate an otherwise imperishable memory, from

which the obloquy that obscured it is yearly passing away.

COCKBURN, MRS. ALICE. This accomplished lady, who, like Lady Anne Barnard, immortalized herself by the production of a single song, was a daughter of Robert Rutherford, of Fairnalee, in Selkirkshire. The year of her birth is uncertain, but it appears to have been about 1710 or 1712. In her youth she must have been distinguished by her beauty, as a certain Mr. Fairbairn, who taught French in Edinburgh, mentions her by her maiden name of Alice Rutherford, with nineteen other ladies, in his work entitled *L'Eloge d'Ecosse*, as the most charming belles of the Scottish capital. Her poetical powers appear to have been recognized at an early period, and the production of her beautiful song, *I've seen the Smiling of Fortune Beguiling*, originated, we are told, in the following incident. A gentleman of her acquaintance, in passing through a sequestered but romantic glen, observed a shepherd at some distance tending his flocks, and amusing himself at intervals by playing on a flute. The scene altogether was very interesting, and being passionately fond of music, he drew nearer the spot, and listened for some time unobserved to the attractive but artless strains of the young shepherd. One of the airs in particular appeared so exquisitely wild and pathetic, that he could no longer refrain from discovering himself, in order to obtain some information respecting it from the rural performer. On inquiry, he learned that it was the *Flowers of the Forest*. This intelligence exciting his curiosity, he was determined, if possible, to obtain possession of the air. He accordingly prevailed on the young man to play it over and over, until he picked up every note, which he immediately committed to paper on his return home. Delighted with his new discovery, as he supposed, he lost no time in communicating it to Miss Rutherford, who not only recognized the tune, but likewise repeated some detached lines of the old ballad. Anxious, however, to have a set of verses adapted to his favourite melody, and well aware that few, if any, were better qualified than Miss Rutherford for such a task, he took the liberty of begging this favour at her hand. She obligingly consented, and, in a few days thereafter, he had the pleasure of receiving the stanzas from the fair author. Among the recollections of Sir Walter Scott, the following occurs of the circumstances under which the song was written: "A turret in the old house of Fairnalee is still shown as the place where the poem (*I have seen the Smiling*, &c.) was written. The occasion was a calamitous period in Selkirkshire or Ettrick Forest, when no fewer than seven lairds or proprietors, men of ancient family and inheritance, having been engaged in some imprudent speculations, became insolvent in one year."

In 1731 this beautiful and talented poetess was married to Patrick Cockburn, advocate, youngest son of Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston, lord justice-clerk of Scotland. At a time when the Pretender and his son were keeping Britain astir with the promise of a descent upon its shores, the distinctions of Whig and Tory were matters of life-and-death importance, in which every member of the community had a stake; and both Mrs. Cockburn and her husband were keen Whigs, and staunch adherents of the existing government. In this character the advocate deprived the Pretender's cause of a powerful ally, and perhaps the expected ally himself from ruin, according to the following statement of Sir Walter Scott: "Her husband acted as commissioner for the Duke of Hamilton of that day; and being,

as might be expected from his family, a sincere friend to the Revolution and Protestant succession, he used his interest with his principal to prevent him from joining in the intrigues which preceded the insurrection of 1745, to which his grace (who was then only in his twenty-second year) is supposed to have had a strong inclination." Mr. Cockburn died in 1753, and his widow survived him for more than forty years. Her own death occurred in Edinburgh on the 22d of November, 1794, when she was more than eighty years old.

To this scanty record of her life (the general fate of her sex, however talented) it is fortunate that we can add a few particulars to fill up the outline, from the affectionate notices of her distinguished kinsman, Sir Walter Scott. From these we learn that Mrs. Cockburn had cultivated poetry from an early period, and that she continued to indulge in it until near the close of her life; but in this case it was more in the spirit of an amateur than an author, her productions being chiefly short poetical pieces, or sportive parodies concerning passing events, or the persons with whom she was connected. One instance of this he gives in a set of verses, descriptive of some of her friends, which she sent to a company where most of them were assembled, and where their brief caricature likenesses were so admirably sketched, that the originals were recognized as soon as the verses were read aloud. One of these was the following upon Sir Walter Scott's father, then a young man, and remarkably handsome, but distinguished still more highly by his upright character than his personal endowments:—

"To a thing that's uncommon—
A youth of discretion,
Who, though vastly handsome,
Despises flirtation;
To the friend in affliction,
The heart of affection,
Who may hear the last trump
Without dread of detection."

In describing her style of life, we have a picture of the state of fashionable society in Edinburgh during the last century, which its "oldest living inhabitant" only saw in its departure—and over the records of which its present children can sometimes linger with regret. "My mother and Mrs. Cockburn," Sir Walter says, "were related, in what degree I know not, but sufficiently near to induce Mrs. Cockburn to distinguish her in her will. Mrs. Cockburn had the misfortune to lose an only son, Patrick Cockburn, who had the rank of captain in the dragoons, several years before her own death. She was one of those persons whose talents for conversation made a stronger impression on her contemporaries than her writings can be expected to produce. In person and feature she somewhat resembled Queen Elizabeth; but the nose was rather more aquiline. She was proud of her auburn hair, which remained unbleached by time, even when she was upwards of eighty years old. She maintained the rank in the society of Edinburgh which Frenchwomen of talents usually do in that of Paris; and in her little parlour used to assemble a very distinguished and accomplished circle, among whom David Hume, John Home, Lord Monboddo, and many other men of name, were frequently to be found. Her evening parties were very frequent, and included society distinguished both for condition and talents. The *petit souper*, which always concluded the evening, was like that of Stella, which she used to quote on the occasion:—

"A supper like her mighty self,
Four nothings on four plates of self;"

But they passed off more gaily than many costlier

entertainments. She spoke both wittily and well; and maintained an extensive correspondence, which, if it continues to exist, must contain many things highly curious and interesting. My recollection is, that her conversation brought her much nearer to a Frenchwoman than to a native of England; and, as I have the same impression with respect to ladies of the same period and the same rank in society, I am apt to think that the *vieille cour* of Edinburgh rather resembled that of Paris than that of St. James's; and particularly, that the Scotch imitated the Parisians in laying aside much of the expense and form of these little parties, in which wit and good humour were allowed to supersede all occasion of display. The lodging where Mrs. Cockburn received the best society of her time would not now afford accommodation to a very inferior person." "Even at an age," Sir Walter elsewhere adds, "advanced beyond the usual bounds of humanity, she retained a play of imagination, and an activity of intellect, which must have been attractive and delightful in youth, but were almost preternatural at her period of life. Her active benevolence, keeping pace with her genius, rendered her equally an object of love and admiration." The dress and appearance of this venerable lady are thus described in the letter of a lady written to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq.—"She had a pleasing countenance, and piqued herself upon always dressing according to her own taste, and not according to the dictates of fashion. Her brown hair never grew gray; and she wore it combed up upon a toupee—no cap—a lace hood tied under her chin, and her sleeves puffed out in the fashion of Queen Elizabeth, which is not uncommon now, but at that time was quite peculiar to herself." And thus, after having bloomed for well nigh a century, and when an entire change of society was at hand, the last flower of the forest was "wede away," leaving a native fragrance behind her which time will not soon extinguish.

COCKBURN, HENRY THOMAS, one of the lords of session, and a lord-commissioner of justiciary. This accomplished scholar, eminent lawyer, and upright judge, was born in 1778, and was the son of Archibald Cockburn, a baron of the court of exchequer in Scotland. His family connections and influence naturally selected the law for his profession, and after a suitable education for the purpose, Henry Thomas Cockburn was called to the Scottish bar in 1800. But it was no easy arena into which he had entered; for the ground was preoccupied by Titans, and of these it is enough to mention the names of George Cranston, Thomas Thomson, Francis Jeffrey, Fullerton, and Moncrieff. To win distinction amidst such a band of talented competitors, and be enrolled among their number, was no ordinary achievement; but this he accomplished, and was soon distinguished as one of the most talented of our Scottish advocates. There were other circumstances also more difficult perhaps to overcome than that of such a rivalry; for he was of small stature and homely countenance—obstacles naturally of serious detriment to the progress of an orator and pleader. He also persisted in the use of the Scotch dialect, although the literary taste of the day had banished it, and when even ordinary feeling was condemning it as low and vulgar. "Mr. Cockburn," says Lockhart, in *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolks*, "is a homely speaker; but he carries his homeliness to a length which I do not remember ever to have heard any other truly great speaker venture upon. He uses the Scottish dialect—always its music, and not unfrequently its words—quite as broadly as Mr. Clerk of Eldin, and perhaps at first hearing with

rather more vulgarity of effect; for he is a young man, and I have already hinted that no young man can speak Scotch with the same impunity as an old one." "Nevertheless," the same author adds, "I am sure no man who has witnessed the effect which Mr. Cockburn produces upon a Scottish jury would wish to see him alter anything in his mode of addressing them. . . . His use of the language, and his still more exquisite use of the images and allusions of common Scottish life, must contribute in the most powerful manner to his success in this first great object of all his rhetoric. There is an air of broad and undisguised sincerity in the simple tones and energetic phrases he employs, which finds its way like a charm to the very bottom of the hearts around him. He sees it painted in their beaming and expanding faces, and sees, and knows, and feels at once that his eloquence is persuasive. Once so far victorious, he is thenceforth irresistible. He has established an understanding between himself and his audience—a feeling of fellowship and confidence of communion which nothing can disturb. The electricity of thought and of sentiment passes from his face to theirs, and thrills back again from theirs to his. He has fairly come into contact; he sees their breasts lie bare to his weapon, and he will make no thrust in vain." To the same effect is the description of another Scotch writer, by which the portrait of Cockburn at the bar is complete. "As a pleader, especially in criminal cases or jury trials, we shall never again see the equal of Mr. Cockburn. Jeffrey alone, and that only on some occasions, approached him. His sagacity, his brevity, his marvellous power of expression—so homely, yet so truly and touchingly eloquent—his mingled pathos and humour, his winning Scotch manner, his masterly analysis of evidence, and the intense earnestness, not the less effective that it was visibly chastened and restrained, with which he identified himself with his client—made his appeals to Scottish juries always powerful, and frequently resistless."

In this manner the career of Cockburn was continued as an advocate until 1830. His history for years had exclusively been that of a brilliant and successful lawyer, but without the political promotion to which such high talents were entitled; and for this neglect his political opinions were sufficient to account. He had commenced public life as a Whig; he had adhered unflinchingly to the principles of his party even when they were the most obnoxious to the ruling powers, and could expect nothing more from government than forbearance in return. It was too well known that he was the friend of the chief supporters of the *Edinburgh Review*, and an occasional contributor to its pages, and that there was no hope of purchasing his recantation. But the great political change in the year above-mentioned, by which his party came into place and power, reversed this order of things, and while Jeffrey was appointed lord-advocate, Cockburn became solicitor-general for Scotland. In 1834 both were elevated to the bench, and as a judge, Lord Cockburn was distinguished by the same high character which he had won as an advocate. "As a judge," says the writer from whom we have last quoted, "he was distinguished by his skilful detection of falsehood in principle or in evidence, by breadth and distinctiveness of view, not unfrequently receiving the confirmation of the House of Lords on appeal, by his graceful and luminous exposition, by purity and impartiality of character, and by uniform affability and courtesy of demeanour." In 1837 he received the additional appointment of a lord-commissioner of justiciary, and here his professional promotions terminated.

In the life of Lord Cockburn there are few incidents

of a public character to narrate; his course was an even tenor, and its chief events were the transitions by which he rose to the highest place in his profession. In private life, while he held by his distinctive principles, he was too good-natured to obtrude them upon society; and this forbearance, with his many lovable qualities, made him be esteemed by all parties alike. It was often a subject of regret with those who knew his varied abilities out of the range of his own profession, that he had not attempted to establish for himself a permanent reputation by authorship; but except a few articles in the *Edinburgh Review* and other periodicals, he published nothing until 1852, when he had attained the ripe age of seventy-four years. He then produced the *Life of Lord Jeffrey*, and a volume of his correspondence—a work so admirably written, and containing such vivid delineations of the distinguished men of a departed age, and the fashions of past Scottish life, as well as a minute record of his hero, that the work, notwithstanding the transient nature of the subjects, is still a favourite with the reading public of our country. One peculiarity of Lord Cockburn by which his popularity was enhanced, was his intense love of the site, scenery, and architecture of Edinburgh, and his consequent endeavours that these should either be untouched by modern innovations, or at least treated with a gentle and careful hand; and the changes proposed by town-councils and civic architects, by which his beloved “Auld Reekie” was to be beautified, he either watched with a jealous eye, or could not patiently tolerate. These feelings set his pen in motion with an intensity indicative of a ruling passion strong in death, so that four or five years before he died he wrote a pungently sarcastic pamphlet, entitled *The Best Way of Spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh*; and scarcely three weeks before his death he addressed two letters to an influential Edinburgh newspaper in favour of the south-east angle of East Prince’s Street, as the best site attainable for the restoration of Trinity College Church. Nor was this love of beauty in Lord Cockburn confined to mere theory, but was an active principle, which his house of Bonaly, near Colinton, and the pleasure-grounds that surrounded it, testified, where he had bestowed time, labour, skill, and money in their improvement, although there was no son to inherit his labours and sacrifices. It was here finally that his lordship died, on the 26th of April, 1854, after a brief illness of five days.

COCKBURN, JOHN, of Ormiston, the father of Scottish husbandry, was born in the latter part of the seventeenth century. His father, Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston (in East Lothian), held the eminent office of lord-justice clerk after the Revolution. His mother was Lady Susan Hamilton, third daughter of John, fourth Earl of Haddington. So early as the days of the Reformation, the family had distinguished itself by its zeal in behalf of liberal institutions and public liberty. The laird of that day maintained an alliance with the English reformers, when hardly any other Scottish gentleman dared to oppose the tyranny of Beaton; and it was in his house that the celebrated George Wishart was found, previous to his being brought to trial and burned. From that period down to the Revolution the Cockburns of Ormiston were invariably on the liberal side of the question. The subject of this memoir inherited all the patriotism of his race, and in the lifetime of his father, in his capacity as a member of the last Scottish parliament, took an active interest in accomplishing the union. He was the first representative of East Lothian in the parliament of Great Britain, and continued to be elected to that distin-

guished place in all the successive parliaments till 1741. Mr. Cockburn at one period of his parliamentary career held the post of lord of the admiralty.

It was not, however, in a political career that he was destined to gather his chief laurels. At the close of the seventeenth century, on account of the religious and civil broils which had so long distracted the country, the condition of agriculture in Scotland was at a very low ebb. The tenantry, so far from being able to make any improvement, were too poor in general even to stock the lands they occupied. Fletcher of Salton, who published a treatise on the affairs of Scotland, in 1698, describes their situation as abject and miserable; and Lord Kaimes, in still stronger language, declares, that before the union they were so benumbed with oppression, that the most able tutor in husbandry would have made nothing of them. By a short-sighted policy the landlords in general had no other principle than to force as much from the soil for every passing year as they could. The tenants were so much disheartened, that it was difficult to let a farm, and none were taken upon leases of more than five years. But even if other circumstances had been more favourable, there was such a rooted prepossession in favour of old systems, and so much ignorance of the science of agriculture, that improvement was almost hopeless.

Lord Ormiston, father of Mr. Cockburn, had made an attempt so early as 1698 to break through the old system of short leases. He then granted Robert Wight, eldest son of Alexander Wight, one of his tenants in Ormiston, a lease of the farm of *Muirhouse*, now *Murrays*, to endure for *eleven* years. Mr. Wight accordingly commenced inclosing his fields, a process heretofore quite unknown in Scotland. In 1713 Lord Ormiston granted to the same person a lease of a neighbouring farm to endure for *nine* years.

John Cockburn, who became possessed of the estate about the year 1714, immediately entered upon a much more extensive system of improvement. He had marked with extreme concern the supine condition of Scottish husbandry, which his parliamentary visits to England had enabled him to contrast with the more fortunate condition of that country; and with an enlarged liberality of soul, which scorned all his own immediate interests for the sake of ultimate general good, he began to grant long leases of his farms upon exceedingly small rents. As an instance it may be mentioned, that he granted to Robert Wight a new lease of the *Murrays* farm for thirty-eight years, from 1718, at a rent of £750 Scots, or £62, 10s. od. sterling, and upon paying £1200 Scots, or £100 sterling, by way of fine or grassum, at the expiration of that term, a renewal thereof for other nineteen years, and so on from one period of nineteen years to another in all time coming: a degree of liberality which speaks more strongly than anything else possibly could, for the backward state of agriculture at the time. But the enterprising spirit of Mr. Cockburn did not rest here. In giving long leases he had enabled his tenants to make the improvements he wished; but still it was necessary to teach them how these improvements should be conducted. For this purpose he brought down skilful persons from England, who introduced the culture of turnips, rape, and clover; and at the same time he sent up the sons of his tenants to study agriculture in the best cultivated districts of the south. Experiments were likewise made of the effects of enriching the land by flooding. Turnips were sown upon the estate so early as 1725, and Alexander Wight, one of his tenants, was probably the first man in the island who sowed them in drills, and



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cultivated them with the plough. The culture of this valuable root was brought by him to such perfection, that, in 1735, a turnip of his raising, weighing 34½ lbs, was carried to Edinburgh, and hung up in John's coffee-house as a show.

Even while engaged in his public duties in England, Mr. Cockburn was constantly reverting in thought to the improvements he had set on foot in East Lothian, and he carried on a constant correspondence with his tenants respecting the progress of their mutual plans. In some of these letters he breathes the strongest sentiments of benevolence and patriotism. "No person," says he to Mr. Alexander Wight in 1725, "can have more satisfaction in the prosperity of his children, than I have in the welfare of persons situated on my estate. I hate tyranny in every shape; and shall always show greater pleasure in seeing my tenants making something under me they can call their own, than in getting a little more money myself, by squeezing a hundred poor families, till their necessities make them my slaves."

His proceedings were at first the subject of ridicule among the more narrow-minded of his neighbours; but the results in time overpowered every mean feeling, and gradually inspired a principle of imitation. In 1726 he encouraged his tenant Alexander Wight in setting up a malting brewery and distillery, which soon got into repute, and promoted the raising of grain in the neighbourhood. As a preliminary step to further improvements, he reformed the village of Ormiston, changing it from the original mean and squalid hamlet into a neat and well-built street. He then commenced a series of operations for setting up a linen manufactory. This he considered as one of the staple trades of Scotland, and as the best support of the general interest. He viewed it as intimately connected with husbandry; the land affording an opportunity of producing the raw article to the manufacturers, while they in return furnished hands for carrying on agricultural works, especially in harvest, and for the consumption of its various produce. To attain these objects, an eminent undertaker from Ireland, both in the manufacturing and whitening of linen, was induced to take up his residence at Ormiston; and a favourable lease of a piece of ground for a bleachfield and some lands in the neighbourhood was granted to him. This was the first bleachfield in East Lothian, probably the second in Scotland—for, before 1730, fine linens were sent to Haarlem in Holland to be whitened and dressed. It is said that this Irish colony was the means of introducing the potato in Scotland, at least as an object of field culture; and that valuable root was raised in the grounds on this estate so early as 1734. Mr. Cockburn also introduced some workmen from Holland, to give instructions in the art of bleaching. He obtained for his rising manufactory the patronage of the board of trustees, and likewise some pecuniary aid.

About the year 1736 the progress of agricultural improvement at Ormiston had excited so much notice all over Scotland, that Mr. Cockburn, always awake to every circumstance which could forward his darling object, seized upon such a notable opportunity of disseminating useful knowledge among his brother proprietors and their tenants. He instituted what was called the Ormiston Society, composed of noblemen, gentlemen, and farmers, who met monthly for the discussion of some appropriate question in rural economy, settled upon at their former meeting, on which question all the members present delivered their opinion. This club lasted for about eleven years, and was of great service in promoting the views of its founder. It consisted at last of 106

members, comprising almost all the best intellects of Scotland at that time.

Mr. Cockburn was married, first, in 1700, to the Hon. Miss Beatrix Carmichael, eldest daughter of John, first Earl of Hyndford; secondly, to an English lady, related to the Duchess of Gordon, by whom he had a son named George. It is distressing to think that, about the year 1748, this great patriot was obliged, probably in consequence of his spirited exertions for the public good, to dispose of his estate to the Earl of Hopetoun. He died at his son's house at the Navy Office, London, on the 12th of November, 1758. His son, who was a comptroller of the navy, married Caroline, Baroness Forrester in her own right, and was the father of Anna Maria, also Baroness Forrester in her own right, who died unmarried in 1808.—Patrick Cockburn, advocate, brother of the agriculturist, was married, in 1731, to Miss Alice Rutherford of Faimalee, a woman of poetical genius, authoress of the more modern verses to the tune of *The Flowers of the Forest*, and who died in Edinburgh, November 22, 1794.

It would be difficult to do full justice to the merits of such a character as Cockburn of Ormiston, or to describe the full effects of his exertions upon the interests of his country. It may be said that he lived at a time when the circumstances of Scotland were favourable to improvement, as it was the first age of reaction after a long depression. But, although the country would have made great advances without his aid, there can be little doubt that he considerably anticipated the natural period of improvement, and gave it an impulse much greater than was likely to be otherwise received. On what other principle are we to account for the immense degree to which the agriculture of Scotland now transcends that of England—the country from which it so recently derived its first hints in the art?

COLQUHOUN, PATRICK, a writer on statistics and criminal jurisprudence, was born at Dumbarton, March 14, 1745. His father, who acted as registrar of the county records, was nearly allied to Sir Robert Colquhoun, Bart. of Nova Scotia, and also to Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. Having lost his father ere he attained his sixteenth year, Patrick Colquhoun determined, like many others of his countrymen, to seek his fortune abroad. He settled on what was called the Eastern Shore in Virginia, where for five years he carried on commercial pursuits. It was the general custom of the inhabitants of this district to cross the Chesapeake Bay twice a year, in order to transact business at the seat of government; and such were the qualifications for public business manifested even at this early period by Mr. Colquhoun, that many were in the habit of trusting their concerns to him, instead of going to the general mart in person. Besides carrying on these trading speculations, he studied very hard at this time, and endeavoured, both by reading intelligent books and conversing with intelligent men, particularly of the legal profession, to fit himself for public duties. In 1766, when twenty-one years of age, he returned to his own country for the sake of his health, and settled as a merchant in Glasgow, where he soon after married a lady of his own name, the daughter of the provost of Dumbarton. On the breaking out of the war with the colonies, Mr. Colquhoun sided with government, and in 1776 he was one of fourteen principal contributors to a fund for raising a regiment in Glasgow, for his majesty's service in that struggle. He thus became a person of public consideration, and succeeded, in 1780, in carrying through parliament a bill of great consequence to the trade of the country.

In 1781, when occupying a place in the town-council of Glasgow, he suggested and carried forward to completion the design for building the coffee-house and exchange in that city. Next year he was elected provost of Glasgow. He now became the founder of that excellent institution, the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures at Glasgow, of which he was the first chairman. While holding these distinguished offices, he was also chairman of the committee of management of the Forth and Clyde canal, and the leading manager of various other public bodies. A genius for business on a large scale was conspicuous in all his undertakings. In 1785 he repaired to London to obtain legislative relief for the cotton trade, then in a languishing condition, and for some years afterwards he devoted a large portion of his time to similar objects. In 1788 he visited Ostend, then a dépôt for East India goods, to ascertain how far similar British manufactures could enter into competition with the imports of the Flemings; and it was owing to his exertions that our muslins, then an infant manufacture, became so extensively known throughout the Continent. Connected with this subject he published three pamphlets, which tended to make his efforts known to the British merchants. In the same year Mr. Colquhoun laid the plan of a general hall in London for the sale of cottons, which, however, was rendered of little effect by the breaking out of the war with France. On this subject he also published a pamphlet. In the month of November, 1789, he settled with his family in London, and soon after began to project those improvements in the London police and magistracy, by which he earned the principal part of his fame. The police of London was at this time in a state of shameful inefficiency, while the magistrates, except in the city itself, were a set of low mercenary individuals, known by the justly opprobrious title of *trading justices*. On this subject Mr. Colquhoun composed several popular treatises, and in 1792, when seven public offices were established, with three justices to each, he was appointed to one of them, through the influence of his friend Mr. Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville. His exertions as a magistrate were of a nature truly useful; and he published the result of his experience in 1796, under the title of *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the Various Crimes and Misdemeanours which at present are felt as a Pressure on the Community, and suggesting Remedies*. This work earned a merited reputation, and went through a large annual reprint for the five succeeding years. It obtained the praise of the select committee of finance, and particular marks of approbation from the Duke of Portland, then secretary of state for the home department. He was, in consequence of this work, appointed agent in Great Britain for the colony of the Virgin Isles. In 1800 appeared his treatise on the *Police of the River Thames*, a work certainly demanded in no small degree by the circumstances. Though it may hereafter appear almost incredible, it is nevertheless true, that the shipping of London, previous to this period, was totally unprotected from the vast hordes of thieves which always exist in a large city. While property on the banks of the river was so far protected, that which floated on the river itself had no protection whatever. Accordingly, a generation of thieves, called *mudlarks*, prowled constantly about the vessels, and made prey annually of property to a vast amount. Not only did the cargoes suffer, but even sails, anchors, and other such bulky articles, were abstracted by these daring depredators. For many years this had been felt as a grievous hardship, but it is amazing how

long an evil may be tolerated for which no remedy has been provided by the necessities of our ancestors. It was looked upon as a matter of course, a mischief incident to the situation of things; and as each individual only suffered his share of the immense amount of loss, there had been no general effort at a reformation. Mr. Colquhoun's work, however, effectually roused public attention to the subject, and an effective river police was immediately instituted, by which the shipping has been ever since fully protected. For his services on this occasion, the West India merchants presented him with the sum of £500.

Although Mr. Colquhoun bore externally a somewhat pompous and domineering aspect, and was certainly a zealous advocate for keeping the people in due subjection to the powers above them, there never perhaps was a heart more alive than his to the domestic interests of the poor, or a mind more actively bent upon improving both their physical and moral condition. He was one of the first men in this country who promoted a system of feeding the poor, in times of severe distress, by cheap and wholesome soups. And, in the famine of 1800, few men were more active in behalf of the starving population. He also took an early interest in the system of charity schools, being of opinion that the true way of improving the condition of the people was to enlighten their minds. In 1803 he was instrumental in founding a school in Orchard Street, Westminster, in which three or four hundred children of both sexes were taught the rudiments of human knowledge. He also published in 1806 a work entitled *A New System of Education for the Labouring People*, which obtained an extensive circulation. Two years afterwards appeared his *Treatise on Indigence*, in which the institution of a provident bank is strongly urged.

In 1797 Mr. Colquhoun was honoured with the degree of LL.D. by the university of Glasgow, in consequence of his services in that part of the kingdom. Throughout the course of his long and useful life, he received many other testimonies of the public approbation. His last work appeared in 1814, under the title, *A Treatise on the Population, Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire, in every Quarter of the World, including the East Indies*. Dr. Colquhoun's publications in all amount to twenty; and of these an accurate list is given in the *Annual Obituary* for 1812. After having been concerned in public life for about thirty-nine years, during which he had transacted business with eight or ten successive administrations, in 1817 he tendered his resignation as a magistrate, in consequence of his increasing years and infirmities; this, however, was not accepted by Lord Sidmouth until the subsequent year, when the secretary of state for the home department expressed the high sense entertained of his long and faithful services by his majesty's government. Dr. Colquhoun died of a schirous stomach, April 25, 1820, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The character of Dr. Colquhoun has been thus drawn by Dr. Lettson:—"When the importance of the morals of the community, with its influence on individual as well as general happiness, is duly considered, one cannot but contemplate a public character, who, with unceasing exertion, endeavours to promote every virtuous and charitable sentiment, with gratitude and reverence; a magistrate clothed with power to enforce obedience, but possessing benevolence more coercive than power; who is eminently vigilant to arrest in its progress every species of vice, and commiserates, as a man humanized by Christian amenities, every deviation from rectitude, and reforms while he pities—such is a being clothed

with robes of divinity. In this point of view, I, indeed, saw my friend, Patrick Colquhoun, Esq., whose exertions point to every direction where morals require correction, or poverty and distress the aid of active benevolence. As an indefatigable magistrate, and an able writer in general, Mr. Colquhoun is well known throughout Europe. I introduce him in this place as the founder and promoter of various institutions for supplying the poor, in distress, with cheap and nutritious articles of food, to an extent truly astonishing, and without which famine must have been superadded to poverty. The enumeration alone of my friend's publications must evince the activity of his benevolence, with which his time and fortune have ever kept pace. May the reader endeavour to emulate his virtues! He will then not only diffuse happiness among the community, particularly the lower classes, but insure the supreme enjoyment of it in his individual capacity."

COMBE, ANDREW, M.D. This excellent physician and physiologist was the fifteenth child and seventh son of Mr. George Combe, brewer, at Livingston's Yards, in the suburbs of Edinburgh, and Marion Newton, his wife, and was born on the 27th of October, 1797. After being educated in the initiatory branches at a private seminary, he was sent, at the age of eight, to the high-school of Edinburgh, and having continued there at the study of Latin and Greek for five years, he went to the university, where, in the course of two seasons, he contrived to forget what Latin he had learned at school, and become a respectable Grecian. But with all this teaching of dead languages, his own was allowed to shift as it might, so that, although he could read Homer, he was unable to pen a tolerable ordinary epistle. Like many others under a similar process of tuition, and who have risen to distinction in spite of such perversity, Andrew Combe, by the diligent self-cultivation of after-years, acquired that mastery of the English language, and excellence in composition, which his works so fully attest. After he had passed a sickly taciturn boyhood, and entered his fifteenth year, it was fitting that he should announce the future profession he meant to follow; but to every question on this head from his parents, his invariable answer was, "I'll no be naething." They understood these two negatives in the Scottish acceptance, of course, and reckoning such a choice of total idleness inexpedient in one of a family of seventeen children, his father chose for him the medical profession, into which the apathetic youth was to be inducted without further delay. Accordingly, in spite of all his struggles, Andrew was forced into a new suit of clothes, carried out of the house, and trotted along by dint of pulling and pushing, to the dwelling of his future master, where he was bound and left—to an apprenticeship which he had no future cause to regret.

After finishing his apprenticeship, during which he attended the usual medical course at the university and the public hospital, Andrew Combe, when he had entered upon his twentieth year, took the diploma of surgeon. Previous to this event his intellectual habits had received not only a fresh impulse, but also a new direction, from the study of phrenology, which was introduced into Edinburgh through the arrival and lectures of Dr. Spurzheim. Of this science Mr. George Combe, afterwards its distinguished advocate, became an earnest student, and his younger brother Andrew was not long in following the example. The latter, however, when he had little more than commenced his inquiries in earnest upon the subject, went to Paris in 1817 to

perfect himself in his professional studies. The Continent was now opened to Britain by the general peace, and our medical students were eager to avail themselves of the opportunity by completing their education in the French capital. Among the Parisian lecturers on the various departments of science whom Andrew Combe attended for this purpose, he was so fortunate as to be a pupil of Professor Dupuytren, to whose lessons so many of our most eminent physicians have been so deeply indebted. He also frequently associated in Paris with Dr. Spurzheim, by whom he was completely converted to a belief in that science by the rules of which all his future habits of investigation were more or less directed. As this was a most important event in his life, it may be proper to give his own account of it:—"My attention was first seriously turned to the examination of these doctrines during my residence at Paris, in the autumn of 1818, when Dr. Spurzheim's *Observations sur la Phrenologie*, then just published, were happily put into my hands at a time when, from there being no lectures in any of the Parisian schools, I had ample leisure to peruse that work deliberately. I had not proceeded far before I became impressed with the acuteness and profundity of many of the author's remarks on the varied phenomena of human nature, and with the simplicity of the principles by which he explained what had previously seemed contradictory and unintelligible; and in proportion as I advanced, the scrupulousness of statement, sobriety of judgment, and moral earnestness with which he advocated his views and inculcated their importance, made me begin to apprehend that to condemn without inquiry was not the way to ascertain the truth of phrenology, or to become qualified to decide in a matter of medicine or of philosophy. I therefore resolved to pause, in order to make myself acquainted with the principles of the new physiology, and to resort, as he [Dr. Spurzheim] recommended, to observation and experience for the means of verifying or disproving their accuracy, before again hazarding an opinion on the subject." Thus prepared for examination and conviction, he examined and was convinced. After two years of such study the following conclusion was the result:—"Actuated by the natural feeling of improbability that so much should have been discovered in so short time by only two individuals, however eminent their talents and felicitous their opportunities, I still expected to meet with some important errors of detail; and, so far from being disposed to adopt implicitly all the propositions of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, I rather looked for, and expected to find, some hasty conclusions or unsupported assumptions; and my surprise was extreme to discover that, in the whole extent of their inquiry, they had proceeded with so much caution and accuracy as, in all their essential facts and inferences, to have rendered themselves apparently invulnerable." At the early age of twenty-one he thus became a firm believer in phrenology, and, unlike many others of his contemporaries, he continued to believe in its principles and apply its rules to the last.

After a course of diligent study at Paris continued for nearly two years, and a tour through Switzerland, he returned to Edinburgh at the close of 1819. He was now ready, as far as professional knowledge and the encouragement of friends went, for the commencement of business as a medical practitioner; but, unfortunately, he needed for himself the aid which he should have imparted to others. In his rambles in Switzerland he had over-tasked his strength, and on returning to Edinburgh, a cold

room and damp bed confirmed the evil. A voyage to Italy was judged necessary for his recovery, and he embarked at Greenock for Leghorn at the end of the following year. The cure was effectual, for he returned to Edinburgh in May, 1822, and soon after commenced practice as a surgeon, while his extensive family connection, and the reputation he had already acquired, soon procured him an extensive circle of occupation. At this time, also, he first appeared before the world as an author, in an essay *On the Effects of Injuries of the Brain upon the Manifestations of the Mind*, which was first read before the Phrenological Society, and afterwards published in its *Transactions*. In this way he brought his beloved science into full play at the commencement of his public life, not only in a literary but also a professional capacity, notwithstanding the obloquy and derision with which it was generally treated at this period. In 1823, while the phrenological controversy was at its height, Mr. Combe again entered the field in its defence, by an essay entitled *Observations on Dr. Barclay's Objections to Phrenology*, which was also published in the *Transactions* of the society. In the same year he, in conjunction with four others, established the *Phrenological Journal*, to which he was an active contributor till his death. In 1836 he collected the most important of these articles, and published them in a separate volume. Eager to extend the knowledge of a science to which he was so devoted, and justify its claims to universal attention, he also hazarded their introduction into a quarter where they were little likely to appear without a severe examination. This was in the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, of which he was a member, and before which he was obliged in his turn to write a dissertation upon a subject selected by a committee of the society. The question proposed in 1823 was, "Does Phrenology afford a satisfactory Explanation of the Moral and Intellectual Faculties of Man?" and Mr. Combe was appropriately selected to write the dissertation. He set to work upon the question *con amore*, and produced a digest of all he had learned, thought, and observed, to bear upon the affirmative, while the discussions that followed upon the subject occupied two nights of earnest debate before crowded audiences. This able article, which was first published in the *Phrenological Journal*, was also included in the volume of *Selections* to which we have already alluded. In 1825 he graduated as doctor of medicine, and on that occasion chose for the subject of his thesis, "The Seat and Nature of Hypochondriasis," which was also published in an enlarged form in the *Phrenological Journal*, and the *Selections*.

In commencing the medical art, first as surgeon and afterwards as doctor, Combe was made aware of two faults which, in his course of practice, he carefully laboured to avoid. The first was that of never interposing until the crisis of danger had arrived. No rules were prescribed either to avoid a disease or escape the repetition of an attack after the first had been conquered. As long as the patient was upon his legs he might use what diet or exercise he pleased: upon all this the man of healing was silent; he thought it enough to come in at the moment of danger, and treat the sufferer *secundum artem* until the danger was over, without troubling himself about the morrow; and if fresh excesses produce a deadlier renewal of the malady, he was ready to double the dose, and proportion the penance to the evil. The homely proverb, that "prevention is better than cure," was too vulgar a rule for scientific notice; and it was only when the disease fairly showed face that

a doctor girded himself for the onset. This was anything but satisfactory to Dr. Combe, so that, in his treatment of every malady, he was more solicitous to prevent its occurrence than to show his professional prowess by overcoming it at its height; and if the constitution of the patient made the disease a natural tendency, his medical skill was exerted in showing how the coming of the evil might be retarded, or its inflictions softened. Hence his carefulness in inculcating the rules of diet and exercise, of ablation and ventilation, which, homely and common-place as they are, and therefore deemed unsuited to a learned physician, are yet the true essentials of the healing art. Another fault which he was also careful to avoid, was that of dictating to the patient the medical regulations that were to be strictly followed without assigning a cause, or enlisting his reason in their behalf. A blind, implicit faith was exclusively demanded by too many of our medical practitioners, and the remedy was to be used without question or scruple. Dr. Combe saw that, however this pope-like assumption of infallibility might gratify the vanity of the physician, it was little likely to benefit the patient, more especially if his faith was of that unruly kind that requires argument and proof. He therefore tried to enlist the reason of the patient in behalf of the rules prescribed for his cure, and showed so much of the nature, origin, and tendencies of the disease as would enable him to co-operate in its removal. "The consequences of this mode of proceeding," says his biographer, "were equally beneficial to his patients and to himself. They became convinced that it was nature that was dealing with them, and that, although they might 'cheat the doctor,' they could not arrest the progress of her evolutions, or escape from aggravated evils, if they obstructed the course of her sanative action. Under these convictions they obeyed his injunctions with earnestness and attention. By being premonished of approaching symptoms, which were frequently steps in the progress of the cure, but which, if not explained, might have been regarded as aggravations of the malady, they were saved from much alarm, and he from many unnecessary calls and attendances. His present biographer had ample opportunities of remarking how few messages, even during the busiest seasons of his practice, came to him from patients under treatment, and how very rarely he was called upon to visit them during the night. He ascribed this comparative immunity from nocturnal calls to the explanations and pre-arrangements now adverted to."

It was not till 1831 that Dr. Combe appeared as the author of a separate work, as his productions had hitherto been articles and essays, which were afterwards published in the form of pamphlets. Among the subjects he had studied in connection with phrenology was that of insanity; and from its importance, as well as the general interest which several cases of mental disease had lately excited, he resolved to give at full length the fruits of his study on this painful malady, with a view to its prevention, amelioration, and cure. The title of the work he published was *Observations on Mental Derangement; being an Application of the Principles of Phrenology to the Elucidation of the Causes, Symptoms, Nature, and Treatment of Insanity*. After this, his close application to professional duties, in which he embarked with his whole heart, and the physiological studies that occupied every moment of his leisure time, so exhausted his delicate constitution, that intermission and change of climate were again found necessary; and accordingly he spent the winter of 1831-32 in Italy, and the following year in Edin-

burgh, London, and Paris. In 1834, though his health was still infirm, he published in Edinburgh *The Principles of Physiology applied to the Preservation of Health, and to the Improvement of Physical and Mental Education*. This work was so favourably received, and continued to be so highly valued, that at the period of his death 28,000 copies of it had been sold, exclusive of the numerous editions that had been published in the United States of North America. So highly was Dr. Combe's professional reputation now established, that in 1836 he was honoured with the appointment of physician to the King of the Belgians. This occasioned two visits to Brussels during the same year. At the same time he published his *Physiology of Digestion, considered with Relation to the Principles of Dietetics*, which went through nine editions. In 1838 Dr. Combe was appointed one of the physicians extraordinary to the queen in Scotland, an office of professional honour merely, as no salary is attached to it. In 1840 he published *A Treatise on the Physiological and Moral Management of Infancy; being a Practical Exposition of the Principles of Infant Training, for the Use of Parents*. This work, which was highly esteemed, and obtained an extensive circulation, he continued to improve till his death. His last effort in authorship was an article on phrenology, which was published in the *British and Foreign Medical Review* for January, 1840.

Enough has been said in the foregoing narrative to show that Dr. Combe, although so able a physician, was himself often in need of the benefits of the healing art. Originally of a delicate and consumptive constitution, through which the activity and application of his early youth had been frequently checked, his maladies had increased from year to year, so that in 1834 he was obliged to renounce the more active part of his profession, and confine himself to consulting practice. His constitution rallied in consequence of this relief, and from 1837 to 1841 he enjoyed a better state of health than he had hitherto experienced. At a later period, however, his ailments returned, and with so permanent a hold, as convinced him that, however lingering his last illness might be, it had now commenced in good earnest. Still, however, his wonted tranquillity, and even cheerfulness, were unabated; and to the last he continued to correspond with his friends upon those important subjects which had formed the great study of his life. At length, by the recommendation of his medical advisers, he tried the effect of the climate of Madeira, to which island he repaired in November, 1842. After having dwelt a few months there and returned home, he was obliged to make a second visit to Madeira, where he wintered during 1843-44. As voyaging was found beneficial in protracting at least the inevitable termination of his disease, he tried the effect of a trip to New York in the spring of 1847. But this, the last, was the most unfortunate of all his voyages, for the vessel in which he sailed carried 360 steerage passengers, chiefly Irish emigrants; and as the steerage extended from stem to stern of the vessel, the cabin overhead was pervaded during the whole passage with a sickening atmosphere, the effect of which accelerated his dissolution. Having made a three-weeks' sojourn in New York, he returned to Scotland; and only six weeks subsequently he died, after a short illness, on the 9th of August, 1847. He had thus only reached the age of fifty, but the chief subject of wonder is, that he had lived so long and done so much. He could never have held out so well but for his close and conscientious attention to those rules of health which he recommended to others; and thus, although

he might be considered a dying man at the age of confirmed manhood, he was permitted to enjoy that which, above every other earthly blessing, he most valued—a life of thorough and benevolent usefulness. Even to the last he was thus occupied; and when the pen dropped from his fingers, it was in the act of writing to a friend for information about the regulations of emigrant vessels, as he was at that time employed, during the brief intervals of his last illness, in preparing a communication upon the ship-fever, which in that year was so fatal in the statistics of British emigration. "Dr. Combe belonged," as is well observed by one who intimately knew and deeply loved him, "to that rare class of physicians who present professional knowledge in connection with the powers of a philosophical intellect; and yet, in practical matters, appear constantly under the guidance of a rich natural sagacity. All his works are marked by a peculiar earnestness, lucidity, and simplicity, characteristic of the author; they present hygienic principles with a clearness for which we know no parallel in medical literature. To this must be ascribed much of the extraordinary success they have met with; and on this quality undoubtedly rests no small portion of their universally acknowledged utility. . . . The personal character and private life of Dr. Combe formed a beautiful and harmonious commentary upon his writings. In the bosom of his family, and the limited social circle to which his weakly health confined him, he was the same benignant and gentle being whom the world finds addressing it in these compositions. . . . Kindly and cordial to all, he did not seem to feel as if he could have an enemy; and therefore, we believe, he never had one. It might almost have been said that he was too gentle and unobtrusive; and so his friends perhaps would have thought him, had it not, on the other hand, appeared as the most befitting character of one who, they all knew, was not to be long spared to them, and on whom the hues of a brighter and more angelic being seemed already to be shed."

COMBE, GEORGE. This enthusiastic phrenologist and practical moral philosopher was born at Edinburgh, October 21, 1788; and being ten years older than his brother Andrew Combe, M.D., the subject of the preceding memoir, he was enabled to superintend the education of the latter, and give a direction to his physiological and moral studies. Having adopted the legal profession, George Combe became a writer to the signet in 1812, and continued with undivided attention to follow this occupation; when, in 1816, an event occurred that gave his mind a new bias. In that year Dr. Spurzheim visited Scotland, and by his lectures and conversations on phrenology not only aroused the public attention, but the public astonishment. Men were taught that not merely the intellectual character was dimly indicated upon the forehead of each individual, but all his qualities—intellectual, moral, and physical—mapped out one by one over the whole region of his skull; and that he thus carried about with him his character written in letters about which there could neither be suspicion nor controversy. Like many of his considerate countrymen, George Combe at first was hard of belief, and regarded both the system and its advocate with aversion; but further inquiry removed his prejudices, and convinced him that this startling theory had fact for its basis. He became not only a believer in the truth of phrenology, but its ardent, eloquent, disinterested expositor; and continued with the earnestness of an apostle to expound its doctrines, until he had made a considerable number of influential converts, of whom he was the

recognized leader and head. Nor was this a situation with which a merely ambitious man would have been contented; for in hard-headed and orthodox Scotland, phrenology was regarded not only as a monstrosity in science, but a heresy in religion. He persevered, however, until society was persuaded to listen to its claims, and acknowledge that they were neither ridiculous nor atheistical.

The life of Combe was henceforth bound up in the science which he so devotedly loved. Mainly through his exertions it lived and flourished in Scotland for the day, until it was superseded by new opinions; and during the period of its ascendancy, it materially influenced those systems of moral and psychological investigation which still refused to recognize it as an authority and guide. In his Phrenological Hall, Clyde Street, Edinburgh, which was stored with a choice collection of casts of heads, he held meetings of the society, and delivered public lectures on phrenology; he originated and conducted the *Phrenological Journal*, which continued from 1824 to 1847, and extended to twenty volumes, himself contributing many articles to the series; and he delivered many successful courses of lectures, not only in various parts of the United Kingdom, but also in America and Germany. But his numerous writings were still more influential than his lectures, from the popularity they acquired and their influence on the public mind. The first of these was his *Essays on Phrenology*, published in 1819, after he had become a thorough convert to the system. Five years afterwards he published his *System of Phrenology*, which went through five editions, and was translated into German and French. In 1828 he published the most important of his works, entitled *The Constitution of Man considered in Relation to External Objects*, being an attempt to demonstrate the essential harmony of the nature of man with the surrounding world; and the consequent necessity of studying the laws of nature, in order that we may realize the advantages of the external world, lessen our exposure to its evils, and carry out successfully our physical, social, and moral improvement. Of this work, which so materially influences many of the systems of physical and social reform advocated in the present day, nearly 100,000 copies were sold in Britain, numerous editions were printed in America, and it was translated into French, German, and Swedish. Besides these works he wrote the following: *Elements of Phrenology*, 1824; *Lectures on Popular Education*, 1833; *Notes of his Experiences in Germany and America*; *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, 1840; *Life and Correspondence of Andrew Combe, M.D.*, 1850; *Principles of Criminal Legislation and Prison Discipline*, 1854; *Phrenology applied to Painting and Sculpture*, 1855; and *The Currency Question considered in Relation to the Bank Restriction Act, 7 and 8 Victoria, c. 32*, 1855. The latest of his works, entitled *The Relation between Science and Religion*, which he published in 1857, eloquently inculcates and earnestly enforces the duty and advantage of obedience to the precepts of natural religion.

With all this travelling, lecturing, and authorship upon his favourite science and the subjects connected with it, which of themselves might have been sufficient for a long and active life, Mr. Combe continued to 1837 a practical man of business, and was devoted to his profession as a writer to the signet. As a citizen, he also entered fully into the public questions of the day, and took an active part in the subjects of parliamentary reform, the abolition of the corn-laws, and the establishment of a system of national education in which every sect and party might coalesce. In 1833 he married Cecilia, daughter of the celebrated

Mrs. Siddons, by whom he was survived. His own death occurred on the 14th August, 1858, his regular living and temperate habits having carried a delicate constitution onward to that age of threescore and ten years which forms the usual boundary even of the most vigorous and robust. His large collection of books on the subject of phrenology has been deposited in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

CONSTABLE, ARCHIBALD, an eminent publisher, was born, February 24, 1776, at Kellie, in the county of Fife, where his father, Thomas Constable, acted as overseer to the Earl of Kellie. After receiving a plain education at the school of his native parish (Carnbee), he became, in 1788, apprentice to Mr. Peter Hill, bookseller in Edinburgh, the friend and correspondent of Robert Burns. About the time of the expiration of his apprenticeship, he married the daughter of Mr. David Willison, printer, who, though averse to the match, was of some service in enabling him to set up in business for himself. This latter step he took in the year 1795, opening a shop on the north side of the High Street, near the cross, and devoting himself at first chiefly to the sale of old books connected with Scottish history and literature. In this line of trade he speedily acquired considerable eminence, not so much by the extensiveness of his stock, for his capital was very limited, as by his personal activity, agreeable manners, and the intelligence with which he applied himself to serve the wants of his customers. At an early period of his career his shop was resorted to by Mr. J. G. Dalzell, Mr. Richard Heber, Mr. Alexander Campbell, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Alexander Murray, Dr. John Leyden, Mr. Walter Scott, Mr. Thomas Thomson, and other young men possessed of a taste for Scottish literary and historical antiquities, for some of whom he published works of no inconsiderable magnitude, previously to the close of the eighteenth century. In 1801 he acquired the property of the *Scots Magazine*, a venerable repertory of historical, literary, and archaeological matter, upon which he employed the talents of Leyden, Murray, Macneil, and other eminent men in succession, though without any considerable increase to its reputation. In the preceding year he had commenced the *Farmer's Magazine*, under the management of an able East Lothian agriculturist, Mr. Robert Brown, then of Markle: this work, which appeared quarterly, for many years enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity, but eventually drooped with the class to whom it appealed, and sank with the house of the publisher.

The small body of ingenious and learned persons who, in 1802, originated the *Edinburgh Review*, placed it under the commercial management of Mr. Constable, who, though unprepared for the great success which it experienced, was not long in perceiving the high merits of its conductors, and acting towards them in an appropriately liberal manner. The business of publishing this great work remained with him for twenty-four years. In 1804 he commenced the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, which remained with him till 1826. It was throughout a successful publication. In 1805 he published, in conjunction with Longman & Co. of London, the first original work of Sir Walter Scott, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, the success of which was also far beyond his expectations. In the ensuing year he issued a beautiful edition of what he termed *The Works of Walter Scott, Esq.*, in five volumes, comprising the poem just mentioned, the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," "Sir Tristrem," and a series of lyrical pieces. Notwithstanding the success of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Mr. Constable was looked

upon as a bold man when, in 1807, he offered Mr. Scott £1000 for a poem which was afterwards entitled *Marmion*. Such munificence was quite a novelty in the publishing trade of Scotland, and excited some attention even in a part of the island where literary affairs had heretofore been conducted on a larger scale. Not long after the appearance of this poetical romance, Mr. Constable and his partner had a serious difference with its illustrious author, which lasted till 1813, although in the interval he edited for them the works of Swift, as he had previously those of Dryden. An enumeration of the many valuable books which were afterwards published by the subject of this memoir, would be out of place in the present work; but the mention of a few, such as Mr. J. P. Wood's excellent edition of *Douglas' Scottish Peerage*, Mr. G. Chalmers' *Caledonia*, the *Edinburgh Gazetteer* in six volumes, the *Philosophical Works of Mr. Dugald Stewart*, and the *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica* (the stock and copyright of which work he purchased in 1812), will be sufficient to suggest a career far transcending in enterprise and brilliancy anything of the kind ever known in Scotland. In 1804 Mr. Constable had assumed as partner Mr. Alexander Gibson Hunter, of Blackness, and from that time the business was carried on under the designation of Archibald Constable and Company. A few years afterwards, when the concerns of the house had become very extensive, Mr. Constable thought it a hardship that so much of his wares should pass through the hands of an English agency, who at once absorbed a considerable share of his profits, and could not profess to promote his interest with so much zeal as their own. He and his Edinburgh partner therefore joined, December, 1808, with Mr. Charles Hunter and Mr. John Park, in commencing a general book-selling business in London, under the designation of Constable, Hunter, Park, and Hunter. This speculation, however, being found to be unattended with the expected advantages, was given up in 1811. In the early part of this year Mr. A. G. Hunter retired from the Edinburgh house, on which occasion Mr. Constable, acting on the liberal view which he usually took of the value of his stock, and perhaps not unwilling to impress the world with an exalted idea of his prosperity, allowed to his partner a greater amount of actual cash (£17,000 is understood to have been the sum paid) than what was justly his due. Mr. Robert Cathcart of Drum, writer to the signet, and Mr. Robert Cadell, then a clerk in Mr. Constable's shop, were assumed in Mr. Hunter's place, and the firm still continued under the designation of Archibald Constable and Company. Mr. Cathcart being carried off after a few days' illness in November, 1812, Mr. Cadell remained Mr. Constable's sole partner.

Mr. Constable and his partner published, after 1813, all the poetical works of Sir Walter Scott, and the whole of his prose fictions (excepting the first series of the *Tales of My Landlord*) down to the year 1826. The vast amount of lucrative business arising from these publications, and others of nearly equal popularity and importance, produced in the subject of this memoir the sincere though erroneous conviction that he was a prosperous, and in one respect a wealthy man. He had never, it is true, possessed much free capital; he had scarcely ever known what it was to be exempt from difficulties for ready money; yet he could calculate for certain on the productiveness of several of his more important speculations, and he every day saw around him such a large and increasing amount of stock, that nothing less than the demonstration of figures could have given him

greater assurance of his affluent condition. That demonstration unfortunately was wanting. Mr. Constable was no arithmetician. His mind was one of those which delight in forming lofty enterprises and ambitious schemes, but are too much engrossed with the glories of the ultimate object, to regard much the details by which it is proposed to be accomplished. For very many of his publications, the literary labourer was greatly overpaid; in most cases, he printed a much larger impression than was necessary, or, if the demand came nearly up to the supply, the benefits of success were lost upon an undemanded second edition. He had a magnificent way of transacting every kind of business, seeming in general less to regard the merits of the matter in hand, than the dignity of his name and profession. Proceeding in this manner rather like a princely patron of letters, than a tradesman aiming at making them subservient to his personal interest, Mr. Constable was easily led into a system of living greatly beyond his real means, and from which the pressure of no embarrassments, however severe, could awaken him. Another error, to which the steps were perhaps as natural and easy, was his yielding to the desires of his friend Sir Walter Scott for money, and the means of raising money, as a fore-payment of literary labour. Both men were in some degree intoxicated by the extraordinary success they had met with in their respective careers, which seemed to assure them against the occurrence of any real difficulty in any of the processes of worldly affairs; and, mutually supporting their common delusion, they launched without rudder or compass into an ocean of bank credit, in which they were destined eventually to perish. The reverence of the publisher for the author was not greater than was the confidence of the author in "the strong sense and sagacious calculations" (his own words) of the publisher. Both afterwards discovered that they had been in a great measure wrong, as even the works of a Scott could only produce a certain sum, while the calculations of Mr. Constable, though bearing the impress of an ardent and generous temperament, were not conducted upon those rules which alone will insure good results in commercial affairs. It is painful to reflect on the change which adversity brought over the mutual sentiments of these distinguished men. Mr. Constable lived to lament on a deathbed the coldness which the results of his bankruptcy had introduced into the mind of his former friend, and to complain (whether justly or not) that, if he had not been so liberal towards that friend, he might have still known prosperity. Sir Walter, on the other hand, lived to suffer the pain of pecuniary distress in consequence of the loose calculations of himself and his publisher, and to entertain in his benevolent and tranquil mind, so changed a feeling regarding that individual, as prevented him from paying the common respect of a friend to his remains, when, in the hour of calamity and sorrow, they were transferred to the grave.

Mr. Constable had in early life entertained literary aspirations only less ambitious than those by which he distinguished himself in commercial life. Though wanting the advantages of an academical education, he wrote his own language fluently and correctly. Scottish antiquities formed the department in which he desired to exert himself, and the present writer has heard him, amidst the pressing cares of business, express a touching regret for the non-fulfilment of the hopes which he once entertained in reference to this favourite study. From respect for his literary abilities, Miss Seward bequeathed to him her whole correspondence, in the expectation that he would personally undertake the duty of editor; a task, how-

ever, for which he found it necessary to employ a substitute, in the person of Mr. Morehead. The only literary efforts of Mr. Constable which have ever been ascertained, consist in the editing of *Laumont's Diary* in 1810, and of a compilation of *The Poetry contained in the Waverley Novels*, and the composition of a small volume which appeared in 1822, under the title of "*Memoir of George Heriot, Jeweller to King James*, containing an account of the Hospital founded by him at Edinburgh." Having become a widower in 1816, Mr. Constable in 1818 married Miss Charlotte Neale, who survived him. In the early part of 1822 he was obliged, by a due regard to his physical and mental energies, to reside for some months in England. It may also be mentioned among the particulars of his life, that in 1823, though professedly a Whig in politics, he was included by the liberal policy of the government in a list of new justices of the peace for the city of Edinburgh. In the same year he removed from the warehouse he had occupied for nearly thirty years in the High Street to an elegant mansion adjacent to the Register House, in the new town, which had become his own by purchase from the connections of his second marriage.

In the year 1825 Mr. Constable projected perhaps the most remarkable of all his undertakings—*A Miscellany of Original and Selected Works in Literature, Art, and Science*, which he designed to publish in small fasciculi at one shilling, every three constituting a volume. Having marked the tendency towards a system of cheap popular reading which was at this time very observable in the public mind and in the bookselling business, he had resolved to take advantage of the irresistible impulse for the reproduction of some of his best copyrights; calculating securely that these, especially if mixed up with new productions from the pens of the best modern writers, would appropriate a large share of the patronage extended by the people to cheap works, while the vast sale that might be expected as a consequence of their humble price, could not fail to afford an ample remuneration to all concerned. The design was one worthy, in its daring novelty and its liberal promise, of a publisher who, in almost all his enterprises, had shown a comprehensiveness of mind above his fellows. Nor can it be doubted that, if carried into execution with the whole powers of the original house, and the prestige which the name of Constable now carried to every British ear, it would have met with a success more than sufficient to redeem the fortunes of the establishment. Unfortunately the commercial distresses which marked the close of 1825 operated unfavourably upon a London firm, with which Archibald Constable and Company were intimately connected, and at the close of the January of the ensuing year both were compelled to stop payment. The debts of the latter house were understood to be about a quarter of a million, for a considerable part of which Sir Walter Scott unfortunately stood responsible. The stock in which the subject of this memoir was wont to contemplate an immense fund of dormant wealth, was consequently sequestered, and its real value (especially on a peremptory sale) being very different from the apparent, it sufficed to discharge but a small part of the existing obligations.

Mr. Constable, who at this time had the young family arising from his second marriage springing up around him, now retired into comparative privacy, to experience the usual fate of those whom fortune has suddenly deserted. Most of his friends having suffered considerably by his bankruptcy, and being deeply impressed with a sense of the imprudence which had led to that event, paid him no longer any

regard, though, while his fortunes lived, they would have given "fifty, nay, an hundred ducats for his portrait in little." Notwithstanding these painful circumstances, to which was soon added a return of some dropsical ailments which had formerly afflicted him, he resolved to make an endeavour for the support of his family, by commencing, though with material restrictions of plan, the *Miscellany* which had formerly been announced. Having made the necessary arrangements with the trustee upon the sequestered estate, he issued the first number late in the year 1826, being the beginning of a reproduction of Captain Basil Hall's *Travels*, which that gentleman, with a kindness worthy of his distinguished abilities, had conferred as a present upon the veteran publisher. Though unable now to command all the copyrights and new productions which he originally contemplated, he succeeded in calling around him some of the rising talent of the day, and would in all probability have soon been once more engaged in an extensive and enterprising course of business, if death had not stepped in to claim his part. Mr. Constable gradually sank under his dropsical ailment, and on the 21st of July, in the year just named, breathed his last at his house in Park Place, in the fifty-second year of his age. Mr. Constable was of middle stature, and, in his latter years, of somewhat unyielding bulk; his countenance, a fair index to his mind, displayed lineaments of uncommon nobleness and beauty.

COOK, REV. GEORGE, D.D. This learned divine and ecclesiastical historian was born at St. Andrews in 1773. His education was conducted at the schools and colleges of his native city, at that time distinguished for its high literary character and the eminent men it produced, while his subsequent career fully showed how well he had availed himself of such opportunities of mental improvement. From the early period of boyhood the studies of George Cook had been directed towards the church, in which his family had considerable influence; and at the age of twenty-two he was ordained minister of Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire. On settling down into such a tranquil residence, the young divine did not resign himself either to rural indolence or literary epicurism; on the contrary, his studies were of the most laborious, indefatigable character, as well as directed to the highest interests of his sacred profession; and it was while minister of Laurencekirk that he produced most of those works by which his fame was extended over the world of ecclesiastical literature. As an author, his first work, published in 1808, was *Illustrations of the General Evidence establishing Christ's Resurrection*. His next, in 1811, was the *History of the Reformation*, the most popular of all his works, until it was eclipsed by the more attractive productions upon the same subject at a later period, and by writers possessing more ample opportunities of information, of whom we need scarcely mention the name of D'Aubigné. After this work on general ecclesiastical history, Dr. Cook turned his attention to that part of it which concerned his own church and country, and published, in 1815, the *History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*—a work in which the research was of the most trying character, so many of the materials being at that time in obscure, moth-eaten manuscript, which have since been printed mainly through the public spirit of our antiquarian societies. In 1820 appeared his *Life of Principal Hill*, and in 1822 his *View of Christianity*.

The learning and talent displayed in these works, as well as the important subjects which they illus-

trated, and the high interests which they were designed to advance, naturally brought Dr. Cook into the front rank of the most talented of his clerical brethren, and in church courts his opinions obtained that ascendancy to which they were so justly entitled. To these also were added the highest honorary distinctions which our primitive national church, so jealous of the doctrine of Presbyterian parity, reluctantly accords to the most favoured of her children. Thus, in 1825, he was moderator of the General Assembly, and in the following year he was appointed a member of the royal commission for examining into the state of our Scottish universities. He was also appointed dean of the order of the Thistle, and one of his majesty's chaplains.

On the death of Dr. Inglis, which occurred in 1834, the leadership of his party in the church, which that eminent divine had so ably conducted, was by universal choice conceded to Dr. Cook. Always a situation of difficulty and trouble, even in the most quiescent periods of our church's history, it was peculiarly so at the present crisis; for the Moderate party, which Dr. Cook headed, and that for so long a period had been in the ascendancy, had now lost its prestige; and the Evangelical portion of the church, already increased from a handful into an army, and backed by the popular suffrage, which had always inclined to it since the days of the solemn league and covenant, was advancing with all the energy of a newly resuscitated cause, and giving certain promise that at no distant day it would recover its former superiority. Against such an onward tide it was not wonderful if Dr. Cook and his brethren were unable to make head, although they struggled bravely and to the last. Consistently with the principles which he had adopted from the beginning, and advocated on every occasion, both as an author and a divine, Dr. Cook could not be expected to sympathize with the opposite party in their claims for the abolition of patronage, and the entire exemption of the church from state control, and accordingly he contested every inch of ground with a zeal and honesty equal to their own. At length the result took him as completely by surprise as it did the wisest politicians and profoundest calculators of the day. The memorable 18th of May, 1843, occurred, on which the disruption of the Kirk of Scotland took place, and when, after it had been confidently asserted that not even twenty ministers would abandon their livings, nearly 500 rose from their places in the General Assembly and bade a final farewell to the Established Church. It was a melancholy spectacle, a stunning blow to the upright affectionate heart of the leader of the Moderates. The labours of his past public life were thus destroyed by a single stroke, and while history recorded the calamitous event, he must have guessed that it would reproach him as one of the chief causes of the evil. And besides, in that departing train, whose self-sacrificing devotedness he was well disposed to acknowledge, how many were there whom he had revered for their commanding talents, and loved for their piety and worth, but who were now lost for ever to the church with which he was identified, and whom he must henceforth meet or pass by as the ministers of a rival and hostile cause! Such to Dr. Cook was the disruption; and although his own party exonerated him from blame, while his church still continued as before to be directed by his counsels, the rest of his life was clouded by the recollection of an event which the best men, whether of the Free or Established Church, will never cease to regret.

The latter years of Dr. Cook's life were spent at St. Andrews, as he had been appointed to the chair

of moral philosophy in its university, in the room of Dr. Chalmers, when the latter was called to Edinburgh. Here his end was sudden, his death having been instantaneous, and occasioned by the rupture of a blood-vessel while he was walking in the Kirk Wynd, on his way to the college library. This melancholy event occurred on the forenoon of the 13th of May, 1845.

COUTTS, THOMAS, who long moved at the head of the monied and banking interest of the metropolis, was the fourth and youngest son of John Coutts, originally of Dundee, and afterwards of Edinburgh, where he held the office of chief magistrate in 1743. The mother of Mr. Coutts was a daughter of Sir John Stuart of Allanbank, in Berwickshire, who was the maternal grandson of Miss Grizel Cochrane, daughter of Sir John Cochrane, the associate of Russell and Sidney in their project for liberating Britain from the tyranny of the last Stuarts. Of this lady, great-great-grandmother to Mr. Coutts, the following anecdote has been related by her relation, the Earl of Dundonald:—

"Sir John Cochrane, being engaged in Argyle's rebellion against James II., was taken prisoner after a desperate resistance, and condemned to be hanged. His daughter having noticed that the death-warrant was expected from London, attired herself in men's clothes, and twice attacked and robbed the mails (betwixt Berwick and Belford) which conveyed the death-warrants; thus, by delaying the execution, giving time to Sir John Cochrane's father, the Earl of Dundonald, to make interest with Father Petre, (a Jesuit), King James' confessor, who, for the sum of £5000, agreed to intercede with his royal master in behalf of Sir John Cochrane, and to procure his pardon, which was effected."

Mr. Coutts was born about the year 1731. His father carried on the business of a general merchant, and established the bank which has since attained such distinguished respectability under the auspices of Sir William Forbes and his descendants. An elder son, James, entered into partnership with a banking house in St. Mary Axe, London, which corresponded with that of John Coutts and Co., Edinburgh. Subsequently Thomas Coutts, the subject of the present memoir, entered also into that house. He then became partner with his brother of a banking house in the Strand, which had long been carried on under the title of Middleton and Campbell; and finally, on the death of his brother, in 1778, he became the sole manager of this extensive concern.

Mr. Coutts possessed the accomplishments and manners of a gentleman; plain but fashionable in his dress; sedate in his deportment; punctual and indefatigable in business even to a very advanced age. His great ambition through life was to establish his character as a man of business, and he certainly obtained such a reputation in this respect as few men have enjoyed. Instances are related of his refusing to overlook a single penny in accounts even with those friends to whom he was in the habit of dispensing his hospitality with the most liberal hand. With such qualifications, and blessed with length of days beyond the usual span of human life, it is not surprising that he acquired immense wealth, and placed himself at the head of that important class to which he belonged. Nor was he exclusively a man of business: he enjoyed the society of literary men in a high degree, and was distinguished for his taste in theatricals. He was also a liberal dispenser of his wealth to the poor.

Mr. Coutts was twice married:—first to Susan

Starkie, a female servant of his brother James, by whom he had three daughters—Susan, married in 1796 to George Augustus, third Earl of Guildford; Frances, married in 1800 to John, first Marquis of Bute; and Sophia, married in 1793 to Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. About three months after the decease of his first wife, which took place in 1815, he married Harriet Mellon, an actress of some distinction in her profession, whom he constituted, at his death, sole legatee of his immense property, consisting of personals in the diocese of Canterbury sworn under £600,000, besides considerable real estates in lands, houses, &c., and the banking establishment in the Strand. This lady afterwards became by marriage Duchess of St. Albans, and, by her acts of beneficence, proved herself not unworthy of the great fortune which she had acquired. Mr. Coutts' death took place at his house in Piccadilly, February 24th, 1822, about the ninetieth year of his age.

CRAIG, JAMES, M.A., was born at Gifford in East Lothian, in 1682, and educated in the university of Edinburgh. He was first minister at Yester, in his native country; then at Haddington; and finally at Edinburgh, where he was very popular as a preacher. While in the first of these situations, he wrote a volume of *Divine Poems*, which have gone through two editions, and enjoyed at one time a considerable reputation. In 1732, when settled in Edinburgh, he published *Sermons*, in three volumes 8vo, chiefly on the principal heads of Christianity. He died at Edinburgh in 1744, aged sixty-two.

CRAIG, JOHN, an eminent preacher of the Reformation, was born about the year 1512, and had the misfortune to lose his father next year at the battle of Flodden. Notwithstanding the hardships to which this loss subjected him, he obtained a good education, and removing into England, became tutor to the children of Lord Dacre. Wars arising soon after between England and Scotland, he returned to his native country, and became a monk of the Dominican order. Having given some grounds for a suspicion of heresy, he was cast into prison; but having cleared himself, he was restored to liberty; and returning to England, endeavoured, by the influence of Lord Dacre, to procure a place at Cambridge, in which he was disappointed. He then travelled to France; and thence to Rome, where he was in such favour with Cardinal Pole, that he obtained a place among the Dominicans of Bologna, and was appointed to instruct the novices of the cloister. Being advanced to the rectorate, in consequence of his merit, he had access to the library; where, happening to read Calvin's *Institutes*, he became a convert to the Protestant doctrines. A conscientious regard to the text in which Christ forbids his disciples to deny him before men, induced Craig to make no secret of this change in his sentiments; and he was consequently sent to Rome, thrown into a prison, tried and condemned to be burned, from which fate he was only saved by an accident. Pope Paul IV. having died the day before his intended execution, the people rose tumultuously, dragged the statue of his late holiness through the streets, and, breaking open all the prisons, set the prisoners at liberty. Craig immediately left the city; and as he was walking through the suburbs, he met a company of banditti. One of these men, taking him aside, asked if he had ever been in Bologna. On his answering in the affirmative, the man inquired if he recollected, as he was one day walking there in the fields with some young noblemen, having administered relief to a poor maimed soldier, who asked him for alms.

Craig replied that he had no recollection of such an event; but in this case the obliged party had the better memory: the bandit told him that he could never forget the kindness he had received on that occasion, which he would now beg to repay by administering to the present necessities of his benefactor. In short, this man gave Craig a sufficient sum to carry him to Bologna.

The fugitive soon found reason to fear that some of his former acquaintances at this place might denounce him to the Inquisition; and accordingly he slipped away as privately as possible to Milan, avoiding all the principal roads, for fear of meeting any enemy. One day, when his money and strength were alike exhausted by the journey, he came to a desert place, where, throwing himself down upon the ground, he almost resigned all hope of life. At this moment a dog came fawning up to him, with a bag of money in his mouth, which it laid down at his feet. The forlorn traveller instantly recognized this as "a special token of God's favour;" and picking up fresh energy, proceeded on his way till he came to a little village, where he obtained some refreshment. He now bent his steps to Vienna; where, professing himself of the Dominican order, he was brought to preach before the emperor Maximilian II., and soon became a favourite at the court of that sovereign. His fame reverting to Rome, Pope Pius III. sent a letter to the emperor, desiring him to be sent back as one that had been 'condemned for heresy. The emperor adopted the more humane course of giving him a safe-conduct out of Germany. Reaching England about the year 1560, Craig heard of the reformation which had taken place in his native country; and, returning thither, offered his services to the church. He found, however, that the long period of his absence from the country (twenty-four years) had unfitted him to preach in the vernacular tongue, and he was therefore obliged for some time to hold forth to the learned in Latin.¹ Next year, having partly recovered his native language, he was appointed to be the colleague of Knox in the parish church of Edinburgh, which office he held for nine years. During this period he had an opportunity of manifesting his conscientious regard to the duties of his calling, by refusing to proclaim the banns for the marriage of the queen to Bothwell, which he thought contrary to the laws, to reason, and to the word of God. For this he was reprov'd at the time by the council; but his conduct was declared by the General Assembly two years after to have been consistent with his duty as a faithful minister. About the year 1572 he was sent by the General Assembly to preach at Montrose, "for the illuminating the north; and when he had remained two years there, he was sent to Aberdeen to illuminate these dark places in Mar, Buchan, and Aberdeen, and to teach the youth in the college there." In 1579 Mr. Craig, being appointed minister to the king (James VI.), returned to Edinburgh, where he took a leading hand in the general assemblies of the church, being the compiler of part of the Second Book of Discipline; and, what gives his name its chief historical lustre, the writer of the NATIONAL COVENANT, signed in 1580 by the king and his household, and which was destined in a future age to exercise so mighty an influence over the destinies of the country.

John Craig was a very different man from the royal chaplains of subsequent times. He boldly

¹ His Latin discourses were delivered in Magdalen's Chapel, in the Cowgate, Edinburgh; a curious old place of worship, which still exists, and even retains in its windows part of the stained glass which adorned it in Catholic times.

opposed the proceedings of the court when he thought them inconsistent with the interests of religion, and did not scruple on some occasions to utter the most poignant and severe truths respecting the king, even in his majesty's own presence. In 1595, being quite worn out with the infirmities of age, he resigned his place in the royal household, and retired from public life. He died on the 4th of December, 1600, aged eighty-eight, his life having extended through the reigns of four sovereigns.

CRAIG, JOHN, an eminent mathematician, flourished at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. The only circumstance known respecting his life is, that he was vicar of Gillingham, in Dorsetshire. The following list of his writings is given in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*:—*Methodus figurarum, lineis rectis et curvis comprehensarum: quadraturas determinandi*. London, 1685, 4to.—*Tratatus Mathematicus, de figurarum curvilinearum, &c., et locis geometricis*. London, 1692, 1693, 4to.—*Theologia Christiana Principia Mathematica*. London, 1699, 4to. Reprinted, Leipsic, 1755.—*De Calculo Fluentium*, lib. ii., et *de Optica Analytica*, lib. ii. London, 1718, 4to.—*The Quantity of the Logarithmic Curve*; translated from the Latin, *Phil. Trans.* Abr. iv. 318. 1698.—*Quantity of Figures Geometrically Irrational*. Ib. 202. 1697.—*Letter containing Solutions of two Problems: 1, on the Solid of Least Resistance; 2, the Curve of Quickest Descent*. Ib. 542. 1701.—*Specimen of determining the Quadrature of Figures*. Ib. v. 24. 1703.—*Solution of Bernoulli's Problem*. Ib. 90. 1704.—*Of the Length of Curved Lines*. Ib. 406. 1708.—*Method of Making Logarithms*. Ib. 609. 1710.—*Description of the Head of a Monstrous Calf*. Ib. 668. 1712."

CRAIG, THOMAS, author of the *Treatise on the Feudal Law*, and of other learned works, was probably born in the year 1538. It is uncertain whether he was the son of Robert Craig, a merchant in Edinburgh, or of William Craig of Craighny, afterwards Craighton, in the county of Aberdeen. In 1552 he was entered a student of St. Leonard's College, in the university of St. Andrews, but does not appear to have completed the usual course of four years, as he left the college in 1555, after receiving his degree as Bachelor of Arts. He then repaired to France, and studied the civil and canon law in some of the flourishing universities of that country. On his return, about the year 1561, he continued his studies under the superintendence of his relation, John Craig, the subject of a preceding memoir. After distinguishing himself in a very eminent degree as a classical scholar, he was called to the bar in February, 1563, and in the succeeding year was placed at the head of the criminal judicature of the country, as justice-depute, under the hereditary officer, the justice-general, an honour vested in the noble family of Argyll. Among his earliest duties in this capacity, was that of trying and condemning Thomas Scott, sheriff-depute of Perth, and Henry Yair, a priest, for having kept the gates of Holyrood House, to facilitate the assassination of Rizzio. In 1566, when James VI. was born, Craig, relaxing from his severer studies at the bar, hailed the birth of the royal infant, and predicted the happiness which such an event promised to his unsettled country, in a Latin poem entitled *Genethliacum Jacobi Principis Scotorum*. This, says Mr. Tytler, in his elegant work, *The Life of Sir Thomas Craig*, is a poem of considerable length, written in hexameters, and possessing many passages not only highly descriptive of the state of Scotland at this time, but in

themselves eminently poetical: it is to be found in the *Delitia Poetarum Scotorum*. "Craig," says Mr. Tytler, "appears to have been a man of a modest and retiring disposition, averse to any interference in the political intrigues of the times, devoted to his profession, and fond of that relaxation from the severer labours of the bar, which is to be found in a taste for classical literature. While his contemporaries are to be found perpetually implicated in the conspiracies against their mistress the queen, and their names have come down to us contaminated by crime, the character of this good and upright man shines doubly pure amid the guilt with which it is surrounded. Although a convert to the reformed opinions, and from this circumstance naturally connected with the party which opposed the queen, his sense of religion did not confound or extinguish his principles of loyalty. His name appears only in the journal books of the court in the discharge of the labours of his profession, or it is found in the judicial records under his official designation of justice-depute, or it is honourably associated with the literature of his country; but it is never connected with the political commotions which the money and intrigues of England had kindled in the heart of our nation." Craig pursued an extensive practice at the bar for a period of upwards of forty years, and during all that time his name is scarcely ever found mingling with the political movements of the times. During the later part of his career he devoted much of his time to the composition of his learned *Treatise on the Feudal Law*, upon which his reputation principally rests. To describe the law of our country, as he found it established by the practice of the courts in his own age; to compare it with the written books on the feudal law; and to impart to it somewhat of the form and arrangement of a science, demonstrating, at the same time, its congruity in its fundamental principles with the feudal law of England, such were the objects of Sir Thomas Craig in this work, which he completed in 1603, a period when it might have been of signal service, if published, in removing some of the prejudices which stood in the way of a union between the two countries. The treatise, which was written in a vigorous Latin style, was not, however, put forth to the world till forty-seven years after the death of the learned author. The enlarged and liberal mind of Sir Thomas Craig rendered him a zealous promoter of every object which tended to preserve the mutual peace, or facilitate the union of England. In January, 1603, he finished a *Treatise on the Succession*, to further the views of his sovereign upon the throne about to be vacated by the death of Elizabeth. This work was more immediately occasioned by the celebrated *Conference on the Succession*, written by the Jesuit Parsons, under the assumed name of Doleman, in which the right of James VI. was contested in a manner equally able and virulent. The treatise of Craig, probably on account of the quiet succession of James a few months after, was never sent to the press; but an English translation of it was published in 1703 by Dr. Gatherer. How much of his time Craig was in the habit of dedicating to the Muses does not appear; but the *Delitia Poetarum Scotorum* contains another poem written by him on the departure of his native monarch from Edinburgh, to take possession of his new kingdom of England. It is entitled *Ad Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem Jacobum VI. e sua Scotia Discedentem, Paræneticon*. "This poem," says Mr. Tytler, "is highly characteristic of the simple and upright character of its author. While other and more venal bards exhausted their imagination in the composition of those encomiastic

addresses, the incense commonly offered up to kings, the *Paraneticon* of Craig is grave, dignified, and even admonitory. He is loyal, indeed, but his loyalty has the stamp of truth and sincerity; his praises are neither abject nor excessive; and in the advices which he has not scrupled to give to his sovereign, it is difficult which most to admire, the excellent sense of the precepts, or the energetic latinity in which they are conveyed." Craig also addressed a similar poem to Prince Henry, who accompanied his father to England.

It would appear that Craig either was one of those who accompanied the king to England, or soon after followed him; as he was present at the entrance of his majesty into London, and at the subsequent coronation. He celebrated these events in a Latin hexameter poem, entitled *Στεφανοφωπία*, which is neither the chastest nor the most pleasing of his productions, although the richest in metaphorical ornament and florid description. Craig was, in 1604, one of the commissioners on the part of Scotland, who, by the king's desire, met others on the part of England, for the purpose of considering the possibility of a union between the two countries. He wrote a work on this subject, in which he warmly seconded the patriotic views of the king. This treatise, written, like all his other works, in Latin, has never been published; although, in point of matter and style, in the importance of the subject to which it relates, the variety of historical illustrations, the sagacity of the political remarks, and the insight into the mutual interests of the two countries which it exhibits, it perhaps deserves to rank the highest of all his works. The work upon which he appears to have been last engaged is one upon the old controversy respecting the homage claimed from Scotland by the English monarch. The *De Hominio* of Craig remained in manuscript till the year 1695, when a translation of it was published by Mr. George Ridpath, under the title, *Scotland's Sovereignty Asserted, or a Dispute concerning Homage*.

Craig was, in the latter part of his life, advocate for the church, and under that character was employed at the famous trial of the six ministers in 1606, on a charge of treason for keeping a General Assembly at Aberdeen. He was perhaps unfitted, by his studious and modest disposition, to come farther forward in public life. King James repeatedly offered him the honour of knighthood, which he as constantly refused: he is only styled "*Sir Thomas Craig*," in consequence of an order from the king that every one should give him the title. He had been married, in early life, to Helen Heriot, daughter of the laird of Trabrown, in East Lothian, to which family belonged the mothers of two great men of that age, George Buchanan and the first Earl of Haddington. By this lady he had four sons and three daughters. Sir Lewis Craig, the eldest son, who was born in 1569, was raised, at the age of thirty-four, to the bench, where he took the designation of Lord Wrightshouses. As this was in the lifetime of his own father, the latter had sometimes occasion to plead before his son. A pleasing tradition regarding the filial respect shown by Sir Lewis is preserved in the biographical sketch prefixed to the treatise *De Feudis*. The supreme judges in those days sat covered, and heard the counsel who pleaded before them uncovered. "Whenever," says his biographer, "his father appeared before him, Sir Lewis, as became a pious son, uncovered, and listened to his parent with the utmost reverence."

Another family anecdote of a very pleasing character is derived from the same source. The father

of Sir Thomas Craig had been educated in the Roman Catholic religion. His son, whose studies after his return from France were, as we have seen, superintended by Mr. John Craig, the eminent reformer, appears early and zealously to have embraced the new opinions. The old man continued in the faith of the Church of Rome till a late period of his life; but, being at length converted by the unanswerable reasons which were incessantly, though reverentially, urged by his son, he became, to the great joy of the subject of this memoir, a convert to the true religion.

This great man died on the 26th of February, 1608, when, if we are right as to the date of his birth, he must have attained his seventieth year.

CRAIG, WILLIAM, a distinguished senator of the College of Justice, and a large contributor to the literary paper styled the *Mirror*, was the son of Dr. William Craig, one of the ministers of Glasgow; a man of so much eminence that the editors of the *Biographia Britannica* thought proper to admit an account of him, drawn up by Professor Richardson, into their very select collection.¹ The subject of the present memoir was born in 1745, and received his education at Glasgow College, where he attended the classes of Smith in moral philosophy and political economy, and those of Miller in jurisprudence and civil law. His acquirements were at an early period very great, especially in the belles-lettres, and to a less degree in history and metaphysics. He entered at the bar in 1768, and was the contemporary and intimate friend of some of the most distinguished men of the last age. Robert Blair, afterwards lord-president; Alexander Abercromby, afterwards Lord Abercromby; along with Craig and some others, held for some years a private meeting once every week, for mutual improvement in their legal studies. It is remarkable that, at the commencement of Mr. Pitt's administration in 1784, Blair, Abercromby, and Craig were appointed together to be depute-advocates under Sir Ilay Campbell, who was at the same time nominated lord-advocate. Mr. Craig held this office till 1787, when he was nominated sheriff of Ayrshire. On the death of Lord Hailes, in 1792, Mr. Craig was appointed to succeed him on the bench, on which occasion he assumed the designation of Lord Craig. In 1795 he succeeded Lord Henderland as a judge of the court of justiciary.

In the concluding number of the *Mirror*, which appeared on the 17th of May, 1780, it is mentioned that "the idea of publishing a periodical paper in Edinburgh took its rise in a company of gentlemen whom particular circumstances of connection brought frequently together. Their discourse often turned upon subjects of manners, of taste, and of literature. By one of those accidental resolutions of which the origin cannot easily be traced, it was determined to put their thoughts in writing, and to read them for the entertainment of each other. Their essays assumed the form, and soon after some one gave them the name, of a periodical publication. The writers of it were naturally associated; and their meetings increased the importance, as well as the number, of their productions. Cultivating letters in the midst of business, composition was to them an amusement only; that amusement was heightened by the audience which this society afforded; the idea of publication suggested itself as productive of still higher entertainment. It was not, however, without diffidence that such a resolution was taken. From that and

¹ Dr. Craig was author of an *Essay on the Life of Christ*, and of *Twenty Discourses* on various subjects.

several circumstances it was thought proper to observe the strictest secrecy with regard to the authors; a purpose in which they have been so successful, that at this moment the very publisher of the work knows only one of their number, to whom the conduct of it was intrusted."

It is now to be mentioned, upon the credit of the sole survivor of the association above alluded to, that the first idea of starting this periodical work occurred to Mr. Craig, who, next to Mr. Mackenzie, was the most zealous of them all in the cultivation of the belles-lettres. The remaining persons concerned were Mr. Alexander Abercromby, of whom a memoir has been given in the present dictionary; Mr. Robert Cullen, afterwards Lord Cullen; Mr. Macleod Bannatyne, afterwards Lord Bannatyne; Mr. George Home, afterwards Lord Wedderburn, and one of the principal clerks of session; Mr. William Gordon of Newhall, and Mr. George Ogilvy, both also advocates, but of whom the first died, and the latter fell into bad health, before having made any contribution to the *Mirror*. Mr. Mackenzie was the only individual unconnected with the bar. The association was at first termed the *Tabernacle*; but when the resolution of publishing was adopted, it assumed the name of the *Mirror Club*, from the title of the projected paper. It was resolved to commit the business of publishing to Mr. Creech, the well-known bookseller, and the duty of communicating with him, and of the general superintendence of the work, was devolved on Mr. Mackenzie. The club used to meet once a week, sometimes in one tavern, sometimes in another, in order that their proceedings might be less liable to the observation of their acquaintance. A list of their haunts will tell strangely in the ears of those who, thinking of the *Mirror* as the pink of elegance in literature, might expect to find that every circumstance connected with its composition was alike elegant. The club met, for instance, sometimes in Clerihugh's, in Writer's Court; sometimes in Somers's, opposite the Guardhouse in the High Street; sometimes in Stewart's oyster-house in the Old Fish-market Close; and fully as often, perhaps, in Lucky Dunbar's, a moderate and obscure house, situated in an alley leading betwixt Forrester's and Libberton's Wynd. On these occasions, any member who had written a paper since the last meeting, produced it to be read and considered. But as a general invitation had been held out for contributions from persons not members of the club, and a box placed at Mr. Creech's shop for receiving them, the papers so contributed, as well as those produced by the members, were read over and considered, and a selection made of those proposed to be adopted. Among these occasional contributors were several individuals of great respectability, of whom we may mention Lord Hailes, Professor Richardson of Glasgow, Dr. Henry, author of the *History of Great Britain*, and Mr. David Hume, afterwards one of the barons of exchequer. Some other papers of no inconsiderable merit were supposed to be from ladies. The *Mirror* was commenced on the 23d of January, 1779, and finished with the 110th number on the 27th of May, 1780. It appeared in one small folio sheet, which was sold at three halfpence, and though not above four hundred were ever sold of any particular number, the public approbation was so high as to demand the immediate republication of the whole in three volumes duodecimo.

Mr. Craig's contributions to the *Mirror*, which were the most numerous, next to those of Mr. Mackenzie, are indicated in a later edition of the work.

To the *Lounger*, which was started some years

after by the same club, he also contributed many excellent papers.

Lord Craig, who possessed originally a very weak constitution, enjoyed so poor a state of health in his latter years as to be obliged to resign his place on the judiciary bench. He died on the 8th of July, 1813. The mental qualifications of this eminent person were of a very high order. Although his practice at the bar had never been very extensive, he was much esteemed in his character as a judge, his decisions being remarkable for their clearness and precision, while his habits were of a singularly industrious order, considering the state of his health. In private life he was beloved on account of his gentle, unassuming manners, and his eminently benevolent and sociable disposition.

CRAIK, GEORGE LILLIE, M.A., LL.D. A life of this gentleman, if fully written, would present an interesting picture of literary life in London, under its most recent phases; and form a record of successful struggle, in which high talent, persevering energy, and moral rectitude could win their way along a path so crowded with difficulties and defeats. Dr. Craik was born at Kennoway, in the county of Fife, in 1798. His father, the Rev. William Craik, was first parish schoolmaster, and afterwards minister of Kennoway; his mother, Patterson, was daughter of Mr. Henry Lillie, farmer in the same parish. He was the eldest of three brothers, the second being the Rev. James Craik, D.D., of Glasgow, and the third the Rev. Henry Craik of Bristol. Of the early life of the subject of this memoir we know little, but it is evident that, even while a boy, he must have been forming those habits of studious application, and gathering those stores of general knowledge for which he was afterwards distinguished among his literary associates. Possessing also the best of all inheritances in a virtuous and intellectual parentage, we are told, that from father and mother he derived a remarkable combination of strength and sweetness; great firmness of character, indomitable perseverance, and an almost fastidious refinement. "These qualities," the same authority truly adds, "stamped his individuality as a man quite as much as a man of letters, and caused him to exercise, wherever he went, a large and abiding influence both social and moral."

After qualifying himself by a general English education and some knowledge of the ancient classics, George L. Craik entered the university of St. Andrews, and went through the usual *curriculum* of what are called the gown-classes, after which he became a student of theology. But although he finished the usual course prescribed by the church, he did not take license as a preacher. It is probable that general literature had more attractions for him than the study of theology, and that he already felt the profession of an author to be his proper vocation. It appears also that before his college career was ended, he had, like many other aspiring students, preluded in authorship. In 1816, when only eighteen years old, he began to support himself at college as a tutor to younger students than himself, and soon afterwards he was appointed editor of a local newspaper called the *Star*. From 1812, when he entered the university, until 1820, when his connection with it closed, he had carried off many college honours, and was regarded by his fellow-students as a scholar of great attainments and very superior intellectual powers. It was more important still that the professors were of the same opinion; and of these, Dr. Chalmers, in recommending him to his friends in Glasgow, where Mr. Craik intended

to deliver a course of lectures, wrote, among other affectionate eulogiums, "You cannot speak too highly of him." In 1823 he married Jannette, daughter of Cathcart Dempster, Esq., of St. Andrews; and having thus the responsibilities of marriage upon his head, without the intention of looking forward to church preferment, he commenced active life as a lecturer on poetry, a choice, which not only his own taste, but the celebrity which Hazlitt had previously won in Scotland by his lectures on the poets, may probably have inspired. He delivered a series of lectures accordingly in Glasgow, Dublin, Belfast, and Liverpool; but soon found that, however adventurous or alluring, such an erratic course was too uncertain and unprofitable for one who had others than himself to support. He therefore went to London, and settled down to that systematic course of literary occupation which he continued until the close of his active and well-spent life.

The first years of Mr. Craik's career in the metropolis were such as a young literary adventurer usually experiences. A few months or weeks suffice to dispel the imaginary halo that surrounds it. However estimated in his own locality, he is nobody in London until he is tried and tested anew. Whatever be his talents he must step forth and show them, as the search after modest merit in its murky concealments is out of the question. And while the French litterateur in his garret may hope to win rank and political influence by his writings, and become the leading man of the state, British authorship must reckon itself fortunate if, instead of a premiership, it can only find a publisher. Even the choice, too, of his subjects with a reference to his own past studies, acquisitions, and likings, he must forego, as he is but a candidate in the literary market, and can only hope to dispose of those wares which for the present are in chief demand. Such is the fate of the adventurer in London who seeks to live by authorship as a profession: he must not only throw aside the stock of MS. with which he hoped to take the world by storm, but strip himself of his very skin, and commence a new intellectual life. It is by such a painful process, however, that the enthusiastic aspirant finds he can become something better than a fourth-rate novelist or a fifth-rate poet, and that after a course of stern experience he discovers the way in which he can best succeed. Much of this was experienced by Mr. Craik after he had settled himself in the great metropolis in 1824. His lectures on poetry were not in demand, and instead of controlling he must follow the tide. He therefore laid himself out for such chance work as might occur, and was rewarded for his compliance, although such engagements were slow in coming, and scantily remunerated. He abandoned the imaginative for the more solid departments of literature—politics, ethics, biography, history, criticism—and found in these the fittest exercise for his well-trained powers, and the best outlet for his extensive general knowledge. But even already, although so humbly employed and in anonymous authorship, his worth began to be recognized, and influential friends to gather round him, whose esteem could console him amidst years of poverty and privation, and inspire him with the hope that better days awaited him.

The first regular literary engagement of Mr. Craik that promised to be permanent, was in the *Verulam*, a weekly literary and scientific newspaper, the literary department of which he was appointed to conduct. But this paper, although supported by high patronage, and ably conducted, did not meet the popular taste, and was very soon abandoned. Such was the

fate of several publications of the period which in a newspaper form were intended to be the vehicles of substantial knowledge to the masses. They were the earliest experiments among those attempts to popularize the important truths of science and literature by which the common people were to be enlightened, before they could be reformed and elevated; but where the readers, expecting a light lively newspaper, were overwhelmed with scientific and political lectures. It was an unpardonable disappointment, and was resented accordingly. After the failure of the *Verulam*, a dreary interval of precarious occupation succeeded, until the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge had commenced; and Mr. Craik, whose talents were already well known to the directors, and especially its distinguished president Lord Brougham, was engaged as one of its chief contributors. Soon after this society had commenced its operations, he produced his *Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties*, a work so popular that its very title became a household word; and as it appeared without the name of the author, conjecture was busy, and the work was attributed for some time to the most eminent literary personage of the day. His next work, published in 1831 by the same society, was *Paris and its Historical Scenes*, in two volumes, and afterwards *The New Zealanders*. These works, published under the series of *Entertaining Knowledge* edited and published by Mr. Charles Knight, brought him into close intercourse with that enterprising publisher, and Mr. Craik was extensively engaged with the *Penny Magazine* and *Penny Cyclopaedia*, in the latter of which publications he was employed from its commencement to the close, contributing to it some of its most valuable articles in history and biography.

An entire history of England being still a desideratum, had been some time under consideration, and it was resolved that Henry's learned and able but somewhat neglected work should be reproduced in a better style, and the narrative continued to the present day. Of this undertaking Mr. Craik was to be editor, with proper coadjutors, and the attempt was commenced in earnest; but before it had proceeded far onward, the difficulty of piecing new materials into the original framework was found so great, that it was judged better to produce an entirely new work rather than attempt to repair and enlarge the old. The old materials were therefore thrown aside, and nothing of Henry retained but his plan of historical writing by separate divisions, which also, in the present case, was subjected to considerable changes and modifications. The result of this careful deliberation was that highly popular work, *The Pictorial History of England*—the first attempt after that of the Rev. Dr. Henry to write a national history in all the different departments of a nation's progress, which promises to introduce a new and most important era in that department of authorship. Of this difficult work, which commenced in 1839, Mr. Craik was editor, and while he welded the different chapters of its contributors into one harmonious and consistent account—not always an easy or conciliatory task—he principally wrote the chapters on "Religion," "Constitution," "Government and Laws," "National Industry and Literature," of each successive period. How well his task was discharged both as editor and contributor, the *Pictorial History* itself gives sufficient evidence. His own contributions, enlarged and improved, were afterwards published as separate works, in *Knight's Weekly Volumes*, the first of which was entitled *Sketches of the History of Literature and Learning in England from the Norman Conquest to the Present Time*, in six volumes,

which were afterwards expanded into a still larger work, entitled *History of English Literature and the English Language*, 1862. The second work, formed from his chapters in the *Pictorial History*, and published in the same series, was *A History of British Commerce from the Earliest Times*, 3 vols. 1844. Besides these, he also published in *Knight's Weekly Volumes*, *Spenser and his Poetry*, 3 vols. 1845; *Bacon, his Writings, and his Philosophy*, 3 vols. 1846; a concluding volume of *Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties*, containing female examples only, 1847; and a work entitled *Popular Tumults*.

Without taking into account his numerous contributions to the periodical literature of the day, the research they occasioned, the careful deliberation with which they were studied, and the fastidious excellence that characterized their composition, Mr. Craik, it will be seen, since his arrival in London had been no remiss student. Gifted with an iron constitution, it had been severely tasked, and the variety of subjects which successively demanded his study might well make him sigh for relief, even though that relief should be nothing but a change of labour. An author by profession, had the literature in which he dealt been of that showy sensational kind which arrests the mob of readers, and pleases for the day, he might with half the toil have won fortune at least, if not fame, and been able to retire with a competence. But he had devoted himself to the more solid and useful, and therefore less lucrative, departments of his high vocation; and while other writers were content to amuse the public, his ambition was to elevate and instruct it. Hence the very moderate competence in the way of remuneration which his toils could obtain for him at the best, and the prospect that all this would cease when occupation forsook him, and he was too weary to work. But sufficient for the day is the evil thereof, and he looked forward with his wonted cheerfulness and energy. In the meantime he had won a reputation worth living for, and a circle of friends who formed a world worth living in; men, the most distinguished in literature and science, who appreciated his high talents, and loved him for his amiable social qualities. Nor was his benevolent disposition less remarkable, and he was anxious to smooth for others the way he had found so rough for himself. To young literateurs, therefore, he was always ready with his advice and literary assistance, and often with his purse too, even when his own resources were by no means overflowing. And not merely as a friend, companion, and counsellor, but as a husband and father, his kindly affections were always alive, and constantly welling forth.

From the wear and tear of such close application and multifarious studies, Mr. Craik in 1849 found a welcome relief by being appointed professor of English literature and history at Queen's College, Belfast. "From this date," writes one who evidently knew him intimately and loved him well, "his career is identified with that of the newly-founded university, to which his ardent love of letters, his sound judgment, and generous wisdom brought such large help—equally appreciated by both students and professors. Probably no college instructor was ever more widely popular than Professor Craik; while his genial qualities, his ready and inexhaustible memory, and his profound knowledge of men and books, made him welcome in every society. At Belfast, both within and without the college walls, his well-known figure, hale and active, with the flowing white hair, clear blue eye, and mouth full of both humour and sweetness, will be long missed and vividly remembered." Although now comfortably

settled, and with a regular routine of occupation, Professor Craik, instead of sinking into learned ease, retained all his activity and love of authorship, so that, when his course of lectures was prepared, and his work in full train, he resumed his active pen for the press, and filled up his spare time with fresh achievements in literature. In 1849-1852 he produced the *Romance of the Peerage*, in 4 vols.; in 1855, *Outlines of the History of the English Language*; in 1856, *The English of Shakespeare illustrated in "Julius Caesar,"* and in 1862 the *Manual of English Literature and the English Language*. Having been appointed in 1859 and 1862 examiner of the Indian civil service, he revisited London during these and other summers, and occasionally extended his visits to his native Scotland; but his permanent home was Belfast, where his chief duties lay. Thus peacefully his life went on until 1866, when in February, while lecturing to his class, he was struck with paralysis, from which he only temporarily recovered. His decease occurred on the 25th of June of the same year, and his remains were interred in the churchyard of Holywood near Belfast.

Mr. Craik, who had taken the degree of M.A. while a student at the university of St. Andrews, was also honoured with that of LL.D. a short time before his death. By his wife, who died in 1856, he had issue one son and three daughters, of whom two survive. His character as an author is thus summed up in a brief memoir of him which appeared in *Knight's English Cyclopædia*, while he still lived: "Scrupulous accuracy, unwearied research, and sound criticism, united with an ardent desire for the safe and gradual advance of all that may practically improve the condition of society, are the leading characteristics of Mr. Craik's writings. Few have laboured more earnestly in the cause of general education."

CRAWFORD, DAVID, of Drumsoy, near Glasgow, historiographer to Queen Anne, was born in 1665, and educated for the bar. Having abandoned professional pursuits in a great measure, for the sake of studying Scottish antiquities and history, he was appointed historiographer royal for Scotland by Queen Anne, to whom he was probably recommended by his being a zealous Tory and Jacobite. His political prepossessions, which as usual extended to a keen zeal in behalf of Queen Mary, induced him in 1706 to publish, at London, his well-known work, entitled *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, containing a Full and Impartial Account of the Revolution in that Kingdom, begun in 1567, Faithfully Compiled from an Authentic MS.* The avowed purpose of this publication was to furnish an antidote to the tendency of Buchanan's history. The substance of the work he says he derived from an ancient MS. presented to him by Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall, and which seemed to have been composed by a contemporary of the events described. In executing the task which he had imposed upon himself, the learned editor appears to have acted after the manner of a good partisan. In order that his work might the more perfectly meet the calumnies of Buchanan, he expunged from it every passage which told in behalf of the views taken by that writer, and introduced others instead from the contemporary Tory writers. The work was reprinted by Goodall in 1767, and still continues to be a popular narrative of the events of the *four regencies*. In 1804 Mr. Malcolm Laing, author of *The History of Scotland during the Seventeenth Century*, having obtained possession of the original MS. used by Crawford, published it, with a pre-

face denouncing the historiographer-royal as a rank impostor, inasmuch as he had set off that as a work of authority which had been vitiated for party purposes by his own hand. The same view has been taken of Mr. Crawford's character by Mr. Thomas Thomson, in the preface to a new print of the MS. for the use of the Bannatyne Club, which appeared in 1825, under the title of *The History and Life of King James the Sixth*. With deference to these writers, it may be suggested, in Crawford's defence, that his work was never pretended to be a faithful transcript of the original MS. except on the title-page, where it is so stated by the bookseller *ad captandum*, in obvious contradiction of the statement made by the editor within. The work comes forth with the character of a special pleading avowed upon the face of it; and those who depended upon such a *refasciamento* as upon a faithful contemporary chronicle, after the account given of it in the editor's preface, had only to blame their own simplicity. The truth is, Crawford's memoirs, when fully considered with a regard to the ideas prevalent respecting the purity of historical narrative at the beginning of the last century, will only appear an imposture to an opposite partisan. Crawford died in 1726.

CRAWFORD, GENERAL ROBERT. This gallant officer, whose chief theatre of distinction was the Peninsula during the campaigns of Wellington, was the third son of Sir Alexander Crawford, Bart., of Kilburnie, Stirlingshire. At an early age he entered the army, and on the 1st of November, 1787, he bore the commission of captain in the seventy-fifth regiment of Highlanders, with which he served in India. When the peace of Amiens opened the Continent to British tourists, Crawford repaired to France, that he might improve himself in military science; but the war which followed the short-lived peace soon recalled him from his professional studies to his duties at home, and he was again sent out to service in India.

Having gone through the various grades of promotion until he attained the rank of major-general, Crawford was sent, at the end of October, 1806, to South America, with 4200 men, upon an expedition that was originally designed to achieve the conquest of Chili. But from a mistaken idea that peace would again be established in a short period, the designs of our government in the matter of warlike expeditions were characterized by such delays and contradictory orders, that Crawford, from his attempts to obey them, fell under the displeasure of the home authorities, so that General Whitelocke was appointed to supersede him in the command. A short time, however, sufficed to convince them of the mistake they had committed by the change. An attack on Buenos Ayres was resolved upon by Whitelocke; and, as if to make success impossible, the British troops were ordered to leave the artillery behind; the soldiers were to enter the town with unloaded muskets; and while every house, which was flat-roofed according to the fashion of the climate, was defended by their armed occupants, who were admirable marksmen, and resolute to defend their homes to the last, each division of the assailants, on entering the town, was preceded by a corporal's guard, furnished only with crowsbars to break open the doors, while the troops were quietly to await their progress. The town was easily entered by the British, but how they were to get out of it was the master difficulty; for deadly showers of shot from every house-top poured upon them, which they were obliged to endure without the means of returning it; and the enemy, safe within their well-barricaded

habitations, laughed at the attempts to take their town by iron crows. General Crawford and his brigade, who by Whitelocke's arrangements had penetrated quite through the town, after losing nearly half his force, was obliged to entrench himself, with the remains of his troops, within a convent, where they were attacked by overwhelming numbers supplied with artillery as well as musketry. Thus isolated from support, and without the means of effectual resistance, they had no alternative but to surrender. Under such a commander as Whitelocke the brave troops that afterwards under Wellington achieved such victories, experienced nothing but a ruinous and shameful defeat; and Crawford, with three of his regiments, were prisoners in the hands of their triumphant enemies. This was followed by humiliating conditions, which Whitelocke accepted; in consequence of which the prisoners were restored, and the British troops withdrawn from the river Plata.

After this bitter taste of the degradations with which war is so often accompanied, Crawford was so fortunate as to act under the orders of a very different general, and upon a better field of action, being sent to serve in the army of the Peninsula. His brigade formed part of the centre column which Wellington commanded in person at the battle of Rorica; and he also served in the battle of Vimeiro, which was fought on the same month. Crawford was joined to the expedition of General Sir John Moore, and occupied a conspicuous place in confronting the dangers of the retreat to Corunna. One particular service in which he was engaged on these occasions, was at the crossing of the Esla river. While the British stores and baggage were conveyed across by a ferry-boat, General Crawford during that tedious operation was posted with the second light brigade on the left bank of the river—which was high, and commanded the bridge—so that the passage of the troops might be accomplished in safety. In the meantime the French were in close pursuit; and their cavalry had overtaken the British rearguard, and encountered it in a series of skirmishes. The English horse and the stragglers being now all across the river, Crawford gave orders to destroy the bridge; which was instantly commenced with alacrity, one half of his troops being engaged in the demolition, while the other half kept the enemy at bay. When the work was finished, he withdrew his troops in the face of the pursuers, by laying planks across the broken arches, along which his soldiers marched by single files—a most difficult and dangerous operation; but the night, which was dark, and the swelling of the river, which every moment threatened to flow over the planks, caused the retreat to be undiscovered, and his whole brigade was removed to the other side in safety.

After this successful exploit, General Crawford was sent by Sir John Moore with 3000 men to keep open the road to Vigo, and secure its port, as a place of embarkation for the British army if it should be impossible to effect it at Corunna. Finding that his stay in this quarter was unnecessary, Crawford commenced his march to rejoin Wellington. His troops, after a march of twenty miles were in bivouac near Malpartida de Placencia, when they were roused from their repose by the reports which the runaway Spaniards had spread in that quarter. Apprehending that some critical event was in progress at Wellington's head-quarters, Crawford allowed his men to rest only a few hours; and leaving behind him about fifty of the weakest, he commenced his march, resolving not to halt until he had joined the conflict at Talavera. As his brigade advanced, he

was met by crowds of Spanish fugitives, with cries of "The British army is defeated—Sir Arthur Wellesley is killed—The French are only a few miles distant!" These cowards, whose vision was distracted by their fear, even pretended to point out the enemy's advanced posts on the nearest hills. But these reports, instead of stopping only hastened the march of the troops; and leaving only seventeen stragglers behind them, they, in twenty-six hours, accomplished a march of sixty-two English miles, each man carrying from fifty to sixty pounds weight upon his shoulders. "Had the historian Gibbon known of such a march," exclaims Napier, with honest military pride, "he would have spared his sneer about the 'delicacy of modern soldiers.'" It has been characterized by the historian of Modern Europe as the most rapid march by any foot-soldiers of any nation during the whole war. Deep must have been the regret of such heroes when they arrived in a close compact body at the field of Talavera, to find that their efforts had been useless only by an hour or two—that the battle of Talavera had just been fought and won.

When the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the capture of other important towns by the French, occasioned the transference of the war from Spain to Portugal, General Crawford occupied a conspicuous part during the retreat of the British army from the one country to the other. He was appointed by Wellington to secure the line of the Coa, for which service he had three regiments of admirably trained infantry, and 400 excellent German hussars, while generals Picton and Cole were to come up to his aid if required. Crawford admirably fulfilled his task, stationing his troops in small detachments along the bank of the Agueda, so skilfully, that they extended twenty-five miles, and could not be attacked except at great disadvantage. During these arrangements, prodigious activity was necessary, so that he was everywhere; but he was nearly starved from his post, no money nor supplies being forthcoming. It was necessary to procure corn, and being of a fiery impatient temper, he seized upon some church plate, for which rash act he was immediately rebuked. But no popular explosion of the Spaniards followed; and the priests, convinced of his necessities, and the prompt means he would use in relieving them, took care to have his soldiers provided with supplies. The enemy gathered upon him in such force as might have overwhelmed him, but after several skirmishes he continued to maintain his ground until Ciudad Rodrigo had fallen. After this capture the whole French army, to the number of 60,000 men, advanced, upon which Wellington, aware of Crawford's fiery temper, ordered him not in any case to fight beyond the Coa. But the neighbourhood of such a force, after he had kept it three months at bay, and the presence of Massena himself, who now commanded it, was too much for prudential considerations, or even for positive commands, and with his small force of 4000 infantry and 1100 cavalry he prepared to give battle. This terrible affair, called the battle of the Coa, which occurred on the 24th of July, was one of the most remarkable episodes of the whole of this important war. The gallantry and confidence of the British seem to have confounded the calculations of the enemy as to their numbers, and such was the nature of their attacks over the whole field, as served to keep up the delusion. Two hundred and seventy British and forty-four Portuguese were killed, wounded, or taken, while the French lost above a thousand men; and when the engagement ceased it was upon equal terms, neither party having obtained the victory. But such a resistance on the

part of the British was tantamount to many victories.

During the battle General Picton, who ought to have supported Crawford, came up alone from Pinhel, and when the latter desired the support of the other's division it was refused, and the two generals parted after a sharp altercation. In their respective characters, which the author of the *History of the Peninsula War* has sketched, we can perceive the men themselves, as well as the causes of their disagreement. "Picton and Crawford were not formed by nature to act cordially together. The stern countenance, robust frame, saturnine complexion, caustic speech, and austere demeanour of the first promised little sympathy with the short thick figure, dark flashing eyes, quick movements, and fiery temper of the second; nor, indeed, did they often meet without a quarrel. Nevertheless they had many points of resemblance in their characters and fortunes. Both were inclined to harshness, and rigid in command; both prone to disobedience, yet exacting entire submission from inferiors, and they were alike ambitious and craving of glory. They both possessed decided military talents, were enterprising and intrepid, yet neither were remarkable for skill in handling troops under fire. This, also, they had in common, that both, after distinguished services, perished in arms, fighting gallantly; and being celebrated as generals of division while living, have, since their death, been injudiciously spoken of, as rivalling their great leader in war. . . . If they had even comprehended the profound military and political combinations he was conducting, the one would have carefully avoided fighting on the Coa, and the other, far from refusing, would have eagerly proffered his support."

The next affair in which Crawford distinguished himself was the battle of Busaco. Wellington had selected this steep rugged ground as the best for defence, and having made his arrangements, he awaited the attack of Massena and Ney, in the confidence of being successful. Crawford moved down from his post on the 25th of September, 1810, and at the sight of the enemy gathering in front, seemed disposed to repeat the desperate experiment of the Coa. Apprehending such a result, which would have disconcerted his whole plan of action, Wellington sent orders to withdraw this division. In the battle that followed, Crawford, who was opposed to Ney, had so advantageously disposed his troops upon the heights, that they could not be attacked but at great disadvantage; and standing alone on one of the rocks which overlooked the enemy, he watched the motions below, and the advance of the French to attack him. Now was the time, and in a quick shrill voice he ordered his soldiers to charge; the command was obeyed with equal alacrity, and in a few minutes the French were driven in confusion down the steep. After this success, and when the heat of conflict was succeeded by a momentary truce for relieving the wounded, a French company towards evening seized a village within half-musket shot of Crawford's division, and refused to retire. This was enough to kindle the general's rage, and after cannonading the village, he sent down the forty-third regiment, which drove out the French in a few minutes. When the events of the campaign brought on the battle of Fuentes d'Onore, May 5, 1811, Crawford with his light division covered the passage of the seventh division over the river Tirones, and then retired slowly over the plain in squares, followed by the enemy's horse, which continually outflanked him; but the squares presented such a firm and formidable aspect that the enemy were afraid to attack them. After this successful demonstration, the

light division formed a reserve to the right of the first division, and performed an effectual part in the conflict.

After the skirmish at Elbodo, and the retrograde movement of the British army, Crawford received orders from Wellington to fall back upon Gñualdo, at which the British troops were to be concentrated. It was a movement that demanded the utmost speed, for Wellington, who was there in person, had scarcely 15,000 men, while Marmont had collected 60,000 in front of him. The order was delivered at two o'clock; but Crawford, who was only sixteen miles distant, did not arrive until three on the following day. Unaware of the critical condition of his chief, averse to anything that looked like a retreat, and desirous to signalize himself by some bold deed against the enemy who followed his footsteps, his march had been a very leisurely process; on the other hand, Wellington, who would not abandon the light division, awaited its arrival. It was well that he could concentrate his troops from other quarters during the night, and that Marmont was ignorant of his situation. On the arrival of Crawford with his division, his commander said to him nothing more than, "I am glad to see you safe, Crawford." The other replied, "Oh, I was in no danger, I assure you." "But I was from your conduct," replied Wellington. This mild rebuke from such a man was almost equivalent to the condemnation of a court-martial. In the night Wellington, by a skilful concentric movement from Gñualdo and other neighbouring places, united the whole army on new ground twelve miles behind Gñualdo.

The career of the daring and chivalrous Crawford was now drawing to an abrupt close. The reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo being necessary for the success of our arms, Lord Wellington, after investing the fortress eleven days in the face of a superior enemy, resolved to take it by storm. On the 19th of January, 1812, two large breaches having been completed, the third division, under General Picton, was appointed to storm the greater opening, while Crawford with his light division was to undertake the less. It was significant of the desperate nature of the enterprise, that two of the bravest generals of the British service were selected to conduct it. Crawford's division carried the smaller breach; but Crawford himself fell mortally wounded on the glacis, while bringing up his troops to the attack. A musket-shot which had struck his left arm, penetrated his side, and lodged in the lungs. He was immediately carried to the rear, but, notwithstanding the attempts of the surgeons, who bled him twice, he did not recover from a deadly insensible stupor until the following morning. He felt that recovery was impossible, and when General Stewart talked of future achievements, by which the campaign was likely to be distinguished, and the share which his friend might have in them, Crawford in a faint voice answered that his last fight had been fought, and that all would soon be over. On the 23d his pain was so much abated that he was able to converse with apparent ease, and he spoke chiefly of his wife and children. Again and again he besought his aide-de-camp to tell his wife that he was sure they would meet in heaven, and that there was a providence over all which never would forsake the soldier's widow and his orphans. Thus he continued till he died on the 24th, in the midst of a profound slumber. A grave was dug for him at the foot of the breach which his light division had so gallantly won; and Wellington, who so highly valued his military qualities that he could overlook his faults, attended his funeral, as did also several of the chief officers of the British and Spanish armies. General

Crawford married Bridget, daughter of Henry Holland, Esq., who with three sons survived him; and a monument to his memory, and that of Major-general M'Kinnon, who also fell in the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, was erected in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

CREECH, WILLIAM, an eminent bookseller, was the son of the Rev. William Creech, minister of Newbattle, a most respectable clergyman, and of Miss Mary Buley, an English lady related to a family of rank in Devonshire. He was born in the year 1745, and received a complete classical education at the school at Dalkeith, which was taught by Mr. Barclay, a preceptor of some distinction, who also educated the first Viscount Melville, and the Lord-chancellor Loughborough. He was at first designed for the medical profession, but eventually was bound apprentice to Mr. Kincaid, a bookseller in Edinburgh. In the year 1766 Mr. Creech went upon a tour of the Continent, in company with Lord Kilmaurs, son of the Earl of Glencairn. After his return, in 1771, he was received by his former master into partnership, and finally, in 1773, left in full possession of the business. For forty-four years Mr. Creech carried on by far the most extensive bookselling concern in Scotland, publishing the writings of many of the distinguished men who adorned Scottish literature at the close of the eighteenth century. His shop, which occupied a conspicuous situation in the centre of the old town, and yet, by a curious chance, commanded a view thirty miles into the country, was, during all that long period, the rialto of literary commerce and intercourse, while his house in the neighbourhood also attracted its more select crowds at the breakfast hour, under the name of *Creech's levee*. While thus busied in sending the works of his friends into the world, he occasionally contributed articles to the newspapers and other periodical works, generally in reference to the passing follies of the day, of which he was a most acute and sarcastic observer. During his own lifetime, he published a volume of these trifles, under the title of *Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces*, which was republished with his name, and with some additions, after his death. He was one of the founders of the Speculative Society in 1764.

Mr. Creech's style of composition is only worthy of being spoken of with respect to its ironical humour, which was certainly its only feature of distinction. This humour, though said to have been very powerful when aided by the charm of his own voice and manner in conversation, is of too cold, wiry, and artificial a kind to have much effect in print. It must also be mentioned, that, although very staid and rigid in style, it involves many allusions by no means of a decorous nature.

In private life Mr. Creech shone conspicuously as a pleasant companion and conversationist, being possessed of an inexhaustible fund of droll anecdote, which he could narrate in a characteristic manner, and with unfailing effect. He thus secured general esteem, in despite, it appeared, of extraordinary fondness for money, and penuriousness of habits, which acted to the preclusion not only of all benevolence of disposition, but even of the common honesty of discharging his obligations when they were due. He died, unmarried, on the 14th of January, 1815.

CRICHTON, JAMES, commonly styled the *Admirable Crichton*. The learned and accurate Dr. Kippis, editor of the *Biographia Britannica*, was the first, we believe, who thoroughly sifted and critically

examined the truth or consistency of those marvelous stories which had so long attached to and rendered famous the name of the Admirable Crichton. Many had long doubted their credibility, and many more had been deluded by them. It fell to the lot of this keen critic, by a minute and candid investigation of the truth, to confirm and rectify the minds of both.

James Crichton was the son of Robert Crichton of Elock, lord-advocate of Scotland, partly in the reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI. His mother was Elizabeth Stuart, only daughter of Sir James Stuart of Beith, a family collaterally descended from Murdoch, Duke of Albany, third son of Robert III. by Elizabeth Muir, and uncle to James I. He was born in the castle of Cluny, in Perthshire, some time about the year 1560.

He received the first rudiments of his education at Perth, from which place he was removed at an early age to the university of St. Andrews, at that time esteemed the first school of philosophy in Scotland. The progress which he made in his studies is said to have been astonishing. He had hardly passed his twelfth year when he took his degree as Bachelor of Arts; two years afterwards, that of Master of Arts; being then esteemed the third scholar in the university for talents and proficiency. His excellence did not stop here. Before attaining the age of twenty he had, besides becoming master of the sciences, attained to the knowledge of ten different languages, which he could write and speak to perfection. He had also every accomplishment which it is befitting or ornamental in a gentleman to have. He practised the arts of drawing and painting, and improved himself to the highest degree in riding, fencing, dancing, singing, and in playing upon all sorts of musical instruments. It remains only to add, that this extraordinary person possessed a form and face of great beauty and symmetry; and was unequalled in every exertion requiring activity and strength. He would spring at one bound the space of twenty or twenty-four feet in closing with his antagonist: and he added to a perfect science in the sword, such strength and dexterity that none could rival him.

Crichton, now about the age of twenty, and thus accomplished, set out upon his travels; and is said first to have directed his course to Paris. It was customary in that age to hold public disputations, in which questions alike abstruse and useless in the scholastic philosophy were discussed. Soon after his arrival in this city, he determined, in compliance with such a usage, to distinguish himself by a public display of part of his great acquirements. To this end he affixed placards to the gates of the different schools, halls, and colleges of the university, inviting all those versed in any art or science, discipline, or faculty, whether practical or theoretic, to dispute with him in the college of Navarre, that day six weeks, by nine of the clock in the morning, where he would attend them, and be ready to answer to whatever should be proposed to him in any art or science, and in any of these twelve languages—Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, English, Dutch, Flemish, and Slavonian; and this either in verse or prose, at the discretion of the disputant. We give the challenge pretty fully in this place, that we may have no further occasion to repeat it.

During the interesting interval of the six weeks Crichton, we are informed, so far from showing the least flutter or uneasiness, diverted himself with the various amusements of the gay city. He devoted his time almost entirely to hunting, hawking, riding

on a well-managed horse, tossing the pike, handling the musket, and other feats of the like kind; or to more domestic trifling, such as balls, concerts, cards, dice, or tennis. This nonchalance is said to have provoked the sneers of the students; and their satire went the length of affixing a placard containing the following words on the gate of the Navarre college—"If you would meet with this monster of perfection, to make search for him either in the tavern or the brothel is the readiest way to find him."

The decisive day at length arrived; there attended, we are told, at this singular convocation, about fifty professors, doctors of law and medicine, and learned men, and above three thousand auditors. He acquitted himself beyond expression in the disputation, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till six at night. "So pointedly and learnedly he answered to all the questions which were proposed to him, that none but they who were present can believe it. He spake Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other languages, most politely. *He was likewise an excellent horseman;* and truly, if a man should live a hundred years without eating, drinking, or sleeping, he could not attain to this man's knowledge, which struck us with a panic fear; for he knew more than human nature can well bear. He overcame four of the doctors of the church; for in learning none could contest with him, and he was thought to be Antichrist." At the conclusion the president, after a speech of high commendation, rose from his chair, and, amidst the admiration and acclamations of the whole assembly, presented him with a diamond ring and a purse full of gold. From the event of this day he attained the title of The Admirable Crichton.

Crichton was so little fatigued, we are told, by this Herculean trial of mental prowess, that, on the succeeding day, he appeared with all the fire and freshness of youth at a tilting match in the Louvre, and in the presence of several of the ladies and princes of the court of France, carried away the ring fifteen times successively, "and broke as many lances on the *Saracen*," a chivalrous pastime of the period so called.

We next find Crichton at Rome, where he soon took occasion to exhibit a similar challenge to that of Paris. Here, in presence of the pope, many cardinals, bishops, doctors of divinity, and professors in all the sciences, he again delighted and astonished all spectators by the amazing proofs which he displayed of his universal knowledge. Boccacine, who was then at Rome, relates the transaction somewhat differently. According to this authority, Crichton's placard runs thus: "Nos Jacobus Crichtonus, Scotus, cuicunque rei propositæ ex improviso respondebimus." This was a bold challenge in the capital of Christendom; and the ridicule which it could not fail to excite showed itself in a pasquinade, the humour of which is not amiss, though it be local: "And," said this addendum to the challenge, "he that will see it, let him go to the sign of the Falcon and it shall be shown." The Italian further informs us that this affront, which put Crichton upon the level of jugglers and mountebanks, nettled him so much that he left the place.

He next proceeded to Venice; and it was on his way thither that he composed one of the four little Latin poems, all by the way which remain to prove the literary and poetical talents of Crichton. Aldus Manutius, the younger of the celebrated family of printers to whom it was inscribed, thought so very highly of it, and on further acquaintance with its author was so

greatly delighted, that he forthwith formed a friendship with him. He was of service in introducing Crichton to some of the principal men of Venice; and among the rest to Laurentius Massa, Sperone Speroni, and Joannes Donatus. A presentation soon followed to the doge and senate, before whom he made an oration, which, for brilliant eloquence and consummate grace, we are led to understand, could not be surpassed. In effect, in the words of Imperialis, talking of him on this occasion, "he was esteemed a prodigy of nature." Here he likewise disputed upon different subjects in theology, philosophy, and the mathematics, before the most eminent professors, in large assemblies. Many people from a distance came to hear and see him; and, as a late biographer has alleged, "lives of him were drawn up and published." His visit to Venice was, it is conjectured, in the year 1580.

After a residence of about four months in Venice, during the latter part of which time he was afflicted with a severe illness, Crichton repaired to Padua, where was a university whose fame, in that age, was spread over Europe. The day after his arrival there was convened in honour of him, at the house of Jacobus Aloisius Cornelius, a meeting of all the learned men of the place, when Crichton opened the assembly with an encomiastic poem in praise of the city, the university, and the persons present. He then disputed for the space of six hours on matters in general; and, in particular, exposed with great judgment the errors of Aristotle and his commentators, which he did, nevertheless, with such engaging modesty as excited universal admiration. In conclusion, he thought proper to deliver an extempore oration in verse, in praise of ignorance, which was conducted with so much ingenuity ("in order," says one of his biographers, "to reconcile his audience to their comparative inferiority")¹ that his hearers were astonished, and no doubt highly gratified. Another disputation was to have been held in the Bishop of Padua's palace, which some unforeseen circumstances, according to Manutius, prevented. Imperialis, however, differs from this statement; and relates that his father (then thirteen years of age) had witnessed Crichton upon such an occasion; that he was opposed by Archangelus Mercenarius, a famous philosopher; and that he acquitted himself so well as to obtain the approbation of a very honourable company, and even of his antagonist himself.

In the midst of the great reputation which Crichton now enjoyed, there were not wanting many persons who took occasion to detract from it, affecting to consider him as a literary impostor, whose acquirements were totally superficial. To put an end at once to all such cavils or invidious reflections, he caused a challenge, similar to the others already made mention of, to be fixed on the gates of St. John and St. Paul's church. The chief novelty on this occasion was, that he engaged, at the pleasure of his opponents, to answer them either in the common logical way, or by numbers and mathematical figures, or in a hundred different sorts of verse. According to Manutius, Crichton sustained this contest without fatigue for three days; during which time he supported his credit and maintained his propositions with such spirit and energy, that from an unusual concourse of people he obtained acclamations and praises than which none more magnificent were ever heard by men. It by much exceeded any of his former contests of a similar nature; and it is the last of them of which we have any account.

To Sir Thomas Urquhart posterity is alone in-

debted for the next incident recorded in the life of the Admirable Crichton, and its interest has certainly suffered little in coming from the graphic pen of that redoubted fabler. We cannot do better than give the exordium in his own words:—"A certain Italian gentleman, of a mighty, able, strong, nimble, and vigorous body, by nature fierce, cruel, warlike, and audacious, and in the gladiatory art so superlatively expert and dexterous, that all the most skilful teachers of escrime and fencing-masters of Italy (which, in matter of choice professors in that faculty, needed never as yet to yield to any nation in the world) were by him beaten to their good behaviour, and, by blows and thrusts given in which they could not avoid, enforced to acknowledge him their over-comer: bethinking himself how, after so great a conquest of reputation, he might by such means be very suddenly enriched, he projected a course of exchanging the blunt to the sharp, and the foils into tucks; and in this resolution, providing a purse full of gold, worth near upon 400 pounds, English money, travelled amongst the most especial and considerable parts of Spain, France, the Low Countries, Germany, Pole, Hungary, Greece, Italy, and other places, wherever there was greatest probability of encountering with the eagerest and most atrocious duellists; and immediately after his arrival to any city or town that gave apparent likelihood of some one or other champion that would enter the lists and cope with him, he boldly challenged them, with sound of trumpet, in the chief market-place, to adventure an equal sum of money against that of his, to be disputed at the sword's point who should have both." Sir Thomas goes on to relate the success of this bravo of Italy, whose person and character he has sketched with so masterly a pencil. "At last returning homewards to his own country, loaded with wealth, or rather the spoil of the reputation of these foreigners, whom the Italians call *Tramontani*, he, by the way, after his accustomed manner of boarding other places, repaired to the city of Mantua." Having received the protection of the duke, and published his challenge, it was not long before he found opponents willing to engage him on his own terms. "For it happened at the same time that three of the most notable cutters in the world (and so highly cried up for valour that all the bravoes of the land were content to give way to their domineering, how insolent soever they should prove, because of their former constantly-obtained victories in the field) were all three together at the court of Mantua; who, hearing of such harvest of 500 pistoles, to be reaped (as they expected) very soon, and with ease, had almost contested among themselves for the priority of the first encounter, but that one of my lord duke's courtiers moved them to cast lots who should be first, second, and third, in case none of the former two should prove victorious." Next ensue the successive calamitous combats of these brave men: for he "whose fortune it was to be the first of the three in the field, had the disaster to be the first of the three that was foiled; for at last with a thrust in the throat he was killed dead upon the ground." The second "was laid flat dead upon the place by means of a thrust he received in the heart;" and the last, "his luck being the same with those that preceded him, by a thrust in the belly, he, within four and twenty hours after, gave up the ghost."

Sir Thomas manages with the ability, and indeed pretty much in the style, of a standard romancer, the scene which was to wind up the interest of his story to its height. And first he pauses in his narration, to take notice how these lamentable spectacles caused shame and grief to the "Duke and title of

¹ Tytler's *Life of Crichton*, p. 34.

Mantua;" and how "the conquering duellist, proud of a victorie so highly tending to both his honour and profit, for the space of a whole fortnight, or two weeks together, marched daily along the streets of Mantua (without any opposition or controulment) like another Romulus or Marcellus in triumph." The way thus artfully prepared, the true knight, for whom, as in books of romance, this adventure had been reserved, is introduced—

"—Which the never-too-much-to-be-admired Crichton perceiving—to wipe off the imputation of cowardice lying upon the court of Mantua, to which he had but even then arrived (although formerly he had been a domestic thereof), he could neither eat nor drink till he had first sent a challenge to the conqueror, appelling him to repair with his best sword in his hand, by nine of the clock in the morning of the next day, in presence of the whole court, in the same place where he had killed the other three, to fight with him upon this quarrell; that in the court of Mantua there were as valiant men as he; and, for his better encouragement to the desired undertaking, he assured him that, to the foresaid 500 pistoles, he would adjoin a thousand more; wishing him to do the like, that the victor, upon the point of his sword, might carry away the richer booty. The challenge, with all its conditions, is no sooner accepted of, the time and place mutually condescended upon, kept accordingly, and the 1500 pistoles, *hinc inde*, deposited, and the two rapiers of equal weight, length, and goodness, each taking one, in presence of the duke, duchess, with all the noblemen, ladies, magnificoes, and all the choicest of both men, women, and maids of that city, as soon as the signal for the duel was given, by the shot of a great piece of ordinance, of threescore and four pound ball, the two combatants, with a lion-like animosity, made their approach to one another."

The combat, as it resembles much in management and fashion those with which the reader of old romances must be well acquainted, so does it likewise come up to them in minuteness, we can hardly say tediousness, for of that the author is incapable. Crichton long kept upon the defensive with his adversary, and showed such excellent dexterity, "that he seemed but to play while the other was in earnest." After long fencing, falsifying, and parrying, warding from tierce to quart, priming, and seconding, and after every variety of posture had been gone through, "the never-before-conquered Italian finding himself a little faint, enters into a consideration that he may be overmatched," and sad thoughts seize upon all his spirits. We may indulge the reader with the conclusion of this eventful conflict in the words of its original chronicler; and in these it may possibly be invested with a propriety and interest which we would but vainly labour to bestow upon it.

"Matchless Crichton, seeing it now high time to put a gallant catastrophe to that so-long-dubious combat, animated with a divinely inspired fervencie to fulfil the expectation of the ladies, and crown the duke's illustrious hopes, changeth his garb, falls to act another part, and from defender turns assailant: never did art so grace nature, nor nature second the precepts of art with so much liveliness, and such observance of time, as when, after he had struck fire out of the steel of his enemy's sword, and gained the feeble thereof, with the fort of his own, by angles of the strongest position, he did, by geometrical flourishes of straight and oblique lines, so practically execute the speculative part, that, as if there had been remoras and secret charms in the variety of his motion, the fierceness of his foe was in a trice trans-

qualified into the numness of a pageant. Then was it that, to vindicate the reputation of the duke's family, and expiate the blood of the three vanquished gentlemen, he alonged a stoccade *de pied ferme*; then recoying, he advanced another thrust, and lodged it home; after which, retiring again, his right foot did beat the cadence of the blow that pierced the belly of this Italian; whose heart and throat being hit with the two former stroaks, these three franch bouts given in upon the back of the other: besides that, if lines were imagined drawn from the hand that livered them, to the places which were marked by them, they would represent a perfect isosceles triangle with a perpendicular from the top angle, cutting the basis in the middle; they likewise give us to understand, that by them he was to be made a sacrifice of atonement for the slaughter of the three aforesaid gentlemen, who were wounded in the very same parts of their bodies by other three such venses as these; each whereof being mortal, and his vital spirits exhaling as his blood gushed out, all he spoke was this, That seeing he could not live, his comfort in dying was, that he could not die by the hand of a braver man: after the uttering of which words he expiring, with the shrill clareens of trumpets, bouncing thunder of artillery, bethwacked beating of drums, universal clapping of hands, and loud acclamations of joy for so great a victory." Crichton generously bestowed the prize of his victory upon the widows of the brave gentlemen whose deaths he had thus avenged.

In consequence, it is said, of this achievement, and the wonderful proficiency of the young Scotsman, the Duke of Mantua made choice of him as tutor to his son, Vincentio di Gonzaga, a young man of dissolute conduct and unsettled principles. The appointment seems to have been gratifying to all parties; and, as Sir Thomas Urquhart informs us, Crichton composed a comedy on the occasion, which he exhibited before the court. This we must by no means enlarge upon; for though that author's account of the matter is complete and curious, it is of great length, and may with more pleasure and advantage be read at large in the original. The piece, we may only remark, belonged to a class of the drama known by the name of the *Comedia a soggetto*; in which one actor performs all the characters, however numerous; and must appear in the various dresses appropriate to each. The Admirable Crichton had his usual success. The composition was regarded as one of the most ingenious satires that ever was made upon mankind. It was the last display, too, of those wonderful talents and endowments which their possessor was destined to make on the stage of this world; and, if, in any part of our narrative, we may have betrayed symptoms of incredulity, we lay all such feelings aside in coming to the concluding circumstance, the tragic nature of which must always excite deep sympathy and regret.

On a night of the carnival, as Crichton was returning from some serenading party, and amusing himself as he went solitarily along, by playing upon his guitar, he was suddenly set upon by five or six armed persons in masks. These, with great vigour and bravery, he either put to flight, wounded, or kept at a distance. The one who seemed to be the leader he contrived to disarm; and this person proved to be the prince, his pupil, Vincentio di Gonzaga; for, pulling off his mask and discovering himself, he begged his life. Crichton, on this, fell upon his knees, and expressed the concern he felt for his mistake, alleging that what he had done he had been prompted to by self-defence; that if his prince had any design upon his life he might always be

master of it. Saying this, and taking his sword by the point, he presented it to Gonzaga, who immediately received it; and the evil passions by which he had been actuated being inflamed rather than subdued by his shameful discomfiture, he is said instantly to have run his defenceless victor through the heart.

It ought, however, in justice to be said, that the above, though the popular statement of Crichton's death, has been qualified by more than one of his biographers, in its circumstances of atrocity; and, indeed, though such actions assume a different character in Italy from what, happily, we are acquainted with in this country, he ought to have the advantage of every extenuation which impartiality can allow of. It is uncertain whether the meeting occurred by accident or design. Sir Thomas Urquhart, with his usual romance, has told a most extravagant, and it must be allowed, absurd, love story; thus implicating jealousy in the transaction; but the most probable version seems to be, that Crichton was stabbed in a drunken frolic; that the high rank of the one party, and great merit of the other; the relation in which they stood to each other; and the concealment of the real circumstances came, at length, from the natural love all people, and especially the Italians, have for amplification and exaggeration, to invest the whole in the tragic garb which it now wears.

Great and general, according to the old author we have so often quoted, was the grief and lamentation which this sad event caused in Mantua. The whole court went into mourning for nine months. The epitaphs and elegies written to his memory, and stuck upon his hearse, would exceed, if collected, the bulk of Homer's works; and long after, his picture had its place in the closets and galleries of the Italian nobility; representing him on horseback, with a lance in the one hand, and a book in the other. In a summary of excellences which we cannot help transcribing, the same author thus takes leave of the individual he has in so great a degree tended to exalt:—"Crichton gained the esteem of kings and princes, by his magnanimity and knowledge; of noblemen and gentlemen, by his courtliness and breeding; of knights, by his honourable deportment and pregnancy of wit; of the rich, by his affability and good fellowship; of the poor, by his munificence and liberality; of the old, by his constancy and wisdom; of the young, by his mirth and gallantry; of the learned, by his universal knowledge; of the soldiers, by his undaunted valour and courage; of the merchants and artificers, by his upright dealing and honesty; and of the fair sex, by his beauty and handsomeness, in which respect he was a masterpiece of nature."

Crichton is supposed to have been in the twenty-second year of his age at the time of his death. One or two pictures are preserved of him; and there is reason to believe that they are originals. By these it would appear that his frame was well proportioned, and his head well shaped, though rather small than otherwise. His face is symmetrical and handsome, but has no particular expression of character. There is a print of him in the *Museum Historicum et Physicum of Imperialis*, which, though poorly executed, is probably authentic.

Such is the wonderful story told us by early writers of the Admirable Crichton, in which his own age devoutly believed, and which a love of the marvellous has continued to perpetuate to our own day. Its incredible character, however, is of itself sufficient to discredit it, and a dispassionate examination to reduce it within reasonable bounds; and this reduction has been attempted by Dr. Kippis, the chief

biographer of Crichton, in the following conclusion:—"It is evident that he was a youth of such lively parts as excited great present admiration, and high expectations with regard to his future attainments. He appears to have had a fine person, to have been adroit in his bodily exercises, to have possessed a peculiar facility in learning languages, to have enjoyed a remarkably quick and retentive memory, and to have excelled in a power of declamation, a fluency of speech, and a readiness of reply. His knowledge, likewise, was probably very uncommon for his years; and this, in conjunction with his other qualities, enabled him to shine in public disputation. But whether his knowledge and learning were accurate or profound may justly be questioned; and it may equally be doubted whether he would have arisen to any extraordinary degree of eminence in the literary world. It will always be reflected upon with regret, that his early and untimely death prevented this matter from being brought to the test of experiment."

CROMARTY, EARL OF. See MACKENZIE, GEORGE.

CRUDEN, ALEXANDER, styled by himself, Alexander the Corrector, was born at Aberdeen, on the 31st May, 1700; the son of a respectable merchant and bailie of that city. Having received a good elementary education, he entered Marischal College, with the intention of studying for the church. He there made considerable progress in his studies, and had the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him, when decided symptoms of insanity appeared. His malady has been absurdly ascribed to the bite of a mad dog, and, with more probability, to a disappointment in love. At all events, it is certain that he became so unreasonably importunate in his addresses to the daughter of one of the clergymen of Aberdeen, that it was found necessary to put him under restraint. This lady, however, it afterwards appeared, was unworthy of the devotion he paid her, and there is a very interesting anecdote of his meeting her many years afterwards in London, where she had hid herself after fleeing from Aberdeen. On his release from confinement in 1722, he left the scene of his disappointments, and repairing to England, found employment as tutor for many years in a family in Hertfordshire, and afterwards in the Isle of Man. In the year 1732 he settled in London, where he was employed by Mr. Watts, the printer, as corrector of the press; he also engaged in trade as a bookseller, which he carried on in a shop under the Royal Exchange. Having gained the esteem of many of the principal citizens of London, he was, on the recommendation of the lord-mayor and aldermen, appointed bookseller to the queen.

Soon after Cruden's arrival in London he had commenced his elaborate work called the *Concordance of the Bible*; and having, after inconceivable labour, finished it, he had the honour of dedicating and presenting it to Queen Caroline, the consort of George II., who graciously promised to "remember him;" but, unfortunately for him, she died suddenly a few days after. Involved in embarrassments by the expense of publishing his *Concordance*, and by his neglect of business while he was compiling it, he abandoned his trade, and sunk into a state of melancholy despondency. His former mental disease now returned upon him with increased violence, and he was guilty of so many extravagances, that his friends were obliged to place him in a private lunatic asylum. On his recovery he published a lengthened account of his sufferings, under the title of "*The London Citizen exceedingly Injured*," giving an account of his severe and long campaign at Bethnal's Green,



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ENGRAVED BY J. WILKINS.

for nine weeks and six days; the Citizen being sent there in March, 1738, by Robert Wightman, a notoriously conceited whimsical man; where he was chained and handcuffed, strait-waistcoated and imprisoned; with a history of Wightman's blind bench, a sort of court that met at Wightman's room, and unaccountably proceeded to pass decrees in relation to the London Citizen," &c. &c. He also instituted legal proceedings against his physician and this Mr. Wightman, the proprietor of the asylum, for cruelty. He was not able, however, to substantiate his charge, although there is much reason to fear that, in pursuance of the treatment to which lunatics were at that time subjected, Cruden was harshly dealt with; which seems to have been the less excusable as he appears to have been at all times harmless.

The next fifteen years of his life were passed by him apparently in a state of inoffensive imbecility, although his former employers did not consider him incapable of continuing corrector of the press. In the year 1753 his relations conceived themselves justified in again putting him under restraint; but as he was perfectly inoffensive he was only confined for a few days. On his liberation he insisted that his sister, Mrs. Wild, who sanctioned these proceedings, should consent to a species of retributive reconciliation with him, and submit to a confinement of forty-eight hours in Newgate, and pay him a fine of ten pounds. Her rejection of this proposal was a matter of great surprise to him, and he therefore brought an action of damages against her and others, laying his claim at £10,000. On the verdict being returned for the defendants, he was quite resigned; but published an account of his ill-usage, under the title of *The Adventures of Alexander the Corrector*, which, like all his other publications of a similar description, has that air of mingled insanity and reason which its title indicates, and which pervades other works by him on similar topics. His insanity now displayed itself in many ways sufficiently whimsical. Fully persuaded that he was commissioned by Heaven to reform the manners of the age, he assumed the title of *Alexander the Corrector*. To impress the public with the validity of his pretensions he printed and circulated on small pieces of paper, sentences confirmatory of his high calling, such as that "Cruden was to be a second Joseph, to be a great man at court, and to perform great things for the spiritual Israel of Egypt." He went about the country exhorting the people to reform their manners and to keep holy the Sabbath-day. In order that his exhortations might have greater weight with his hearers, he wished his authority to be recognized by the king and council, and that parliament should constitute him by act "*The Corrector of the People*." Still farther to assist him in his mission, he made a formal application to his majesty, to confer on him the honour of knighthood; "for," said he, "I think men ought to seek after titles rather to please others than themselves." He gives an amusing account of his attendance at court while soliciting this honour, and of his frequent interviews with the lords in waiting, the secretaries of state, and other persons of rank; and complains grievously that his applications were not attended to. From his censure, however, he exempts the Earl of Paulet, who, he says, "spoke civilly to him; for, being goutish in his feet, he could not run away from the Corrector as others were apt to do." Worn out, at length, by his unavailing attendance at court, he next aspired to the honour of representing the city of London in parliament, and was a candidate at the general election of 1754. His addresses

to the livery were singularly ridiculous, but he was withheld by no discouragement; for, when one of the bishops, with whom he had obtained an interview, intimated to him that he had no chance of the election, unless Providence especially appeared for him. "This," he said in his account of the interview, "the Corrector readily acknowledged;" and indeed in his addresses he mentioned that he expected a divine interposition in his favour. After his failure in this pursuit, he consoled himself with the reflection, "that he had their hearts, although their hands had been promised away." "The Corrector," he adds, "was very cheerful and contented, and not at all afflicted at the loss of his election."

Cruden, as a lover, was remarkably susceptible, and no less zealous in the pursuit of the objects of his admiration, than in his attempts to attain political distinction. Amongst others, Miss Abney, the daughter of Sir Thomas Abney, the late Lord-mayor of London, was persecuted by his addresses. She, of course, discountenanced this folly, and the result was, what her admirer styled, "his declaration of war," being a lengthened memorial, wherein he rehearses his manifold grievances, and declares, that, since she had refused all his more reasonable overtures, he was now determined to carry on the war after an extraordinary manner, "by shooting of great numbers of bullets from his camp; namely, by earnest prayers to Heaven, day and night, that her mind may be enlightened and her heart softened." This, and all his other absurdities, had their rise in the desire to increase his own importance and wealth, by which he expected to render himself more powerful and effective in the execution of his imaginary mission for the reformation of the manners of the age. In 1754 he was employed as corrector of the press by Mr. Woodfall, the well-known publisher of *Junius' Letters*; and, although his labours seldom terminated before one in the morning, yet he would be found again out of bed by six o'clock busily employed turning over the leaves of his Bible, and with the most scrupulous care amending and improving his *Concordance*, preparatory to a new edition. In this drudgery he would patiently work until the evening, when he repaired to the printing-office.

The benevolence which animated Cruden's exertions for the benefit of his fellow-creatures was most disinterested and unwearied; and as far as his advice or money went, he aided all who were miserable or in distress. In the year 1762 he was the means of saving the life of a poor sailor condemned for forgery: having been present at the trial, he became persuaded that the accused had been the dupe of one more designing than himself, and, as he afterwards found him to be simple, and even ignorant of the nature of the crime for which he was condemned to suffer, he importuned government so unceasingly, that at last he succeeded in getting the punishment commuted into banishment. On another occasion he rescued a wretched female from the streets, and received her into his house; and, having instructed her in her duties, she remained in his service until his death. Next to the desire of doing good, loyalty seems to have been the most prominent feature in Cruden's character. In the political struggle between Mr. Wilkes and the administration, he wrote a pamphlet against the rabble's patriot, and went about with a sponge and rubbed from the doors and walls of the metropolis the popular "No. 45."

In the year 1769 Cruden once more visited the scenes of his youth, where he was received with considerable respect, and was allowed the use of one of the public halls to deliver a lecture on the necessity of a reformation of manners, and of keeping

holy the Sabbath-day. Having remained about a year in Aberdeen, he returned to London, and soon after, having complained for a few days previous, he was found dead in his closet, in the pious attitude of prayer. He died at his lodgings in Camden Street, Islington, 1st of November, 1770, in the 71st year of his age. Never having been married, he left his moderate savings among his relations, with the exception of £100, which he bequeathed to endow a bursary in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and some other trifling legacies for charitable purposes in the metropolis. Cruden was remarkable for the courteous affability of his manners, his active benevolence, and his pious devotion. His published works are:—*The History of Richard Potter*, 8vo, being that of the poor sailor whose life he saved; *The History and Excellency of the Scriptures prefixed to the Compendium of the Holy Bible*, Aberdeen, 2 vols. 24mo; *An Index to Bishop Newton's Edition of Milton's Works*—an elaborate work only inferior to the *Concordance*; *A Scripture Dictionary*, which was published in Aberdeen soon after his death; various pamphlets, particularly those wherein he gives a detailed account of his *Adventures*. These display some humour and much single-hearted insanity. But his great work was his *Concordance of the Old and New Testaments*. This is a work of the most extraordinary labour, and although it was not the first *Concordance of the Bible*, yet it affords a wonderful instance of what individual industry may accomplish. The first *Concordance* which was compiled, is said to have given employment to 500 monks, yet did Cruden by his own unassisted exertions produce one infinitely more complete, elaborate, and accurate than had ever appeared, and this not by copying from others, but by the most careful examination and study of the Bible. It is satisfactory to know that the labour bestowed on this work did not go unrewarded. Although the first edition was for a long time unsuccessful, it was ultimately sold off, and in 1761, thirty years after its publication, a second edition was called for, which he dedicated to George III. who was graciously pleased to order him £100; and a third edition was published in 1769. For the second edition the publishers gave Cruden £500, and when the third was called for, an additional present of £300, besides twenty copies on fine paper. An edition was published in 1810, under the careful superintendence and correction of Mr. David Bye, and in 1825 the work had reached the tenth edition. Indeed, so valuable and useful is this work that it is now reckoned an indispensable part of every clerical library.

CRUICKSHANKS, WILLIAM, F.R.S., an eminent surgeon in London, the assistant, partner, and successor of the famous Dr. William Hunter of the Windmill Street anatomical school, was the son of an officer in the excise, and was born at Edinburgh in the year 1745. After completing the elementary branches of his education at the schools of Edinburgh, he commenced the study of divinity at that university; but he soon forsook his clerical studies and directed his attention to medicine. With a view to that profession, he removed to Glasgow, where he went through a complete course of medical education at the university. Having devoted eight years of his life to assiduous study, he obtained, through the recommendation of Dr. Pitcairn, the situation of librarian to Dr. William Hunter of London; and so highly did that great man estimate his talents, that he soon after appointed him his assistant, and ultimately raised him to the honour of being his partner in superintending his establishment in Windmill

Street. On the death of Dr. Hunter in the year 1783, the students of that institution thought so favourably of Mr. Cruickshanks' professional acquirements, that they presented an address to him and to the late Dr. Baillie, requesting that they might assume the superintendence of the school; which they did.

Mr. Cruickshanks is known to the world by his medical publications; and as a teacher and writer he acquired a high reputation for his knowledge of anatomy and physiology. In the year 1786 he published his principal work, *The Anatomy of the Absorbent Vessels of the Human Body*, a production of acknowledged merit, which has been translated into several languages. He also wrote an ingenious paper on the nerves of living animals, which establishes the important fact of the regeneration of mutilated nerves. This paper, however, although read before the Royal Society, was not published in the *Transactions* of that body until several years afterwards. This delay was owing to the interference of Sir John Pringle, who conceived the idea that Mr. Cruickshanks had controverted some of the opinions of the great Haller. In the year 1797 Mr. Cruickshanks was elected fellow of the Royal Society. In 1799 he made his experiments on insensible perspiration, which he added to his work on the absorbent vessels. He had suffered for many years from acute pain in the head, and though warned that this pain arose from extravasated blood settled upon the sensorium, and that the greatest abstinence in his regimen was indispensable in order to prevent fatal consequences, yet, regardless of this warning, he continued to live freely; and, as had been foreseen, he was cut off suddenly in the year 1800, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. With much personal and intellectual vanity, Mr. Cruickshanks was an excellent anatomist and able physiologist, and a cool and skilful surgeon. He was generous and truly benevolent, literally going about doing good. He was one of the medical men who had the melancholy honour of attending Dr. Samuel Johnson in his last illness. In 1773 he was married to a lady from Dundee, who died in the year 1795, by whom he had four daughters.

CULLEN, LORD. See GRANT, SIR FRANCIS.

CULLEN, WILLIAM, M.D., one of the most highly gifted and accomplished physicians that Scotland has produced, was born on the 15th of April, 1710,¹ in the parish of Hamilton, in the county of Lanark. His father was by profession a writer or attorney, and also farmed a small estate in the adjoining parish of Bothwell, and was factor to the Duke of Hamilton. His mother was the daughter of Mr. Robertson of Whistlebury, the younger son of the family of Robertson of Ernock. The family consisted of seven sons and two daughters, and the subject of the present biographical sketch was the second son.

Occupying a respectable station of life, yet the parents of young Cullen, from the scantiness of their means, found it necessary to place him at the grammar-school of Hamilton, where he received the first part of his education. Although the funds of his family were not very ample, he was sent from the grammar-school of Hamilton to the university of Glasgow; and at the same time was bound apprentice to Mr. John Paisley, who was a member of the faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, and enjoyed an extensive

¹ In most of the biographical notices published of Dr. Cullen, the date of his birth is referred to the year 1712, an error corrected by Dr. Thomson, in his elaborate *Life of Dr. Cullen*, 8vo, 1832, who states the year of his birth to have been 1710, on the authority of the Session Record of the parish of Hamilton.



JOHN BISHOP OF LINCOLN
FROM A PORTRAIT BY J. H. W. L. S.

practice in that city. It does not appear that he went through a regular course of education at this seminary, but having early chosen medicine as a profession, the classes which he attended were probably regulated with a view to that object.

Having terminated his studies at Glasgow, Dr. Cullen, towards the end of the year 1729, went to London, with the view of improving himself in his profession; and there, soon after his arrival, through the interest of commissioner Cleland, who was a friend of Pope, and author of a letter prefixed to one of the editions of the *Dunciad* he obtained the appointment of surgeon to a merchant ship which traded between London and the West Indies. Mr. Cleland, a relation of his own, was fortunately the captain of the vessel in which he obtained this appointment. During the voyage he did not neglect the opportunity it afforded him of studying the effects of the diversity of climate on the human constitution, and the diseases which are so prevalent and fatal in our West Indian settlements. The facts he then gathered—the observations he then made—he subsequently referred to in his lectures in Glasgow and in Edinburgh. After returning from the West Indies, he remained a short time in London, where he attended the shop of Mr. Murray, an apothecary; and it is supposed that here he first paid particular attention to the study of materia medica. About this period—the end of the year 1731, or the beginning of the year 1732—in consequence of the death of his eldest brother, the duty of arranging his father's affairs devolved upon him; besides which, the necessity of providing for the education of his younger brothers and sisters rendered it expedient for him to return to Scotland. Aware of these circumstances, his friend, Captain Cleland, invited him to reside with him at his family estate of Auchinlee, in the parish of Shotts, and to take charge of the health of his son, who was affected with a lingering disorder. Whilst residing there, he seems to have combined with his medical practice the most unremitting application to his studies. Captain Cleland was often heard to say, that nothing could exceed his assiduity at this period; for when not engaged in visiting patients or in preparing medicines, his time was wholly occupied with his books.

Dr. Cullen having succeeded to a small legacy by the death of a relation, determined to devote his attention exclusively to his studies, before fixing himself as a medical practitioner in the town of Hamilton. Accordingly he first proceeded to the retired village of Rothbury, near Wooler in Northumberland; and afterwards to Edinburgh, where, engaged in the prosecution of his general studies, he remained during the winter sessions 1734-35-36. The medical school of the university of Edinburgh was at this period only beginning to attain the celebrity it now enjoys; for although professorships to each of the different branches of medical science had been instituted, and several attempts had been made to systematize a course of instruction, it was not until the year 1720 that these important objects were carried into effect. The Royal Infirmary, although in progress, was not at this time open to the public, nor were the advantages that are to be derived from clinical lectures yet recognized. A useful adjunct to this school of medicine was at this period formed, by the institution of the Medical Society, which originated in the latter end of the August of 1734. Dr. Cleghorn, Dr. Cuming, Dr. Russel, Dr. Hamilton, Mr. Archibald Taylor, and Dr. James Kennedy, then fellow-students at Edinburgh, and intimately acquainted with each other, after spending a social evening at a tavern, agreed to meet once a fortnight

at their respective lodgings, where it was arranged that a dissertation in English or Latin on some medical subject should be read, and afterwards discussed by the auditors. Dr. Cullen, says the *History* of the society, with the discrimination characteristic of a mind devoted to activity and eager in the pursuit of knowledge, hastened, as appears from a part of his correspondence still preserved, to unite himself with a society which even in its infancy had honours and advantages at its disposal. In its labours, it may safely be presumed, he took a prominent and animated share, and there can be no doubt that the value of its discussions were both attested and augmented by his distinguished participation.¹ This Society, thus humble in its commencement, subsequently held its meetings in a room in the Royal Infirmary, until, adequate funds having been raised, the building known as the Hall of the Medical Society in Surgeon's Square was founded.

Dr. Cullen continued his studies in Edinburgh until the spring of 1736, when he left it to commence business as a surgeon in Hamilton, where he appears to have been employed by the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, and all the families of any consideration in that neighbourhood. During his residence there, the Duke of Hamilton was attacked with an alarming disease, which did not readily yield to the remedies he prescribed, and therefore it was deemed advisable to call in Dr. Clerk, who was accordingly sent for from Edinburgh. This accomplished physician highly approved of Dr. Cullen's management of the duke's case, and was so pleased with Dr. Cullen that he ever afterwards took every opportunity of cultivating his friendship. At Hamilton Cullen also became acquainted with Dr. William Hunter, with whom he ever afterwards continued on terms of the greatest intimacy, each living to see the other placed, by the concurrent suffrages of their medical brethren, at the head of his own department of medical science. When Dr. William Hunter became the friend of Dr. Cullen, the latter had completed his elementary education, and the agreement that took place between them was, that Dr. William Hunter should go and prosecute his medical studies in Edinburgh and London, and afterwards return to settle in Hamilton as a partner of Dr. Cullen; the object of which partnership was to enable Dr. Cullen, who disliked the surgical department of his profession, to practise only as a physician; while his friend and partner, Dr. William Hunter, was to act among their connections only as a surgeon. Dr. Hunter's biographer, Dr. Foat Simmons, gives the following account of the nature and termination of this arrangement, "which," says Dr. Thomson, "is, I have reason to believe, strictly correct. His father's consent having been previously obtained, Mr. Hunter in 1737 went to reside with Dr. Cullen. In the family of this excellent friend and preceptor he passed nearly three years; and these, he has been often heard to acknowledge, were the happiest years of his life. It was then agreed that he should go and prosecute his studies in Edinburgh and London, and afterwards return and settle in Hamilton in partnership with Dr. Cullen. Mr. Hunter, after prosecuting his studies for a winter at Edinburgh, went to London, where he was introduced to Dr. James Douglas, who was at that time engaged in the composition of his great anatomical work on the bones, and looking out for a young man of abilities and industry, whom he might employ as a dissector.

¹ *History of the Medical Society of Edinburgh*, printed for the Society, xxi.

This induced him to pay particular attention to Mr. Hunter; and finding him acute and sensible, he desired him to make another visit. A second conversation confirmed the doctor in the good opinion he had formed of Mr. Hunter; and, without any further hesitation, he invited him into his family to assist in his dissections, and to superintend the education of his son. Mr. Hunter, having communicated this offer to his father and Dr. Cullen, the latter readily and heartily granted his concurrence to it; but his father, who was very old and infirm, and expected his return with impatience, consented with reluctance to a scheme, the success of which he thought precarious." Dr. Cullen having, for the advantage of his friend, thus generously relinquished the agreement between them, was for a time deprived of a partner; but still determining to practise only as a physician, he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Glasgow in 1740, and, in the following year, entered into a contract with Mr. Thomas Hamilton, surgeon, on terms similar to those which had been formerly agreed on between him and Dr. Hunter.

Dr. Cullen, during his residence at Hamilton, was twice elected magistrate of that place—first in the year 1738, and again in the year 1739. While in the magistracy, he appears to have taken an active share in the agricultural improvements beginning at that time to be introduced into the west of Scotland. He frequently attended the meetings of the trustees appointed for the improvement of the high-roads, and was much consulted by them on the different matters that came under their consideration. Some of his papers relative to these subjects exhibit singular proofs of habits of arrangement, accuracy in transacting business, and a knowledge of rural and agricultural affairs which must have rendered his advice particularly acceptable. Agriculture was a study which continued at an after-period of his life to interest his attention; for we find him, when a lecturer on chemistry, endeavouring to throw light upon it by the aid of chemical science; and in the year 1758, after finishing his course of chemical lectures, he delivered, to a number of his friends and favourite pupils a short course of lectures on agriculture, in which he explained the nature of soils, and the operation of different manures.

Dr. Cullen, early in life, became attached to Miss Anna Johnstone, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Johnstone, minister of Kilbarchan, in the county of Renfrew. She was nearly of his own age; and he married her on the 13th of November, 1741. After his marriage Dr. Cullen continued for three years to practise as a physician at Hamilton; during which period, when not engaged in the more active and laborious duties of his profession, he devoted his time to the studies of chemistry, natural philosophy, and natural history; nor is there any doubt but that at this time he was preparing and qualifying himself to teach those branches of science on which he very shortly afterwards became so eminent a lecturer. Hitherto the advantages held out by the Duke of Hamilton prevented his seeking a more appropriate field for the display of his abilities; but after the death of the duke, which happened at the end of the year 1743, he was induced to transfer his residence to Glasgow. He settled in that city in the end of the year 1744, or beginning of 1745, at which period Dr. Johnstone was professor of medicine in the university, and Dr. Hamilton was the professor of anatomy and botany, but neither of them gave lectures. Dr. Cullen, who soon perceived the possibility of establishing a medical school in Glasgow similar to that which had been established in Edinburgh, made arrangements

with Dr. Johnstone, the professor of medicine, to deliver, during the following winter, a course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic, in the university. This course lasted six months; and, in the following session of 1747, with the concurrence of Dr. Hamilton, the professor of botany, besides lecturing on the practice of physic, he gave lectures, in conjunction with Mr. John Garrick, the assistant of Dr. Hamilton, on *materia medica* and botany. Dr. Cullen in the physic class never read his lectures; in allusion to which practice, he observed, "Written lectures might be more correct in the diction and fluent in the style, but they would have taken up too much time that might be otherwise rendered useful. I shall be as correct as possible; but perhaps a familiar style will prove more agreeable than a formal one, and the delivery more fitted to command attention."

As the institution of a course of lectures on chemistry was essential to a regular medical school, Dr. Cullen proposed to the faculty of the university of Glasgow, that lectures should be given on that branch of science by himself, and Mr. John Garrick, brother of Robert Garrick, Esq., of Hamilton, who was at that time assistant to Dr. Hamilton, the professor of anatomy. These proposals having been approved, the lectures on chemistry were commenced by Mr. Garrick; but he being taken ill, the remaining part of the course was delivered by Dr. Cullen. In commencing his second course of chemistry, Dr. Cullen printed and distributed among his students, "The plan of a course of chemical lectures and experiments, directed chiefly to the improvement of arts and manufactures, to be given in the college of Glasgow during the session 1748." But besides these lectures, Dr. Cullen, in the summer of 1748, gave lectures in conjunction with Mr. Garrick on *materia medica* and botany. Of the lectures delivered on *materia medica* only a few fragments of notes have been preserved, and these are not sufficient to afford a precise idea of the general plan which he followed. The lectures on *materia medica* and botany were again delivered in 1749; but how long they were delivered after that period has not been ascertained.¹ In his lectures on botany Dr. Cullen followed the system of Linnæus, and by so doing displayed no ordinary sagacity; for although the natural arrangements of Jussieu and Decandolle are now chiefly taught in the universities of this country, yet the artificial classification of Linnæus was the ladder by which botanists ascended securely to the generalizations of the natural system, and is still of great use in determining generic and specific distinctions. After Dr. Cullen discontinued his lectures on botany, he still pursued his botanical studies; as appears from a letter of a Danish physician, which contains the answer of Linnæus to certain queries that had been referred to him by Dr. Cullen. Already it must be obvious that Dr. Cullen, in devoting his attention so minutely to so many branches of science, displayed a mind of no ordinary activity and comprehensiveness. He seems, indeed, to have felt in its full force the observation of Cicero, that "all the sciences are connected, tendering to each other a mutual illustration and assistance."

During the period that he lectured on chemistry in Glasgow, the celebrated Dr. Black became his pupil, and Dr. Cullen was not long in discovering the talents of his young student. Thus began a mutual confidence and friendship which did honour both to the professor and his pupil, and was always mentioned by the latter with gratitude and respect.

¹ *The Bee*, vol. i. p. 7.

Dr. Black, after remaining nearly six years at the college of Glasgow, left it to terminate his studies in Edinburgh; and Dr. Cullen continued to correspond with him during the time of his studies. Many of these letters have been preserved, and relate principally to the chemical investigations in which they were mutually engaged; but Dr. Thomson observes that, "during this intercourse, Dr. Cullen seems to have been careful to avoid entering on any field of inquiry in which he anticipated that his pupil might reap distinction." A letter of Dr. Black's occurs, wherein, alluding to this ungenerous procedure, he thus addresses Dr. Cullen:—"I received your packet of chemistry, which rejoiced me extremely. A new experiment gives me new life; but I wonder at the *reserve and ceremony* you use with respect to me. Did I learn chemistry from you only to be a bar to your inquiries? The subject is not so limited as to be easily exhausted, and your experiments will only advance me so much further on." Helvetius and many other philosophers have maintained, that all mankind must be more or less actuated by the dictates of self-interest; and difficult as it may be to analyze the motives by which human conduct is often regulated, yet it cannot be concealed that the narrow-minded policy which Dr. Cullen in this instance betrayed, was significant of a selfishness altogether unworthy of the general tenor of his character.

During the period that Dr. Cullen lectured on chemistry in Glasgow, his attention was especially directed to the general doctrines of heat, on which various observations are found among his manuscripts, that have been preserved. The only essay which he published on this subject appears in the second volume of the *Edinburgh Philosophical and Literary Transactions*. He also, in the end of the year 1753, transmitted to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, a paper entitled, "*Some Reflections on the Study of Chemistry*, and an Essay towards ascertaining the Different Species of Salts; being Part of a Letter addressed to Dr. John Clerk." This letter afforded a specimen of an elementary work on chemistry which he at that time meditated, but which, from other multifarious occupations, he did not execute. The reputation he was now daily acquiring as a lecturer on chemistry, obtained for him the acquaintance of many persons of distinction who were celebrated for their talents and love of science. Among these was Lord Kaimes, then Mr. Home, who, being devoted to scientific pursuits, naturally found pleasure in the correspondence and society of a man whose mind was so congenial to his own. Lord Kaimes was especially delighted to find that Dr. Cullen had devoted so much attention to his favourite pursuit, agriculture; and continually urged him to publish a work on this important science. That Dr. Cullen had at this period made some progress in the composition of a work on agriculture we learn from Dr. Thomson, who informs us of the existence of a manuscript, part of which is in Dr. Cullen's own handwriting, entitled, *Reflections on the Principles of Agriculture*. Among his papers there is also an essay *On the Construction and Operation of the Plough*; composed apparently about the same period, and read before some public society, most probably the Philosophical Society in the college of Glasgow. The object of this essay was to explain the mechanical principles on which ploughs have been constructed, to find out what is the importance and effect of each part, and to examine what variation each, or all of them, require according to the difference of soil in which they are employed. In the year 1752 Dr. Cullen's opportunities of cultivating agriculture were increased by

his undertaking to manage and improve the farm of Parkhead, situated about eight miles from Glasgow, which he had purchased for his brother, Robert Cullen, Esq., who was at the time employed in a mercantile situation in the West Indies. But much as the attention of Dr. Cullen was devoted to it, it does not appear that he published anything theoretical or practical on agriculture; but he corresponded with Lord Kaimes very particularly on the subject, and the letters that transpired between them are well worthy of perusal.

Dr. Cullen, about the end of the year 1749, was introduced to the Earl of Islay, afterwards the Duke of Argyle; and, according to the authority of Dr. Thomson, the introduction took place through the interest of Lord Kaimes, who made a request to that effect through Mr. Lind, the secretary to the duke. This appears from a letter addressed to Dr. Cullen by Mr. Martine, and which proceeds thus:—"August, 1749. Mr. Lind, at Mr. Home's desire, talked very particularly about you to the Duke of Argyle; and your friends here desire that you will wait on his grace upon his arrival at Glasgow, which will be to-morrow evening." We are furthermore informed that the more immediate cause of Dr. Cullen's being introduced to the Duke of Argyle at this time was to obtain his grace's consent and patronage to his succeeding Dr. Johnstone as professor of medicine in the Glasgow university. A venerable member of the college of justice, who in his youth knew Dr. Cullen, and remembers him well, has favoured us with the following anecdote:—"About this period the Duke of Argyle, being confined to his room in Roseneath Castle with swelled gums, sent for Dr. Cullen. His grace, who was fond of dabbling occasionally in medicine, suggested a fumigation of a particular kind, and described an instrument which he thought would be suited to administer it. Dr. Cullen, willing to humour his new patron, instantly set off for Glasgow, procured the instrument, which was made of tin, according to the fashion described, and sent it early next morning to Roseneath. The noble patient finding it adapted to the purpose required, and feeling himself better after the fumigation, was much pleased with the attention of his physician, in whose welfare he subsequently took considerable interest. The Duke of Argyle had himself been educated at the university of Glasgow, had made a distinguished figure there, and had chosen the law as his profession. He afterwards studied law at Utrecht, but on returning to Scotland changed his determination, adopted the military profession, and became one of the most accomplished politicians of his age. By the influence of this nobleman with the crown, Dr. Cullen was appointed to be the successor of Dr. Johnstone in the university of Glasgow, and was formally admitted as the professor of medicine in that university on the 2d of January, 1751.

During the residence of Dr. Cullen in Glasgow, he still devoted a considerable portion of his time to chemistry, more especially investigating its application to the useful arts. He endeavoured particularly to suggest various improvements in the art of bleaching, and proposed an improved method in the manufacture or purification of common salt, which consisted in precipitating the earthy ingredients contained in the brine of sea-water by a solution of common potash, by which a salt is obtained more pure than that prepared in the ordinary manner; but owing to this process being too expensive to be adopted in the manufacture of salt on a large scale, it has never yet been brought into general use. He wrote on this subject an essay, entitled *Remarks on Bleaching*, which remains among his manuscript papers, but

appears never to have been published, although a copy of it was presented to the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Fisheries, Arts, and Manufactures in Scotland, in the records of which institution for June, 1755, it is mentioned that "three suits of table linen had been given as a present to Dr. William Cullen for his ingenious observations on the art of bleaching."

From the period of his appointment to be professor of medicine in the university of Glasgow until the year 1755, Dr. Cullen, besides his lectures on chemistry, delivered annually a course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic. He also projected at this period the design of publishing an edition of the works of Sydenham, with an account in Latin of his life and writings; but although he made some few preparations to commence this work, he very shortly abandoned the undertaking. Dr. Thomson informs us that his private practice at this time, although extensive, was by no means lucrative, and as a considerable portion of it lay in the country, he had but little time to pursue his scientific studies. These circumstances seem to have induced some of his friends to propose his removing to Edinburgh. Lord Kaimes likewise wrote several letters to Dr. Cullen advising him to transfer his residence to Edinburgh; and in the year 1755, Dr. Plummer, the professor in the chair of chemistry, having suffered an attack of palsy, several candidates were put in nomination as his successor, among whom were Dr. Home, Dr. Black, and Dr. Cullen. Lord Kaimes in the meantime exerted himself in canvassing on the behalf of Dr. Cullen; the Duke of Argyle employed the weight of his whole interest in his favour; and after the lapse of some months, Dr. Plummer still continuing unable to lecture, the town-council appointed Dr. Cullen joint-professor of chemistry during the life of his colleague, with the succession in the event of his death. Dr. Plummer, however, did not survive long; he died in the July following, and then Dr. Cullen was elected sole professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh.

The admission of Dr. Cullen into that university constitutes a memorable era in its history. Hitherto chemistry had been reckoned of little importance, and the chemical class was attended only by a very few students; but he soon rendered it a favourite study, and his class became more numerous every session. From the list of names kept by Dr. Cullen it appears that during his first course of lectures the number amounted only to seventeen; during the second course it rose to fifty-nine; and it went on gradually increasing so long as he continued to lecture. The greatest number that attended during any one session was 145; "and it is curious to observe," says Dr. Thomson, "that several of those pupils who afterwards distinguished themselves by their acquirements or writings had attended three, four, five, or even six courses of these lectures on chemistry." Dr. Cullen's fame rests so much on his exertions in the field of medical science that few are aware how much the progress of chemical science has been indebted to him. In the *History of Chemistry*, written by the late celebrated Dr. Thomson, professor of that science in Glasgow, we find the following just tribute to his memory:—"Dr. William Cullen, to whom medicine lies under deep obligations, and who afterwards raised the medical celebrity of the college of Edinburgh to so high a pitch, had the merit of first perceiving the importance of scientific chemistry, and the reputation which that man was likely to earn who should devote himself to the cultivation of it. Hitherto chemistry in Great Britain, and on the Continent also, was considered as a mere appendage to medicine, and useful

only so far as it contributed to the formation of new and useful remedies. This was the reason why it came to constitute an essential part of the education of every medical man, and why a physician was considered as unfit for practice unless he was also a chemist. But Dr. Cullen viewed the science as far more important; as capable of throwing light on the constitution of bodies, and of improving and amending those arts and manufactures that are most useful to man. He resolved to devote himself to its cultivation and improvement; and he would undoubtedly have derived celebrity from this science had not his fate led rather to the cultivation of medicine. But Dr. Cullen, as the true commencer of the study of scientific chemistry in Great Britain, claims a conspicuous place in this historical sketch."¹

Dr. Cullen's removal to Edinburgh was attended by a temporary pecuniary inconvenience; for no salary being attached to his chair in the university, his only means of supporting himself and family were derived from the fees of students, and such practice as he could command; under these circumstances he appears to have undertaken a translation of Van Swieten's commentaries on Boerhaave, in which he expected the assistance of his former pupils, Dr. William Hunter and Dr. Black. But we have already seen that his class became more numerous attended every session; besides which, his practice also began to increase, so that, his prospects having brightened, he relinquished this undertaking. In addition to lecturing on chemistry, he now began to deliver lectures on clinical medicine in the Royal Infirmary. This benevolent institution was opened in the December of 1741, and soon afterwards Dr. John Rutherford, who was then professor of the practice of physic, proposed to explain, in clinical lectures, the nature and treatment of the cases admitted—a measure highly approved of by the enlightened policy of the managers, who, besides permitting students, on paying a small gratuity, to attend the hospital at large, appropriated two of its wards for the reception of the more remarkable cases which were destined, under the selection and management of one or more of the medical professors, to afford materials for this new and valuable mode of tuition. The privilege of delivering a course of clinical lectures was granted by the managers of the Royal Infirmary to Dr. Rutherford in the year 1748, and in the following year extended to the other professors of medicine belonging to the university; none of whom, however, seem to have availed themselves of it, excepting Dr. Rutherford, until the year 1757, when Dr. Cullen undertook to deliver a course of such lectures, and was soon joined in the performance of that duty by Drs. White and Rutherford. Dr. Cullen soon obtained great reputation as a teacher of clinical medicine. "His lectures," observes Dr. Thomson, "were distinguished by that simplicity, ingenuity, and comprehensiveness of view which marked at all times the philosophical turn of his mind; and I have been informed by several eminent medical men who had an opportunity of attending them, and more particularly by one who acted as his clinical clerk in 1765, were delivered with that clearness and copiousness of illustration with which in his lectures he ever instructed and delighted his auditors."²

In the winter session of 1760 Dr. Alston, who was the professor of *matéria medica*, died shortly after commencing his course of lectures for the season. It was well known that Dr. Cullen had already de-

¹ *The History of Chemistry*, by Thomas Thomson, M.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow.

² Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, vol. i.

voted considerable attention to this branch of medical science, and that he had lectured upon it in the university of Glasgow; and the students of medicine therefore presented a petition soliciting him to lecture in the place of Dr. Alston. Dr. Cullen accordingly commenced a course of lectures on materia medica in the beginning of January, 1761. Some years afterwards a volume was published entitled *Lectures on the Materia Medica, as delivered by William Cullen, M.D., Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh*. The work being published without his consent, Dr. Cullen applied to the Court of Chancery for an injunction to prohibit its sale, which was immediately granted. The physician who supplied the booksellers with the notes is on all hands admitted to have been influenced by no pecuniary or unworthy motive; but the professor objected to the work, complaining "that it was by no means sufficiently perfect to do him honour; that it had been unexpectedly undertaken, and necessarily executed in a great hurry; that it was still more imperfect from the inaccuracy of the gentleman who had taken the notes," &c. When, however, it was represented that a great many copies were already in circulation, Dr. Cullen was persuaded to allow the sale of the remaining copies on condition "that he should receive a share of the profits, and that the grosser errors in the work should be corrected by the addition of a supplement." Accordingly on these terms it was published, nor is it doing more than an act of justice to state that it contains all the information on materia medica which was known at that period, and may yet be consulted with advantage by the student.

In consequence of his increasing infirmities and age, Dr. John Rutherford, the professor of the practice of physic, resigned his chair in February, 1766, in favour of Dr. John Gregory, who had held for several years the professorship of physic in the college of Aberdeen. When his intention of resigning became known, every effort was made by the friends of Dr. Cullen to procure for him this professorship, the duties of which he had, by his clinical labours in the infirmary, proved himself eminently qualified to discharge. The exertions of Dr. Cullen's friends, however, proved unavailing, and Dr. Gregory was duly appointed as the successor to Dr. Rutherford. In the April of the same year the chair of the theory of physic was vacated by the death of Dr. Whytt; but we are informed that Dr. Cullen was so much disgusted with the conduct of the patrons of the university, and with the treatment he had received in relation to the chair of the practice of physic, that he rather wished to retain the chair of chemistry than to be translated to that of the theory of medicine. His friends, however, earnestly urged him to take the chair vacated by the death of Dr. Whytt; and on this occasion he received the most flattering and gratifying testimony of the esteem entertained towards him, both by his fellow professors and the students of the university. The professors came forward with a public address to him, wherein, after expressing their conviction that he was the most competent person to teach the theory of medicine, they added, that they "thought it a duty they owed the town, the university, and the students of physic, and themselves, to request of him, in the most public and earnest manner, to resign the professorship of chemistry, and to offer himself to the honourable patrons of the university as a candidate for the profession of the theory of physic." The students also came forward and presented an address to the lord-provost, magistrates, and town-council, wherein they boldly stated, "We are humbly of opinion that the reputation of the university and magistrates, the good of the city, and our

improvement will all, in an eminent manner, be consulted by engaging Dr. Gregory to relinquish the professorship of the practice for that of the theory of medicine, by appointing Dr. Cullen, present professor of chemistry, to the practical chair, and by electing Dr. Black professor of chemistry."

At length Dr. Cullen consented to become a candidate for the chair of Dr. Whytt, and was elected professor of the institutes or theory of medicine, on the 1st of November, 1766; and on the same day, his friend and former pupil, Dr. Black, was elected in his place professor of chemistry. The proposal in the address of the students respecting Dr. Cullen's lecturing on the practice of medicine, being, both by the professors and succeeding students, urged on the consideration of the patrons of the university, it was agreed that Dr. Cullen should be permitted to lecture on that subject, and accordingly, with Dr. Gregory's permission, Dr. Cullen delivered a course of lectures in the summer of 1768; and during the remainder of Dr. Gregory's life, Drs. Cullen and Gregory continued to give alternate courses on the theory and practice of physic. The death of Dr. Gregory, however, took place on the 10th of February, 1773, and Dr. Cullen was immediately appointed sole professor of the practice of physic.

While Dr. Cullen held the professorship of the institutes of medicine, he published heads of lectures for the use of students in the university; which were translated into French, German, and Italian; but he went no further than physiology. After succeeding to the chair of the practice of physic, he published his nosology, entitled *Synopsis Nosologie Methodica*. It appeared in two 8vo volumes, which were afterwards, in 1780, much improved. In this valuable work he inserted in the first volume abstracts of the nosological systems of Sauvages, Linnaeus, Vogel, and Sagar;—and in the second his own method of arrangement. His classification and definitions of disease have done much to systematize and facilitate the acquirement of medical knowledge;—not but that in some instances he may have placed a disease under an improper head, and in others given definitions that are very imperfect; for these are defects which considering the wide field he had to explore, might reasonably have been expected. Although it may be only an approximation to a perfect system, it is desirable to classify, as far as we are able, the facts which constitute the groundwork of every science; otherwise they must be scattered over a wide surface, or huddled together in a confused heap—the *rudis indigestaque moles* of the ancient poet. The definitions contained in this *Nosology* are not mere scholastic and unnecessary appendages to medical science;—so far from this, they express the leading and characteristic signs or features of certain diseases; and although it is true that a medical practitioner, without recollecting the definitions of Dr. Cullen, may recognize the very same symptoms he has described, and refer them to their proper disease, still this does not prove that the definitions of Cullen are the less useful to those who have not seen so much practice, and who, even if they had, might pass over without observing many symptoms to which, by those definitions, their attention is called. The professors and teachers of every science know the necessity of inducing their pupils to arrange and concentrate their thoughts on every subject, in a clear and distinct manner; and in effecting this, the study of the *Nosology* of Dr. Cullen has been found so useful, that it is still constantly used by the students of the university, who find that, even although their professors do not at present require them to repeat the definitions of disease

given by Dr. Cullen verbatim, still they cannot express themselves, nor find in any other nosological work, the method or manner of describing the characteristic symptoms of disease so concisely and correctly given as in his *Nosology*. Accordingly, notwithstanding the march of medical knowledge, and notwithstanding the *Nosology* of Dr. Cullen was published three quarters of a century ago, it is still the text-book of the most distinguished medical schools in Europe, and some years ago an improved edition of it was edited by the learned translator of *Magendie*, Dr. Milligan.

When Dr. Cullen succeeded to the chair of the practice of physic, the doctrines of Boerhaave were in full dominion; but these Dr. Cullen felt himself justified in relinquishing, although his doing so made him appear guilty of little less than heresy in the eyes of his professional contemporaries. The first edition of Dr. Cullen's *Practice of Physic* was published in 1775;—it spread rapidly through Europe, and is said to have produced the author about £3000 sterling—a very considerable sum in those days. Pinel and Bosquillon published several translations of it in Paris; and it also appeared translated into German, Italian, and Latin. The system of medicine explained and advocated by Dr. Cullen in his lectures and in his work, *The First Lines of the Practice of Physic*, is raised on the foundation which had previously been laid by Hoffman, who pointed out more clearly than any of his predecessors, the extensive and powerful influence of the nervous system in producing and modifying the diseases to which the human body is liable. Although the study of pathology does not appear to have been so zealously pursued at that period as it is at present, yet Dr. Cullen, in his course of clinical instruction, always dwelt on the importance of inspecting the bodies of those who died under his treatment, and connecting the *post-mortem* morbid appearances with the symptoms that had been exhibited during life. In addressing a letter to Dr. Balfour Russel, the author of the best work on the plague published in this country, he observes, "You will not find it impossible to separate practice from theory altogether; and therefore if you have a mind to begin with the theory, I have no objection. I think a systematic study of the pathology and *methodus medendi* will be necessary previous to the practice, and you may always have in view a system of the whole of physic." But notwithstanding this, it must be admitted that Dr. Cullen was too fond of theorizing, and like all other philosophers who are anxious to frame a particular system, he often commenced establishing his superstructure before having accumulated a sufficient number of facts to give it a secure foundation. Hence the works of Bonetus, Morgagni, and Lieutaud contain more pathological knowledge than those published at a later date by Dr. Cullen.

Dr. Cullen, in discharging his duties as a professor both in Glasgow and Edinburgh, took very great pains in the instruction of his students; perhaps he is entitled to the credit of having taken a deeper and more sincere interest in their progress than any professor with whose history we are acquainted. Dr. James Anderson, who was his pupil and friend, bears the most unequivocal testimony to his zeal as a public teacher. "For more than thirty years," says he, "that the writer of this article has been honoured with his acquaintance, he has had access to know that Dr. Cullen was in general employed from five to six hours every day in visiting his patients, and prescribing for those at a distance who consulted him in writing; and that, during the session of the college, which, in Edinburgh, lasts from five to six months,

he delivered two public lectures of an hour each, sometimes four lectures a day, during five days of the week; and towards the end of the session, that his students might lose no part of his course, he usually, for a month or six weeks together, delivered lectures six days every week; yet, during all that time, if you chanced to fall in with him in public or in private, you never perceived him either embarrassed or seemingly in a hurry; but at all times he was easy and cheerful, and sociably inclined; and in a private party of whist, for sixpence a game, he could be as keenly engaged for an hour before supper, as if he had no other employment to mind, and would be as much interested in it as if he had £1000 depending on the game."¹ Dr. Anderson further informs us that "the general conduct of Dr. Cullen to his students was this;—with all such as he observed to be attentive and diligent he formed an early acquaintance, by inviting them by twos, by threes, or by fours, at a time, to sup with him; conversing with them on these occasions with the most engaging ease, and freely entering with them on the subject of their studies, their amusements, their difficulties, their hopes, and future prospects. In this way he usually invited the whole of his numerous class, till he made himself acquainted with their abilities, their private characters, and their objects of pursuit. Those among them whom he found most assiduous, best disposed, or the most friendless, he invited most frequently, until an intimacy was gradually formed which proved highly beneficial to them. Their doubts with regard to their objects of study he listened to with attention, and solved with the most obliging condescension. His library, which consisted of an excellent assortment of the best books, especially on medical subjects, was at all times open for their accommodation, and his advice in every case of difficulty to them, they always had it in their power most readily to obtain. From his general acquaintance among the students, and the friendly habits he was on with many of them, he found no difficulty in discovering those among them who were rather in hampered circumstances, without being obliged to hurt their delicacy in any degree. He often found out some polite excuse for refusing to take payment for a first course, and never was at a loss for one to an after-course. Before they could have an opportunity of applying for a ticket, he would lead the conversation to some subject that occurred in the course of his lectures, and as his lectures were never put in writing by himself, he would sometimes beg the favour to see their notes, if he knew they had been taken with attention, under a pretext of assisting his memory. Sometimes he would express a wish to have their opinion on a particular part of his course, and presented them with a ticket for that purpose, and sometimes he refused to take payment under the pretext that they had not received his full course in the preceding year, some part of it having been necessarily omitted for want of time, which he meant to include in this course. These were the particular devices he adopted with individuals to whom economy was necessary, and it was a general rule with him never to take money from any student for more than two courses of the same set of lectures, permitting him to attend these lectures for as many years longer as he pleased, gratis. He introduced another generous principle into the university, which ought not to be passed over in silence. Before he came to Edinburgh, it was the custom for medical professors to accept of fees for medical assistance when wanted, even from medical students them-

¹ *The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer*, vol. i. p. 8.

selves, who were perhaps attending the professor's own lectures at the time; but Dr. Cullen would never take fees as a physician from any student at the university, although he attended them when called in with the same assiduity and care as if they had been persons of the first rank, who paid him most liberally. This gradually induced others to adopt a similar practice; so that it has now become a general rule at this university for medical professors to decline taking any fees when their assistance is necessary for a student.¹

Dr. Aiken, who was also a pupil of Dr. Cullen, bears similar testimony to the generous conduct manifested by him to his students. "He was cordially attentive," says he, "to their interests; admitted them freely to his house; conversed with them on the most familiar terms; solved their doubts and difficulties; gave them the use of his library; and, in every respect, treated them with the respect of a friend, and the regard of a parent."² Nor was the kind interest which Dr. Cullen took in the pursuits of young persons confined to his students alone. Mr. Dugald Stewart informed Dr. Thomson, that during a slight indisposition which confined him for some time to his room, when a boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age, he was attended by Dr. Cullen. In recommending to his patient a little relaxation from his studies, and suggesting some light reading, the doctor inquired whether he had ever read the *History of Don Quixote*. On being answered in the negative, he turned quickly round to Mr. Stewart's father, and desired that the book should be immediately procured. In his subsequent visits to his patient, Dr. Cullen never failed to examine him on the progress he had made in reading the humorous story of the great pattern of chivalry, and to talk over with him every successive incident, scene, and character in that history. In mentioning these particulars, Mr. Stewart remarked that he never could look back on that intercourse without feeling surprise at the minute accuracy with which Dr. Cullen remembered every passage in the life of Don Quixote, and the lively manner in which he sympathized with him in the pleasure he derived from the first perusal of that entertaining romance. In what degree of estimation Mr. Stewart continued to hold that work may be seen by the inimitable character which he has given of it in his dissertation on the progress of metaphysical, ethical, and political philosophy.³

Dr. Cullen, after having been elected professor of the practice of medicine, devoted his time entirely to his duties as a public lecturer, and to his profession; for his fame having extended, his private practice became very considerable. Already we have observed that he had a large family; and about this time, having become acquainted with the celebrated John Brown, a sketch of whose life we have already given in this *Biographical Dictionary*, he engaged him to live in his family as the preceptor of his children, and also as an assistant at his lectures, the substance of which Brown repeated and expounded in the evening to his students; for which purpose the manuscript notes of the morning lectures were generally intrusted to him. It is well known that the habits of John Brown were extremely irregular. After having been his most favourite pupil, he became the most intimate of Dr. Cullen's friends; but three or four years afterwards a quarrel took place between them, after which they ever regarded each other with feelings of the most determined hostility.

John Brown soon became the founder and champion of a system of medicine opposed to that of Dr. Cullen; and the palæstra where the opponents and advocates of both theories met, and where their disputations were carried on with the greatest vigour, was the hall of the medical society. The doctrines of Cullen had there, some years previously, triumphed over those of Boerhaave; but they in their turn were now destined to receive a shock from the zealous advocates of the new theory, which was warmly espoused by many, both at home and abroad.

Dr. Cullen continued to deliver his lectures until within a few months of his death, when, feeling himself subdued by the infirmities of age, he was induced to resign his professorship; "but for some years before his death," observes Dr. James Anderson, "his friends perceived a sensible decline of that ardour and energy of mind which characterized him at a former period. Strangers, who had never seen him before, could not be sensible of this change; nor did any marked decline in him strike them, for his natural vivacity still was such as might pass in general as the unabated vigour of one in the prime of life." He resigned his professorship in the end of December, 1789, and on this occasion received many honourable testimonies of regard from the different public societies in Edinburgh. The lord-provost, magistrates, and town-council presented him with an elegant piece of silver plate with a suitable inscription, in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered to the university and to the community. The *senatus academicus* of the university, the medical society, the physical society, and many other scientific and literary societies, voted addresses to him, expressive of the high sense entertained of his abilities and services. The physical society of America also forwarded to him a similar address, and concluded by expressing the same wish which had been likewise embodied in the other addresses. It thus concludes:—"And, finally, we express our most cordial wishes that the evening of your days may be crowned with as great an exemption from pain and labour as an advanced state of life admits of, and with all the tranquillity of mind which a consciousness of diffusive benevolence to men and active worth aspires." The several deputations from these public bodies were received by his son Henry, who replied to them by acknowledging the satisfaction which they gave to his father, and the regret he felt that, in consequence of his ill state of health, he was unable to meet them and express his sentiments in person to them.⁴

Dr. Cullen did not long survive his resignation of the professorship; he lingered a few weeks, and died on the 5th of February, 1790, in the eightieth year of his age. His funeral was a private one, and took place on the following Wednesday, the 10th of February; when his remains, attended by a select number of friends, were interred in his burial-place in the churchyard of Kirk Newton, near his house of Ormiston Hill, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

Of the character of Dr. Cullen in the more retired circle of private life we know little, few anecdotes having been preserved illustrative of the peculiarities of his habits, disposition, or domestic manners. We have been informed, by one who remembers him well, that he had no sense of the value of money. He used to put large sums into an open drawer, to which he and his wife went whenever either of them wanted money. He and his wife lived happily, and many who recollect them have borne testimony to

¹ *The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer*, vol. i. pp. 48, 49.

² *General Biography*, vol. iii. p. 255.

³ *Thomson's Life of Dr. Cullen*, vol. i. p. 136.

⁴ *Evening Courant*, January and February, 1790.

the delightful evenings they always spent whenever they visited them. Dr. Cullen's external appearance, says his friend Dr. Anderson, though striking and not unpleasing, was not elegant. His countenance was expressive, and his eye, in particular, remarkably lively, and at times wonderfully expressive. In his person he was tall and thin, stooping very much about the shoulders. When he walked he had a contemplative look, and did not seem much to regard the objects around him.¹ It remains only for us to add, that the doctrines promulgated by Dr. Cullen, which have had so great an influence on medical science, are now keenly contested; but whether in after-years they stand or fall, all parties must unite in paying a just tribute of admiration to the genius and acquisitions of a man who was certainly an ornament to the age in which he lived.

CUNNINGHAM, ALEXANDER, fifth Earl of Glencairn, was the son and successor of William, the fourth earl, and the seventeenth in descent from the founder of his family, Warnebalde de Cunningham, a Norman settler under Hugh de Moreville, Constable of Scotland, who died in 1162.

There is hardly any patriotic name in Scottish history entitled to more of the credit of a firm and zealous pursuit of liberty, than Alexander, Earl of Glencairn. His father, having been one of the Scottish nobles taken prisoner at Solway Moss, was gained over in England to the interest of the Reformation, which he undertook to advance in his own country. The subject of this memoir was therefore introduced, at an early period, into the political convulsions which took place on account of religion and the English alliance, during the minority of Queen Mary. He succeeded his father in 1547, and on the return of John Knox in 1554 was one of those who openly resorted to hear him preach. The reformer was afterwards received by the earl at his house of Finlayston, where the sacrament of the Lord's supper was dispensed, according to the forms of the Church of Geneva, to his lordship, his tenantry, and friends. When Knox was summoned to appear before a Romish tribunal, on a charge of preaching heretical doctrine, he was recommended by the earl and others to write a letter of remonstrance to the queen-regent, which Glencairn was so bold as to deliver into her own hands. It was of this letter that the queen said, in handing it afterwards to Archbishop Beaton, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquill." The Earl of Glencairn was one of those eminent persons who, in 1557, associated themselves in a covenant, for the purpose of promoting the establishment of the reformed religion in Scotland. This body has received in history the well-known title of "Lords of the Congregation." In all the subsequent struggles with existing authority, Glencairn took an active and prominent part. Being deputed, in 1558, along with his relative, Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, to remonstrate with the queen against her intended prosecution of the preachers, she answered, that "in spite of all they could do, these men should be banished, although they preached as soundly as ever did St. Paul." The earl and Sir Hugh then reminded her of a former promise to a different effect; to which she answered, that "the promises of princes were no further to be urged upon them for performance than it stood to their convenience." The two deputies then informed her, that "if these were her sentiments, they would no longer be her subjects;" which staggered her so much

that she said she would advise. In May, 1559, when the reformers drawn together at Perth found it necessary to protect themselves by force of arms from the designs of this princess, letters were sent into Ayrshire, as into other parts of Scotland, desiring all the faithful to march to that town, in order to defend the good cause. The reformers of Ayrshire met at the kirk of Craigie, where, on some objections being started, the Earl of Glencairn "in zeal burst forth in these words, 'Let every man serve his conscience. I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in St. Johnston: yea, albeit never a man shall accompany me; I will go, if it were but with a pick [mattock] over my shoulder; for I had rather die with that company than live after them.'" Accordingly, although the queen-regent planted guards on all the rivers in Stirlingshire to prevent his approach, he came to Perth in an incredibly short space of time, with 1200 horse and 1300 foot, having marched night and day in order to arrive in time. The appearance of so determined a leader, with so large a force, subdued the regent to terms, and might be said to have saved the cause from utter destruction. Besides serving the reformers with his sword and feudal influence, he wielded the pen in the same cause. Knox has preserved, in his *History of the Reformation*, a clever pasquinade by the earl upon a shameless adherent of the old religion—the hermit of Loretto, near Musselburgh. After he had seen the triumph of the Protestant faith in 1559–60, he was nominated a member of Queen Mary's privy-council. Zeal for the same faith afterwards induced him to join in the insurrection raised against the queen's authority by the Earl of Murray. After her marriage to Bothwell, he was one of the most active of the associated lords by whom she was dethroned. At Carberry, where he had an important command, when the French ambassador came from the queen, promising them forgiveness if they would disperse, he answered, with his characteristic spirit, that "they came not to ask pardon for any offence they had done, but to grant pardon to those who had offended." After the queen had been consigned to Lochleven, he entered her chapel at Holyrood House with his domestics, and destroyed the whole of the images and other furniture. This he did from the impulse of his own mind, and without consulting any of his friends. In the whole of the subsequent proceedings for establishing the Protestant cause under a regency, he took a zealous part. His lordship died in 1574, and was succeeded by his son William, the sixth earl.

CUNNINGHAM, ALEXANDER. This learned scholar and critic, the exact date of whose birth is so uncertain that we can only suppose it to have been somewhere between 1650 and 1660, was the son of John Cunningham, minister of Cumnock in Ayrshire, and proprietor of the small estate of Block in the same county. At what place he was educated is equally uncertain, and the first situation we hear of him as holding, was that of tutor to Lord George Douglas, younger son of the first Duke of Queensberry. It was probably through the influence of this noble family that Alexander Cunningham was appointed professor of the civil law in the university of Edinburgh, near the end of the seventeenth century. His tenure of office, however, was not permanent, but through no fault of his own. The Duke of Queensberry, who had been commissioner of Queen Anne in the establishment of the union, died, and the chair which Cunningham occupied, being probably a royal professorship, was ignored by the Edinburgh magistrates, who considered themselves

¹ *The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer*, vol. i. p. 166.

as the only patrons of the university. It was also a period when every class in Scotland was especially susceptible about the national independence, and disposed to watch their own corporate privileges with a jealous eye. Without recognizing, therefore, the appointment of Cunningham, the magistrates appointed a professor of civil law chosen by themselves, in 1710, after the other had nominally at least held the office during the twelve previous years.

It is supposed by his talented biographer, Dr. Irving, that Cunningham, from his superior knowledge of philology and the civil law, must have completed his course of academical study, not in Scotland, where these departments of learning were not especially cultivated, but at Leyden or Utrecht, the chief schools of the Scottish juriconsults and classical scholars of that age. This supposition is made the more probable from Cunningham's choice of his future home. Devoted exclusively to the pursuit of learning, he adopted Holland for his country, and settled himself for life at the Hague; and as from his small patrimonial estate of Block, and a pension from the Queensberry family, he was in easy circumstances, he was enabled to pursue his peaceful occupations without interruption, and acquire high reputation as a classical scholar. The justice of this character was afterwards confirmed by his edition of *Horace*, which appeared in 1721. The notes of this edition are brief, and chiefly refer to the various readings of the text; but it appears to have been intended merely as the precursor of a larger work of the same kind, illustrated with fuller annotations, which, however, was never published. But accompanying his edition of *Horace*, was a volume, chiefly consisting of animadversions upon the notes and alterations which Bentley had made upon the Roman poet. That great English Aristarchus of classical literature had published an edition of *Horace* ten years earlier, in which his philological acuteness and want of poetical perception were equally conspicuous, so that in his emendations he too often sacrificed the beauty of the idea to the fancied incorrectness of a word, and by his proposed reading converted a beautifully-imaginative picture into dull commonplace prose. It was to redeem the great ornament of the Augustan period of Roman poetry from such unwarrantable liberties that Cunningham produced this separate volume, in which he successively rescued *Horace* from the strange readings with which the English critic had disfigured his verses. It was not, however, to be supposed that "slashing Bentley," who regarded his own emendations upon a Greek or Latin text as infallible, would brook such contradictions with patience, and he must have been still more highly incensed to find that the learned world were acknowledging the justice of Cunningham's corrections, and declaring that the English scholar had at last met with his match. The learned Scot was now recognized and proclaimed as the most able of Bentley's critical antagonists.

After passing the uneventful life of a student, in which his existence was chiefly known, and his worth recognized by his writings, Cunningham died in the year 1730. The publications that bear his name are the following:—

Alexandri Cunninghamii Animadversiones in Richardi Bentleyi Notas et Emendationes ad Q. Horatium Flaccum. Hagae Comitum, apud Thomam Johnsonium, 1721, 8vo.

Q. Horatii Flacci Poemata. Ex antiquis codd. et certis observationibus emendavit, variasque scriptorum et impressorum lectiones adjecit Alexander Cunninghamius. Hagae Comitum, apud Thomam Johnsonium, 1721, 8vo.

P. Virgillii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis, ex recensione Alexandri Cunninghamii Scoti, ejus emendationes subjiciuntur. Edinburgi, apud G. Hamilton et J. Balfour, 1743, 8vo.

Phaedri Augusti Liberti Fabularum Aesopiarum libri quinque, ex emendatione Alexandri Cunninghamii Scoti. Accedunt Publii Syri, et aliorum veterum Sententiae. Edinburgi, apud G. Hamilton et J. Balfour, Academiae Typographos, 1757, 8vo.

Besides these works, Cunningham had contemplated several which he did not live to finish. Besides his larger edition of *Horace*, he had employed himself for many years upon a critical edition of the *Pandects*, of which large expectations were formed, and which, had it been finished, would have been the largest and most important of his publications. He had also made preparations for a work on the evidences of the Christian religion, which, however, he did not live to execute. His library, which was catalogued for sale after his death, was both curious and valuable, and especially abounded in the departments of philology and jurisprudence. To this scanty notice we can only add, that Cunningham appears to have been as famed for his skill in chess-playing as he was in scholarship and criticism. He was indeed reckoned, according to the testimony of the historian Wodrow, the best chess-player in Europe.

CUNNINGHAM, ALEXANDER. This learned scholar and historian has, from identity of name, been often confounded with the subject of the preceding notice. He was a son of Alexander Cunningham, minister of Ettrick in Selkirkshire, but at what date he was born we are unable to ascertain. At first he was educated at Selkirk school, but being destined for the church, his studies were continued in Holland, as was the custom with Scottish theological students during the latter part of the seventeenth century. He was also employed as a travelling tutor both in the Argyll and Newcastle families, and having studied the law of England, was distinguished as a chamber-counsel, but never pleaded at the bar. To these few particulars it may be added, that he travelled on the Continent as tutor with James, afterwards Earl of Hyndford, and the Hon. William Carmichael, afterwards solicitor-general for Scotland; that they passed two winters at Utrecht and Franeker between the years 1692 and 1695; and that he had visited Rome in 1699 or the beginning of 1700. In these professional tours he also collected a considerable number of books, and was learned and curious in their selection. It also appears that in such a life of travel and secular studies, he had abandoned his original purpose of devoting himself to the ministry, as no further mention is made of it.

After his engagements as a travelling tutor were ended, Alexander Cunningham, in 1701, was employed in a different capacity, being sent to France by King William, to conduct a negotiation concerning the trade between France and Scotland. But with this ostensible object of his mission certain secret duties of a different kind were connected, and he appears to have furnished his royal master with an exact account of the military preparations at that time made in France—intelligence which was more important to William, than the prosperity of the infant merchandise of Scotland. In 1703 he is also said to have visited Hanover, where he was graciously received by the elector (afterwards George I.) and the Princess Sophia. This is not unlikely, if we take into account the vital importance of the Hanoverian succession, the great political subject of the period, and the principles of Cunningham, which were those of a de-

cided Whig. During the reign of George I. he was appointed minister to the state of Venice, and held that office from 1715 to 1720. His residence during the latter part of his life appears to have been London, but at what period he died we are unable to discover. We only know that he was living in 1735, from an intimation that in that year the Earl of Hyndford visited him in London.

It is probable that, notwithstanding the learning and active life of Cunningham, and the important political events with which he was connected, he might have passed away without remembrance, had it not been for a large work in MS. written in Latin, which long after his death came into the possession of Dr. Hollingbery, archdeacon of Chichester, whose family was nearly connected with the deceased. This was *The History of Great Britain, from the Revolution of 1688 to the Accession of George I.* Finding that it contained "many curious anecdotes and facts which have escaped other historians, and threw new light on several important transactions in this kingdom," the archdeacon resolved to publish it; not, however, in the original Latin, which would have found very few readers, but translated into English. Being unable, however, from ill health to accomplish such a task, he delegated it to Dr. Thomson, author of the continuation of *Watson's History of Spain*, by whom a spirited translation of Cunningham's history was published in two volumes 4to in London in 1787. In the introduction to the publication Dr. Thomson stated, "It may be necessary, in announcing the work now offered to the public, to premise that it is neither a republication, nor a mere compilation of facts; that it is not addressed merely, though it certainly be in part, to a passion for anecdotes and antiquities; and that it is not dictated by a spirit of controversy. It is the production of a man who, having lived long on the stage, and conversed with the principal actors in public life, is animated by the recent scenes which he had seen, and in some of which he himself had acted a part. It contains facts that have passed unobserved by other historians; some, though not new when considered separately, are selected, disposed, and described with a skill which bestows on them all the grace of novelty; and the whole of them, whether new or old, are united by a principle of connection into one interesting view, which makes an impression on the mind of something that is uniform and entire." The readers of the end of the last century bore witness to the truth of this eulogium, by the relish with which they perused the work, and the popularity into which they raised it; and although, with those of the present day, Cunningham's *History of Great Britain, from the Revolution of 1688 to the Accession of George I.*, is now little known, this is the less to be regretted, as the information it conveys has been absorbed into the histories of more recent origin. It is much that such a work can so survive, and be useful even when its individuality is forgot.

CUNNINGHAM, ALLAN. This distinguished poet entered the world under those lowly circumstances, and was educated under those disadvantages, which have so signally characterized the history of the best of our Scottish bards. He was born at Blackwood, in Dumfriesshire, in 1785, and was the fourth son of his parents, who were persons in the humblest ranks of life. One circumstance, however, connected with his ancestry must have gratified the Tory and feudal predilections of Allan Cunningham; for his family had been of wealth and worship, until one of his forefathers lost the patrimonial estate by siding with Montrose during the wars of the Commonwealth. A more useful circumstance for his

future career was his father's love of Scottish antiquarianism, which induced him to hoard up every tale, ballad, and legend connected with his native country—a love which Allan quickly acquired and successfully prosecuted. Like the children of the Scottish peasantry, he was sent to school at a very early age; but he does not seem to have been particularly fortunate in the two teachers under whom he was successively trained, for they were stern Cameronians; and it was probably under their scrupulous and over-strict discipline that he acquired that tendency to laugh at religious ascetism which so often breaks out in his writings. He was removed from this undesirable tuition at the tender age of eleven, and bound apprentice to a stone-mason; but he still could enjoy the benefit of his father's instructions, whom he describes as possessing "a warm heart, lively fancy, benevolent humour, and pleasant happy wit." Another source of training which the young apprentice enjoyed was the "trystes" and "rockings" so prevalent in his day—rural meetings, in which the mind of Burns himself was prepared for the high office of being the national poet of Scotland. The shadows of these delightful "ploys" still linger in Nithsdale and some of the more remote districts of Ayrshire; and it is pleasing to recall them to memory, for the sake of those great minds they nursed, before they have passed away for ever. They were complete trials of festivity and wit, where to sing a good song, tell a good story, or devise a happy impromptu, was the great aim of the lads and lasses assembled from miles around to the peat fire of a kitchen hearth, and where the corypheus of the joyful meeting was the "long-remembered beggar" of the district—one who possessed more songs and tales than all the rest of the country besides, and who, on account of the treasures of this nature which he freely imparted, was honoured as a public benefactor, and preferred to the best seat in the circle, instead of being regarded as a public burden. But the schoolmaster and the magistrate are now abroad; and while the rockings are fast disappearing, the Edie Ochiltree who inspired them is dying in the alms-house. May they be succeeded in this age of improving change by better schools and still more rational amusements!

While the youth of Allan Cunningham was trained under this tuition, he appears also to have been a careful reader of every book that came within his reach. This is evident from the multifarious knowledge which his earliest productions betokened. He had also commenced the writing of poetry at a very early period, having been inspired by the numerous songs and ballads with which the poetical district of Nithsdale is stored. When about the age of eighteen he seems to have been seized with an earnest desire to visit the Ettrick Shepherd, at that time famed as a poet, but whose early chances of such distinction had scarcely equalled his own; and forth accordingly he set off in this his first pilgrimage of hero-worship, accompanied by an elder brother. The meeting Hogg has fully described in his *Reminiscences of former Days*; and he particularizes Allan as "a dark ungainly youth of about eighteen, with a boardly frame for his age, and strongly marked manly features—the very model of Burns, and exactly such a man." The stripling poet, who stood at a bashful distance, was introduced to the Shepherd by his brother, who added, "You will be so kind as excuse this intrusion of ours on your solitude; for, in truth, I could get no peace either night or day with Allan till I consented to come and see you." "I then stepped down the hill," continues Hogg, "to where Allan Cunningham still stood, with his weather-beaten cheek toward me, and seizing his hard brawny hand,

I gave it a hearty shake, saying something as kind as I was able, and, at the same time, I am sure, as stupid as it possibly could be. From that moment we were friends, for Allan has none of the proverbial Scottish caution about him; he is all heart together, without reserve either of expression or manner; you at once see the unaffected benevolence, warmth of feeling, and firm independence of a man conscious of his own rectitude and mental energies. Young as he was, I had heard of his name, although slightly, and I think seen two or three of his juvenile pieces.

. . . . I had a small bothy upon the hill, in which I took my breakfast and dinner on wet days, and rested myself. It was so small that we had to walk in on all-fours, and when we were in we could not get up our heads any way but in a sitting posture. It was exactly my own length, and on the one side I had a bed of rushes, which served likewise as a seat. On this we all three sat down, and there we spent the whole afternoon; and I am sure, a happier group of three never met on the hill of Queensberry. Allan brightened up prodigiously after he got into the dark bothy, repeating all his early pieces of poetry and part of his brother's to me. . . . From that day forward I failed not to improve my acquaintance with the Cunninghams. I visited them several times at Dalswinton, and never missed an opportunity of meeting with Allan when it was in my power to do so. I was astonished at the luxuriousness of his fancy. It was boundless; but it was the luxury of a rich garden overrun with rampant weeds. He was likewise then a great mannerist in expression, and no man could mistake his verses for those of any other man. I remember seeing some imitations of Ossian by him, which I thought exceedingly good; and it struck me that that style of composition was peculiarly fitted for his vast and fervent imagination."

Such is the interesting sketch which Hogg has given us of the early life and character of a brother poet and congenial spirit. The full season at length arrived when Allan Cunningham was to burst from his obscurity. Cromeek, to the full as enthusiastic an admirer of Scottish poetry as himself, was collecting his well-known relics; and in the course of his quest young Cunningham was pointed out as one who could aid him in the work. Allan gladly assented to the task of gathering and preserving these old national treasures, and in due time presented to the zealous antiquary a choice collection of apparently old songs and ballads, which were inserted in the *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, published in 1810. But the best of these, and especially the "Maid of Galloway," were the production of Cunningham's own pen. This Hogg at once discovered as soon as the collection appeared, and he was zealous in proclaiming to all his literary friends that "Allan Cunningham was the author of all that was beautiful in the work." He communicated his convictions also to Sir Walter Scott, who was of the same opinion, and expressed his fervent wish that such a valuable and original young man were fairly out of Cromeek's hands. Resolved that the world should know to whom it was really indebted for so much fine poetry, Hogg next wrote a critique upon Cromeek's publication, which he sent to the *Edinburgh Review*; but although Jeffrey was aware of the *ruse* which Cunningham had practised, he did not think it worthy of exposure. In this strange literary escapade the poet scarcely appears to merit the title of "honest Allan," which Sir Walter Scott subsequently bestowed upon him, and rather to deserve the doubtful place held by such writers as Chatterton, Ireland, and Macpherson. It must, however, be observed in extenuation, that Cunningham, by passing off his own

productions as remains of ancient Scottish song, compromised no venerated names, as the others had done. He gave them only as anonymous verses, to which neither date nor author could be assigned.

In the same year that Cromeek's *Remains* were published (1810), Allan Cunningham abandoned his humble and unhealthy occupation, and repaired to London, which was thenceforth to be his home. He had reached the age of twenty-five, was devoted heart and soul to intellectual labour, and felt within himself the capacity of achieving something higher than squaring stones and erecting country cottages. On settling in London he addressed himself to the duties of a literary adventurer with energy and success, so that his pen was seldom idle; and among the journals to which he was a contributor may be mentioned the *Literary Gazette*, the *London Magazine*, and the *Athenæum*. Even this, at the best, was precarious, and will often desert the most devoted industry; but Cunningham, fortunately, had learned a craft upon which he was not too proud to fall back should higher resources forsake him. Chantrey, the eminent statuary, was in want of a foreman who combined artistic imagination and taste with mechanical skill and experience; and what man could be better fitted for the office than the mason, poet, and journalist, who had now established for himself a considerable literary reputation? A union was formed between the pair that continued till death; and the appearance of these inseparables, as they continued from year to year to grow in celebrity, the one as a sculptor and the other as an author, seldom failed to arrest the attention of the good folks of Pimlico as they took their daily walk from the studio in Ecclestone Street to the foundry in the Mews. Although the distance was considerable, as well as a public thoroughfare, they usually walked bareheaded, while the short figure, small round face, and bald head of the artist were strikingly contrasted with the tall stalwart form, dark bright eyes, and large sentimental countenance of the poet. The duties of Cunningham in the capacity of "friend and assistant," as Chantrey was wont to term him, were sufficiently multifarious; and of these the superintendence of the artist's extensive workshop was not the least. The latter, although so distinguished as a statuary, had obtuse feelings and a limited imagination, while those of Cunningham were of the highest order; the artist's reading had been very limited, but that of the poet was extensive and multifarious. Cunningham was, therefore, as able in suggesting graceful attitudes in figures, picturesque folds in draperies, and new proportions for pedestals, as Chantrey was in executing them; and in this way the former was a very Mentor and muse to the latter. Besides all this, Cunningham recommended his employer's productions through the medium of the press, illustrated their excellencies, and defended them against maligners; fought his battles against rival committees, and established his claims when they would have been sacrificed in favour of some inferior artist. Among the other methods by which Chantrey's artistic reputation was thus established and diffused abroad, may be mentioned a sketch of his life and an account of his works, published in *Blackwood's Magazine* for April, 1820, and a critique in the *Quarterly* for 1826, both of these articles being from the pen of Allan Cunningham. The poet was also the life of the artist's studio by his rich enlivening conversation, and his power of illustrating the various busts and statues which the building contained; so that it was sometimes difficult to tell whether the living man or the high delineations of art possessed most attraction for many among its thousands of visitors. In this way also the highest in rank and the most distinguished

in talent were brought into daily intercourse with him, from among whom he could select the characters he most preferred for friendship or acquaintance.

Among the illustrious personages with whom his connection with Chantrey brought him into contact, the most gratifying of all to the mind of Cunningham must have been the acquaintance to which it introduced him with Sir Walter Scott. We have already seen how devout a hero-worshipper he was by the visit he paid to the Ettrick Shepherd. Under the same inspiration, while still working as a stonemason in Nithsdale, he once walked to Edinburgh for the privilege of catching a glimpse of the author of *Marmion* as he passed along the public street. In 1820, when Cunningham had himself become a distinguished poet and miscellaneous writer, he came in personal contact with the great object of his veneration in consequence of being the bearer of a request from Chantrey that he would allow a bust to be taken of him. The meeting was highly characteristic of both parties. Sir Walter met his visitor with both hands extended, for the purpose of a cordial double shake, and gave a hearty "Allan Cunningham, I am glad to see you." The other stammered out something about the pleasure he felt in touching the hand that had charmed him so much. "Ay," said Scott, moving the member, with one of his pawky smiles, "and a big brown hand it is." He then complimented the bard of Nithsdale upon his ballads, and entreated him to try something of still higher consequence "for dear auld Scotland's sake," quoting these words of Burns. The result of Cunningham's immediate mission was the celebrated bust of Sir Walter Scott by Chantrey—a bust which not only gives the external semblance, but expresses the very character and soul of the mighty magician, and that will continue through late generations to present his likeness as distinctly as if he still moved among them.

The acquaintanceship thus auspiciously commenced was not allowed to lie idle; and while it materially benefited the family of Cunningham, it also served at once to elicit and gratify the warm-hearted benevolence of Sir Walter. The event is best given in the words of Lockhart, Sir Walter Scott's son-in-law and biographer. "Breakfasting one morning (this was in the summer of 1828) with Allan Cunningham, and commending one of his publications, he looked round the table and said, 'What are you going to make of all these boys, Allan?' 'I ask that question often at my own heart,' said Allan, 'and I cannot answer it.' 'What does the eldest point to?' 'The callant would fain be a soldier, Sir Walter—and I have half a promise of a commission in the king's army for him; but I wish rather he would go to India, for there the pay is a maintenance, and one does not need interest at every step to get on.' Scott dropped the subject, but went an hour afterwards to Lord Melville, who was now president of the Board of Control, and begged a cadetship for young Cunningham. Lord Melville promised to inquire if he had one at his disposal, in which case he would gladly serve the son of honest Allan; but the point being thus left doubtful, Scott, meeting Mr. John Loch, one of the East India directors, at dinner the same evening, at Lord Stafford's, applied to him and received an immediate assent. On reaching home at night he found a note from Lord Melville intimating that he had inquired, and was happy in complying with his request. Next morning Sir Walter appeared at Sir F. Chantrey's breakfast-table, and greeted the sculptor (who is a brother of the angle) with, 'I suppose it has sometimes happened to you to catch one trout (which was all you thought

of) with the fly, and another with the bobber. I have done so, and I think I shall land them both. Don't you think Cunningham would like very well to have cadetships for two of those fine lads?' 'To be sure he would,' said Chantrey, 'and if you'll secure the commissions I'll make the outfit easy.' Great was the joy in Allan's household on this double good news; but I should add that, before the thing was done, he had to thank another benefactor. Lord Melville, after all, went out of the Board of Control before he had been able to fulfil his promise; but his successor, Lord Ellenborough, on hearing the circumstances of the case, desired Cunningham to set his mind at rest; and both his young men are now prospering in the India service."

By being thus established in Chantrey's employ, and having a salary sufficient for his wants, Allan Cunningham was released from the necessity of an entire dependence on authorship, as well as from the extreme precariousness with which it is generally accompanied, especially in London. He did not, however, on that account relapse into the free and easy life of a mere dilettanti writer. On the contrary, these advantages seem only to have stimulated him to further exertion; so that, to the very end of his days, he was not only a diligent, laborious student, but a continually improving author. Mention has already been made of the wild exuberance that characterized his earliest efforts in poetry. Hogg, whose sentiments on this head we have already seen, with equal justice characterizes its after-progress. "Mr. Cunningham's style of poetry is greatly changed of late for the better. I have never seen any style improved so much. It is free of that all crudeness and mannerism that once marked it so decidedly. He is now uniformly lively, serious, descriptive, or pathetic, as he changes his subject; but formerly he jumbled all these together, as in a boiling cauldron, and when once he began, it was impossible to calculate where or when he was going to end." Scott, who will be reckoned a higher authority, is still louder in praise of Cunningham, and declared that some of his songs, especially that of *It's hame and it's hame*, were equal to Burns. But although his fame commenced with his poetry, and will ultimately rest mainly upon it, he was a still more voluminous prose writer, and in a variety of departments, as the following list of his chief works will sufficiently show:—

Sir Marmaduke Maxwell, a drama. This production Cunningham designed for the stage, and sent it in MS., in 1820, to Sir Walter Scott for his perusal and approbation. But the judgment formed of it was, that it was a beautiful dramatic poem rather than a play, and therefore better fitted for the closet than the stage. In this opinion every reader of *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell* will coincide, more especially when he takes into account the complexity of the plot, and the capricious manner in which the interest is shifted.

Paul Jones, a novel; *Sir Michael Scott*, a novel. Although Cunningham had repressed the wildness of his imagination in poetry, it still worked madly within him, and evidently required a safety-valve after being denied its legitimate outlet. No one can be doubtful of the fact who peruses these novels; for not only do they drive truth into utter fiction, but fiction itself into the all but unimaginable. This is especially the case with the last of these works, in which the extravagant dreams of the Pythagorean or the Brahmin are utterly out-heroded. Hence, notwithstanding the beautiful ideas and profusion of stirring events with which they are stored—enough, indeed, to have furnished a whole stock of novels

and romances—they never became favourites with the public, and have now ceased to be remembered.

Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern, with Introduction and Notes, Historical and Critical, and Characters of the Lyric Poets. Four vols. 8vo, 1825. Some of the best poems in this collection are by Cunningham himself; not introduced surreptitiously, however, as in the case of Cromek, but as his own productions; and of these *De Bruce* contains such a stirring account of the battle of Bannockburn as Scott's *Lord of the Isles* has not surpassed.

Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, published in Murray's "Family Library." Six vols. 12mo. 1829–33. This work, although defective in philosophical and critical analysis, and chargeable, in many instances, with partiality, continues to be highly popular, in consequence of the poetical spirit with which it is pervaded, and the vivacious, attractive style in which it is written. This was what the author probably aimed at, instead of producing a work that might serve as a standard for artists and connoisseurs; and in this he has fully succeeded.

Literary Illustrations to Major's "Cabinet Gallery of Pictures." 1833–34.

The Maid of Elvar, a poem.

Lord Roldan, a romance.

Life of Burns.

Life of Sir David Wilkie. Three vols. 8vo. 1843. Cunningham, who knew the painter well, and loved him dearly as a congenial Scottish spirit, found in this production the last of his literary efforts, as he finished its final corrections only two days before he died. At the same time, he had made considerable progress in an extended edition of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*; and a *Life of Chantry* was also expected from his pen; but before these could be accomplished, both poet and sculptor, after a close union of twenty-nine years, had ended their labours, and bequeathed their memorial to other hands. The last days of Chantry were spent in drawing the tomb in which he wished to be buried, in the churchyard of Norton, in Derbyshire, the place of his nativity; and while showing the plans to his assistant, he observed, with a look of anxiety, "But there will be no room for you." "Room for me!" cried Allan Cunningham, "I would not lie like a toad in a stone, or in a place strong enough for another to covet. O, no! let me lie where the green grass and the daisies grow, waving under the winds of the blue heaven." The wish of both was satisfied; for Chantry reposes under his mausoleum of granite, and Cunningham in the picturesque cemetery of Harrow. The artist by his will left the poet a legacy of £2000, but the constitution of the latter was so prematurely exhausted that he lived only a year after his employer. His death, which was occasioned by paralysis, occurred at Lower Belgrave Place, Pimlico, on the 29th October, 1842, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

CUNNINGHAM, THOMAS MOUNSEY. This excellent poet and song-writer belonged to a family that has been prolific of genius during two generations, being the second son of a family of ten children, and elder brother of Allan Cunningham. His father, John Cunningham, who had been previously a land-steward, first in the county of Durham and afterwards in Dumfriesshire, ultimately leased the farm of Culfaud, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and there Thomas was born on the 25th of June, 1776; but his father having been unsuccessful as a farmer, the family migrated to several abodes successively, so that Thomas was educated, first at the village school of Kellieston, and afterwards at the

schools and academy of Dumfries, where he completed his education by acquiring the knowledge of book-keeping, mathematics, the French tongue, and a little Latin. At the age of sixteen he became clerk to Mr. John Maxwell of Terraughty, but soon after, having been offered a clerkship in South Carolina, he was preparing to set out for that quarter, but was dissuaded by the advice of Mr. Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, to whom his father at that time was factor. It was necessary, however, on account of home poverty and a numerous family, that Thomas should learn some trade or manual profession, and, accordingly, by his own choice, he was apprenticed to the laborious occupation of a mill-wright. It was while he was thus employed, that during the leisure hours of this toilsome apprenticeship he recreated himself with the cultivation of poetry; and his productions, which were in his native tongue, found acceptance with the neighbouring peasantry, for whom they were chiefly written. His father also, who appears to have been a man of taste and judgment, approved of these juvenile productions, and encouraged him to persevere. But the best stamp of their merit in the eyes of a young poet was the fact, that one of his pieces was actually put in print. This was the poem of the *Harst Kirn*, written in 1797, descriptive of the fun and frolic of a harvest-home in a farmhouse in Scotland, and which was published by Messrs. Brash and Reid, booksellers in Glasgow, in their series of *Poetry, Original and Selected*.

Having finished his apprenticeship during the same year, Thomas Mounsey Cunningham went to England to exercise his craft, and found employment in the workshop of a mill-wright in Rotherham. His employer having become bankrupt, he went to London, and was seriously thinking of trying his fortune in the West Indies, when his former employer, who had recommenced business at Lynn in Norfolk, invited him to return. He complied, and remained at Lynn until 1800, when he removed to Wiltshire, and soon after to the neighbourhood of Cambridge. Still prosecuting his employment and endeavouring to better his condition, he proceeded to Dover, and while there witnessed, in 1805, a sea engagement between our cruisers and the French flotilla. From Dover he subsequently went to London, where he occupied a situation in the establishment of Mr. Rennie, the celebrated engineer and his countryman, which he afterwards exchanged for that of foreman to Mr. Dickson, also an engineer, and superintendent of Fowler's chain-cable manufactory. In 1812, a clerkship in Rennie's establishment having become vacant, Thomas Cunningham was invited to occupy it, in consequence of which he went back to his former quarters, and there, latterly, became principal clerk, with a liberal salary, and permission to admit his eldest son as his assistant. This ended his manifold peregrinations and changes, which however had always been conducted prudently, and had led to advancement, until they finally located him in respectability and comfort, and where he had for his fellow-citizen his brother Allan, already beginning to be known in the literary world. Such a termination seldom falls to the lot of poet adventurers, especially if poetry is their sole dependence.

When he went to the south to "pouse his fortune," in 1797, Thomas Cunningham had been earnestly advised by his counsellor, Mr. Miller of Dalswinton, to abjure his indulgences in poetry—and with this difficult restriction he had so far complied, as to let his harp lie mute for nine long years. But after this penance he again ventured to touch the strings, and in 1806 he sent to the *Scots Magazine* several poetical

productions, which arrested attention, and were declared to be the best that had adorned its pages. Such was the opinion of Hogg himself, already a contributor to the magazine, who having discovered the author, addressed him in a highly complimentary epistle, to which the other replied in verse in the same journal. When the Ettrick Shepherd also planned the *Forest Minstrel* in 1809, and applied to his poetical friend for contributions, Cunningham permitted him to republish such of his productions as pleased him from the magazine, and these are the best poems in the *Forest Minstrel*, unless we except those of Hogg himself. But while Cunningham's fame as a poet was thus rising to a height that might have proved dangerous to his worldly advancement, a check occurred which induced him suddenly to pause. Some critical allusions to his style occurred in the *Scots Magazine*, and with these he was so highly offended that he again relapsed into poetical silence, which was continued for another nine years. It was only a still worse injury that made him at last speak out. One of his songs was published without his permission in the *Nithsdale Minstrel*, and incensed at this unhandsome act of *lifting*, he snatched up his pen to write a severe castigation of the publishers of the *Minstrel*, which appeared in the *Scots Magazine* of 1815. The flood-gates of his inspiration being thus opened anew, he continued to write, and in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, which was started in 1817 he contributed, under the title of the *Literary Legacy*, a miscellany or medley of things old and new, in prose and in verse, which were of popular interest, and highly advantageous to the periodical. Thus matters continued, until a slight difference with the editor reduced him once more to a moody silence, which this time was to be perpetual. It will be seen from these events, that he was not only touchy in taking offence, but obstinate in nursing the feud. During the latter period of his life he was so careful of the literary reputation he had won, that he held an annual "*auto de fe*" upon his productions both in prose and poetry written during the elapsed year, and those which did not satisfy him he consigned to the flames. But such deeds of arbitrary destruction are apt at times to be too hasty, and on one such occasion he destroyed the *Braken Fell*, one of the best of his compositions in verse, which contained a diverting description of the droll characters he had known and the scenes he had witnessed in his early days. The loss was irretrievable, and his brother Allan, who valued the poem very highly, deplored its hasty doom.

Although Cunningham was so capricious in literature, he was very different in the affairs of business: in these his industry, steadiness, and perseverance were so conspicuous, as to secure the confidence of his employers, and work his way from the rank of a mere workman to a position of respectability and comfort. He had indeed a double portion of that prudence which distinguished his brother Allan, so that instead of using literature as a crutch, or even a staff, he handled it as a switch, and could throw it lightly aside when there was work for both hands to do. It was this toying with poetry, and indifference to authorship as an occupation, which his friends, and especially the Ettrick Shepherd, so deeply regretted; but Thomas Cunningham persevered to the end in preferring the honourable substantialities of life to uncertain fame and the risk of starvation. He died of Asiatic cholera on the 28th of October, 1834, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. His larger poems are distinguished by drollery and grave Scottish humour, while his songs, which are the best specimens of his poetical powers, abound in forcible cor-

rect description, with deep feeling and tenderness. Among these was his *Hills of Galloway*, which was attributed successively to Robert Burns and James Hogg, before its real author was ascertained.

CUNNINGHAM, REV. WILLIAM, D.D., LL.D.

This profound theologian and distinguished controversialist, whose name is so closely connected with the origin of the Free Church, was born in the town of Hamilton in 1805. His father, who was a merchant, a word in the provincial towns of Scotland indicating a storekeeper or dealer in miscellaneous articles, dealt in drapery and hardware goods in Castle Wynd, Hamilton. He died, however, when William, the eldest of three sons, was only five years of age, leaving the family very scantily provided, in consequence of which the widow with her children was obliged to return to her father's house in Lesmahago. Here William was sent to school, the teacher of which was a sister's son of the poet Burns, and who still is teacher of the parochial school of Kinross. But the residence of the fatherless boy at Lesmahago was brief, for when he was only ten years of age his grandfather died, and Mrs. Cunningham was obliged to seek a new home. Her choice was naturally decided for Dunse, of which her brother was parish minister, and there William was educated for five more years at the school taught by a Mr. Maule. Having in this way acquired a knowledge of the branches of an ordinary education, and a sufficient acquaintanceship with classical learning to fit him for entrance into college, he went to Edinburgh in 1820, and at the age of fifteen became a student of the university.

From the foregoing account it can easily be surmised that the college career of William Cunningham was not to be an easy one. Unpatronized and unaided, he had encountered in mere boyhood the task of a man, and while making himself a scholar, must labour for his own support. But no one who saw him in after-life—who noted his resolute features and bold straightforward bearing, that made way through every difficulty, like a ship in its course—could believe him likely to fail either through indolence or faint-heartedness. While at college he maintained himself by working as a tutor and private teacher, and while thus labouring to make others good scholars, he perfected his own classical attainments; thus also he trained himself to encounter those difficulties which, in future years, he saw, faced, and overcame. The champion of the disruption, which was like the rending of the pillars of Hercules, was not to be nursed upon a bed of down and a silken pillow. We need not follow his course of education from class to class at college; his was a silent unostentatious character, that did not parade its intellectual attainments; but his early diligence, and the proficiency that rewarded it, were strikingly indicated in the full equipment with which, when still young, he entered the field, and distanced every rival. Having finished the *curriculum* prescribed by the rules of the Church of Scotland, he was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Dunse in 1828. He was now a probationer; but like many others of unrecognized talent and unfulfilled renown, he might have remained a probationer for years, had it not been for a circumstance which the world would call fortunate, and the more reflective providential. Early in 1829 the Rev. Dr. Scott, minister of the West Church, Greenock, having been disabled from his clerical duties by paralysis, engaged Mr. Cunningham as an assistant, and in this capacity he became so popular with the congregation, that they soon after wished the temporary tie to be made permanent. This was done,

and, as colleague and successor to Dr. Scott, Mr. Cunningham became one of the ministers of Greenock.

It was thus as a popular preacher, and owing to no other advantage, that at the age of twenty-four he secured that suffrage in his favour which forms the great mark of pulpit ambition, and passed almost at a single step from an unnoticed student into an eloquent and popular divine. And yet he was no mere pulpit declaimer, but a cool investigator and stubborn reasoner—a theologian who went to the root of the matter, and presented it to his hearers as he found it; and when his preaching rose into vehement fervour, which it often did, it was a logician's rather than an orator's earnestness and wrath. That such a kind of preaching should be so captivating, was owing to the peculiar character and circumstances of those who sat under his ministry. The people of Greenock are a cool, calculating, matter-of-fact generation, unaccustomed to the blandishments of oratory, and not likely to care for it though it should address them with the voice of the charmer. They had also been indoctrinated in a stern demonstrative theology first by Dr. Love, and afterwards by Dr. Scott, who had been their favourite clerical teachers, and whose substantial preaching was suited to their characters and wants. Thus the place and people had been prepared for Mr. Cunningham, whose "deep preaching" had found its proper sphere. After this explanation, it will not be wondered at that he who had been the most popular of preachers in Greenock, should have been afterwards one of the least popular in Edinburgh. There every circumstance was reversed. In modern as in ancient Athens, the citizens were employed in hearing or telling some new thing, and with them the theology of their fathers had become somewhat effete. They must have—not a *new* theology, for as yet they were too orthodox for that, but the old dressed up so as to look as good as new, and be accommodated to the prevalent fashion. But to such a dainty transmutation Cunningham could not, and would not succumb; and was therefore obliged to content himself in Edinburgh with a choice but diminished audience.

Irrespective of mere popular dislike or indifference, such merit as Mr. Cunningham's could not long be hid, and the time was at hand when its worth was to be recognized and called into full exercise. An attempt was made to have him as one of the ministers of Glasgow, by the town-council of that city, to which the patronage of its churches belongs, but this he respectfully declined. But in 1833, when he was elected a member of the General Assembly, the young minister of Greenock seemed to find himself in his proper sphere; and his talents in ecclesiastical debate were so remarkable, as to arrest general attention, and secure the favour of the church party to which he belonged. It was well, too, that such recognition occurred, as the conflict had already commenced in the Church of Scotland which was to deepen with every year, and only to terminate with the disruption. The general desire was to secure his services for Edinburgh, and in 1834 he was translated to the capital as minister of Trinity College Church.

Being now at the head-quarters of the great ecclesiastical controversy, Dr. Cunningham was a power that was speedily felt both by his own party, called the evangelical, and the opposite, termed the moderate; and his opposition to patronage, and advocacy of the rights of the people in choosing their own ministers, were conducted with a clearness and force of argument, and a knowledge of church history, which his opponents felt to be irresistible; so that few could sustain a stand-up combat with this

logical Titan. Into the particulars, however, of the ten years that followed we do not enter, as this would be to give a detail of the history of the disruption, and the erection of the separate Free Church of Scotland. It is enough to state, that in every stage of that protracted contest he was an influential leader, and in every debate a matchless disputant. To the charms of oratory or the graces of elocution he made no pretence whatever; and as for the poetry or sentimentality of the subject, one might as soon have expected a sprinkling of rose-water from the trunk of an elephant. He dealt in hard facts and naked ideas, and every word beyond these was in his eyes a superfluity or a gewgaw. His forte lay in the skill with which he stripped the question of every redundant or perplexing adjunct; the firmness with which he grasped the leading idea, let it twist or lubricate as it might; and the clear, concise, and forcible language with which he described it or settled it, according as the occasion might require. And that his definitions were exact, and his demonstrations sound, was shown by the audience that listened and the effects of his pleading. In the General Assembly were usually comprised the most learned, the most accomplished and talented men of the kingdom; their national circumspection was sharpened by the importance of the topics and the consequences that depended on them; and any attempts in sophistry would have been certain of detection and exposure, and a ground of jubilant triumph. But through this terrible ordeal Dr. Cunningham passed, not only unscathed, but victorious.

When the tedious conflict ended in the retirement of the dissentients, and the establishment of the Free Church with all the apparatus of a national institution, Dr. Cunningham was appropriately appointed professor of church history in the new college which was forthwith instituted for the education of a Free Church ministry. It was a situation every way congenial to the occupant and the fame he had already acquired in that department of knowledge; and his efficiency as a teacher of church history was displayed by the new impulse he gave to the study of that long-neglected department of knowledge, and the enthusiasm with which his lectures were received by his pupils. Among other institutions of a literary character set on foot by the Free Church at its commencement, was the establishment of the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*—a magazine which almost instantly occupied a high place among the quarterlies of the day, and of this important publication Dr. Cunningham was editor for several years. After he retired from that office, he still continued to contribute articles to it, chiefly on the history of theological controversy. On the death of Dr. Chalmers, in 1847, Dr. Cunningham was appointed principal of the Free Church College; and in 1859 he was elected moderator of the Free Church General Assembly. After this, although little more than the noon of life had passed, while his strong Herculean frame and vigorous step gave promise that a long career lay still before him, his friends were alarmed by the symptoms of a rapid decay that suddenly commenced, and defect in his eyesight gave notice that life and its toil would soon be closed. These indications were but too certain, and he died in Edinburgh on the 14th of December, 1861.

The life of Dr. Cunningham, although so unostentatious and so little marked by events and changes, was too important in its consequences for a brief record; and we rejoice to learn that the task of writing a full memoir of the man we so greatly admired, has been undertaken by a friend and kinsman, to whose kindness we have chiefly been in-

debted for the preceding notices. As an author, Dr. C. will be chiefly distinguished by his posthumous works. His lectures on church history were left in excellent order for publication, and of these, three volumes have already issued from the press, under the supervision of two of his learned coadjutors in the Free Church College.

CURRIE, JAMES, M.D., an eminent physician of Liverpool, was born May 31, 1756, in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Dumfriesshire. His father was the minister of that parish, but obtained, soon after the birth of his son, the living of Middlebie. His mother was Jane Boyd, a woman of superior understanding, but who unfortunately died of consumption shortly after their removal to Middlebie. Young Currie was the only son in a family of seven children. Having been at an early age deprived of his mother, his aunt, Miss Duncan, kindly undertook the management of the family. To the anxious care which Miss Duncan took of his early education, Currie owed many of those virtues which adorned his after-life. He commenced his education at the parochial school of Middlebie, and at the age of thirteen was removed to Dumfries and placed in the seminary of the learned Dr. Chapman, where he remained for upwards of two years. He was originally intended for the profession of medicine, but having accompanied his father in a visit to Glasgow, he was so much delighted with the bustle and commercial activity displayed in that city, that he obtained his father's consent to betake himself to a mercantile life; and accordingly he entered the service of a company of American merchants. This, as frequently happens, where the wishes of an inexperienced young man are too readily yielded to, proved a very unfortunate change. He sailed for Virginia just at the commencement of those disputes with the American colonies which terminated in their independence, and the commercial embarrassment and losses which were occasioned by the consequent interruption of trade have been offered as an apology for the harsh and ungenerous manner in which Currie was treated by his employers. To add to his distress, he fell sick of a dangerous illness, and before he was completely restored to health he had the misfortune to lose his father, who left his family in very narrow circumstances. Young Currie, with that generosity and sanguine disregard of the difficulties of his situation which formed so remarkable a feature in his character, immediately on learning of the death of his father, and of the scanty provision made for his sisters, divided among them the small portion which fell to his share. And, disgusted with the hardships he had encountered in the commencement of his mercantile education, he determined to renounce the pursuits of commerce. For a time he seems to have turned his attention to politics, writing several papers on the then all-engrossing subject of the quarrel between Great Britain and America. At length, however, he saw the necessity of making choice of some profession; and, led by the advice of his near relation Dr. Currie, of Richmond, New Carolina, with whom he was then living, he determined to resume his original intention of studying medicine. In pursuance of this plan he proceeded to Britain, returning home by the West Indies; being prevented by the war from taking a more direct route. After encountering many difficulties, he reached London in 1776, having been absent from his native country for five years. From London he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he prosecuted his studies with unremitting assiduity until the year 1780. He early became conspicuous among his fellow-students by

his talents. As a member of the medical society he greatly distinguished himself, and the papers which he read before that body not only give evidence of his superior abilities, but afford an interesting proof that, even at that early period, he had given his attention to those subjects in his profession which he afterwards so fully and ably illustrated.

Although the rapid progress he was making in his studies, and the high station he held among his contemporaries, rendered a continuance at college very desirable, still Currie was too deeply impressed with the necessity of attaining independence and of freeing his sisters and aunt of the burden of his support, not to make every exertion to push himself into employment. Accordingly, having procured an introduction to General Sir William Erskine, he obtained from that officer an ensigncy in his regiment, with the situation of surgeon's mate attached to it. He does not appear, however, to have availed himself of these appointments; for, learning that a medical staff was about to be formed in Jamaica, he hurried to Glasgow, where he obtained a degree as a physician; his attendance at college having been insufficient to enable him to graduate at the university of Edinburgh. Having got his degree, and having furnished himself with numerous introductions, he proceeded to London, in the hope of obtaining an appointment in the West India establishment. But, on reaching the capital, he found that all the appointments were already filled up. Although disappointed in obtaining an official situation, he still determined to sail to Jamaica, with the intention of establishing himself there in private practice; or, failing that, to proceed to Richmond, and join his kinsman Dr. Currie. He was induced, however, by the persuasion of his friends in London, to abandon this plan, even after his passage to Jamaica had been taken out. They strongly urged him to establish himself in one of the large provincial towns of England; for, from the high estimate which they had formed of his abilities and professional acquirements, they were convinced that he would speedily raise himself to eminence in his profession. In accordance with this view he proceeded to Liverpool in October, 1780. He was induced to select that town in consequence of a vacancy having occurred there by the removal of Dr. Dobson to Bath. But, even without such an opening, it is evident that, to a young physician of talent and enterprise, a wealthy and rapidly increasing commercial town like Liverpool holds out peculiar advantages, and great facilities for getting into practice, where the continual fluctuation of society presents an open field for professional abilities, widely different from that of more stationary communities. Hence, as had been anticipated, Dr. Currie's talents and gentlemanly manners brought him rapidly into practice; although on his first arrival he was an utter stranger in Liverpool, and only found access to society there by the introductions he brought with him. His success was early confirmed by being elected one of the physicians to the Infirmary, and strengthened by his marriage, in the year 1783, to Miss Lucy Wallace, the daughter of a respectable merchant of Liverpool.

Although busily engaged in the arduous duties of his profession, Dr. Currie yet found time to cultivate literature. A similarity of tastes having led to an intimacy with the well-known Mr. Roscoe, Dr. Currie and Mr. Roscoe, along with Mr. William Rathbone, formed a literary club, which deserves to be remembered as being the first of those numerous literary institutions by which Liverpool is now so creditably distinguished.

The pulmonary affection under which Dr. Currie

began to suffer about this time has been ascribed to the fatigue and the night journeys to which he was exposed in his attendance on the sick-bed of his friend Dr. Bell, of Manchester. His first attack was so violent as completely to incapacitate him for business; and finding no mitigation of the paroxysms of the hectic fever, except in travelling, he undertook a journey to Bristol; but unfortunately the good effects which the change might otherwise have produced were neutralized by the distressing circumstance of his arriving just in time to witness the death of his sister; the second who had, within the year, fallen a victim to the same disease under which he was himself labouring. Deriving no benefit from his residence in Bristol, he removed to Matlock, in the hope that the drier air and the hot baths of that inland town would prove more beneficial. Disappointed in this expectation, he resolved to try the effect of his native air; and in the hope of again seeing a third sister who was sinking under the disease so fatal to his family, he made a hurried journey to Scotland. As regarded his health, his expectations were wonderfully gratified: for when he reached Dumfriesshire he was so much recruited, that he was able to ride on horseback for an hour at a time; but he was too late to see his sister, who was conveyed to the grave on the very day of his arrival. Notwithstanding this distressing event, his native air and exercise on horseback proved so beneficial, that, after remaining a few weeks at Moffat, he returned to Liverpool on horseback, varying his journey by visiting the lakes of Cumberland. In this journey he was able to ride forty miles on the day on which he reached Liverpool. A very interesting account of Dr. Currie's illness and recovery will be found in the second volume of Darwin's *Zoonomia*.

The first work which, after his recovery, Dr. Currie undertook, was a translation of his friend Dr. Bell's inaugural dissertation. This he did at the request of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, and it was published in the society's *Transactions*. The translation was accompanied by several valuable notes, and a short biographical sketch of the author; in which Dr. Currie appears to have given a very correct and impartial delineation of his friend's character. The elegance of the style and execution of this work gained for Dr. Currie very considerable reputation as an author.

On being elected member of the Medical Society of London, he communicated an essay (published in the society's *Transactions*) on *Tetanus and Convulsive Disorders*. In the year following he presented to the Royal Society a paper giving *An Account of the Remarkable Effect of Shipwreck on Mariners, with Experiments and Observations on the Influence of Immersion in Fresh and Salt Water, Hot and Cold, on the Powers of the Body*, which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* of that year, and which may be regarded as introductory to a more mature production which appeared in 1792, under the title of *Medical Reports on the Effects of Water, Cold and Warm, as a Remedy for Fever and other Diseases, whether applied to the Surface of the Body or used Internally*; a work on which Dr. Currie's fame as a medical author principally rests. Immediately on its publication it attracted the attention not only of the profession, but of the public in general. But the practice which it recommended not having been found uniformly successful, and being repugnant to the preconceived notions on the subject, it fell gradually into disrepute. Still, however, cold ablutions

in fever is unquestionably a remedy of great power, and has been found very salutary when used with judgment, particularly in the violent fevers of tropical climates. That the practice has hitherto been less successful than it should be, arises from its having been often resorted to by the patients themselves, and from its being prescribed by the ignorant too late in the hot stage of the fever. The profession, therefore, is deeply indebted to Dr. Currie for the introduction of this practice; which, in skilful hands, has proved most efficacious, and has been the means of saving many lives.

Dr. Currie on several occasions indulged himself in writing on political topics; but by some remarkable fatality, although by no means a consistent adherent to one side, he invariably took the unpopular side of the question. While in America, he had defended the mother country against the colonies. He afterwards joined in the *no Popery* enthusiasm during the disgraceful riots raised by Lord George Gordon, bringing himself into disrepute by the ill-chosen time he took to indulge in a cry which was otherwise popular with the best classes of society. And the principles which he advocated in his *Letter, Commercial and Political, addressed to the Right Hon. William Pitt*, under the assumed name of Jasper Wilson, raised him a host of enemies, by whom he was attacked in the most violent and scurrilous manner.

While on an excursion to Dumfriesshire on account of his health, Dr. Currie made the acquaintance of Robert Burns, the Scottish poet; and, like all who had the good fortune to meet that extraordinary man, he became one of his enthusiastic admirers. On the death of Burns, when the friends of the poet were exerting themselves to raise his family from the state of abject poverty in which it had been left, they strongly urged Dr. Currie to become his editor and biographer, to which he at length consented; and, in the year 1800 he published, for the behoof of the poet's family, *The Works of Robert Burns, with an Account of his Life, and Criticisms on his Writings; to which are Prefixed some Observations on the Character and Condition of the Scottish Peasantry*. It is by this work that Dr. Currie has established his fame in the republic of letters. He has, at the same time, by the manner in which he has accomplished his task, conferred a lasting favour on all who can appreciate the language and beauties of our national poet.

Although Dr. Currie had been restored to comparative good health after his first attack of illness in 1784, still from that period he continued to be subject to pulmonary threatenings; but it was not until the year 1804 that his constitution gave way so as to force him to retire from his professional duties in Liverpool. In the hope that his native air might again restore him to health, he made a journey to Scotland; but deriving no benefit from the change, he returned to England, and spent the ensuing winter alternately at Clifton and Bath. For a time his health seemed to recruit, and he was even enabled to resume his professional avocations in the latter city; but on his complaints returning with increased violence, he, with that restlessness incident to consumption, removed to Sidmouth, where he died, 31st August, 1805, in the fiftieth year of his age.

Dr. Currie was of a kind and affectionate disposition, and he was active and judicious in his benevolence. To his strenuous exertions Liverpool owes many of the charitable and literary institutions of which it can now boast.

D.

DALE, DAVID. This eminent philanthropist was born in Stewarton, Ayrshire, on the 6th of January, 1739. His ancestors are said to have been farmers in that district for several hundred years; but his father, Mr. William Dale,¹ was a grocer and general dealer in the town. David received the education which was usually given at that period in the small towns of Scotland. His first employment was the herding of cattle. He was afterwards apprenticed in Paisley to the weaving business, at this time the most lucrative trade in the country; but it appears that he disliked the sedentary occupation, and on one occasion left his employment abruptly. He afterwards, however, wrought at the weaving trade in Hamilton and the neighbourhood of Cambuslang. He subsequently removed to Glasgow, and became clerk to a silk-mercant. With the assistance of friends he commenced business on his own account in the linen yarn trade, which he carried on for many years, importing large quantities of French yarns from Flanders, which brought him large profits, and laid the foundation of his fortune.² Mr. Dale had been about twenty years in business in Glasgow when Sir Richard Arkwright's patent inventions for the improvement of cotton-spinning were introduced into England. Sir Richard visited Glasgow in 1783, and was entertained by the bankers, merchants, and manufacturers at a public dinner, and next day started with Mr. Dale for the purpose of inspecting the waterfalls on the Clyde, with a view to erect works adapted to his improvements. A site was fixed on, and the buildings of the New Lanark cotton-mills were immediately commenced. Arrangements were at the same time made betwixt Sir Richard and Mr. Dale for the use of the patent of the former. Mechanics were sent to England to be instructed in the nature of the machinery and the process of the manufactures; but, in the meanwhile, Arkwright's patent having been challenged, and the courts of law having decided against its validity, Mr. Dale was thus relieved of all claim for patent right, and the connection betwixt him and Arkwright was consequently dissolved, the business being now entirely his own. Considerable opposition to the erection of these works was offered by the landed proprietors in the neighbourhood, from an unfounded apprehension that the privacy of their demesnes would be invaded by the introduction of a multitude of work-people into that rural district; and, more especially, that fresh burdens would be entailed upon them for the support of the poor. Their forebodings, however, were not realized when the mills were put in operation. The works gave employment to great numbers of peaceable and industrious operatives, who, instead of burdening the land, contributed to enhance its value by consuming its produce. Finding, likewise, that the mills were yielding large returns to

the proprietor, many landlords soon evinced a desire to have similar establishments on their own estates. The capabilities of the steam-engine for impelling cotton machinery were not yet known; spinning-mills, therefore, could only be erected profitably where there were powerful waterfalls. Many of the landed proprietors in Scotland availed themselves of Mr. Dale's practical knowledge and advice as to establishing mills on properties where such facilities existed. He was instrumental in this way in the erection, amongst others, of the extensive mills at Catrine, on the banks of the river Ayr, and at Spinningdale, on the firth of Dornoch, in Sutherlandshire. In several of the new works he had a pecuniary interest as co-partner. Besides the spinning of cotton yarn at New Lanark, Mr. Dale was largely concerned in the manufacture of cotton-cloth in Glasgow.³ In connection with Mr. George M'Intosh, and Monsieur Papillon, a Frenchman, he established, in 1783, the first works in Scotland for the dyeing of cotton turkey-red. He was a partner in an inkle-factory; also in the Blantyre cotton-mills, and at a later period of his life held a large share in the Stanley cotton-mills.

He continued, meanwhile, his original business of importing Flanders yarn; and, in addition to all these sources of income, when the Royal Bank of Scotland established a branch of its business in Glasgow in 1783, he was appointed its sole agent, an office which he held till within a few years of his death, when, upon its business becoming much extended, an additional agent was named to act jointly with him. The individual who, some thirty or forty years before, was a little herd-boy at Stewarton was now sole proprietor of, or connected as a managing partner with, several of the most extensive mercantile, manufacturing, and banking concerns of the country, the proper conducting of any one of which would have absorbed the entire powers of most other men. Not so, however, with the subject of our memoir; for we find him successfully conducting, with strict commercial integrity, all the important enterprises in which he was embarked, together with others not included in this enumeration; besides devoting time and money to various benevolent schemes, and discharging the onerous duties of a magistrate of the city of Glasgow, to which he was elected, first in 1791, and again in 1794; moreover, every Lord's-day, and sometimes on other days, preaching the gospel to a Congregational church, of which he was one of the elders.⁴ Mr. Dale was eminently qualified to sustain the numerous and varied offices which he had thus undertaken; every duty being attended to in its own place and at the proper time, he was never overburdened with work, nor did he ever appear to be in a hurry.

The first erected, and at that time the only mill at New Lanark, was accidentally burned to the ground a few weeks after it had begun to produce spun

¹ Mr. William Dale was twice married; by his first marriage he had two sons, David and Hugh; and by his second, one son, the late James Dale, Esq., whose son is now an eminent merchant in Glasgow.

² Mr. Dale's shop was then in the High Street, five doors north of the corner at the Cross. He paid £5 of rent, but thinking this an extravagant rent, he sub-let the one half of it to a watchmaker for fifty shillings. But in 1783, when he was appointed agent for the Royal Bank of Scotland, the watchmaker's part was turned into the bank office, where the business of that establishment was conducted till about 1790, when it was removed to large premises, south-east corner of St. Andrew's Square.

³ Under the firm of Dale, Campbell, Reid, and Dale, viz. Mr. Dale himself, Mr. Campbell, his brother-in-law, Mr. Andrew Reid, and Mr. David Dale, junr., his nephew.

⁴ The Congregational church here referred to, and the other churches in Scotland and England in connection with it, give the Scripture name of "elder" to that office which most other denominations designate by the title of "minister" or "pastor." In every such church, where circumstances are favourable, there is a plurality of elders, most of whom continue to follow the occupations in which they were engaged previously to being called to office.

yarn, for which there was a great demand. When intelligence of this event reached Glasgow, many thought that a stop would be put to all further operations in that quarter. Mr. Dale heard the intelligence with calmness, formed his resolutions, proceeded to the ground to inspect the ruins, and instantly issued orders to re-erect the premises which had been consumed. The new mill was speedily reconstructed, and the manufacture proceeded with fresh energy.

Although comfortable dwellings were erected at the village of New Lanark for the workers, and good wages and constant employment insured, great difficulty was felt in getting the spinning-mill filled with operatives. There was, indeed, no want of unemployed work-people; for the change of commercial relations caused by the first American war, then raging, very much limited the labour demand, and many, especially from the Highland districts, were in consequence emigrating. It arose from prejudice on the part of the people, more particularly in the Lowlands, against all factory labour. Parents would neither work themselves nor allow their children to enter the mills. In this dilemma Mr. Dale offered employment to a number of Highland families who were emigrating from the Hebrides to America, but had been driven by stress of weather into Greenock, and most of them availed themselves of the opening for securing a comfortable livelihood in their native land. The Celts appearing to have less repugnance to factory labour than their countrymen in the south, agents were sent to the Highlands, who engaged many other families to become workers at New Lanark; but as the mills were at last increased to four, there was still a deficient supply of labour, especially in the department best served by youths, and recourse was had to the poor-houses of Glasgow and Edinburgh, from which orphan and other pauper children were obtained, and whose moral and religious education was combined with their industrial training. From these sources were the workers in the mill and the villagers of New Lanark chiefly drawn, forming a population which at all periods of its history, has commended itself for decent and orderly behaviour.

After Mr. Dale had been in business several years, but before he had engaged in any of the large concerns now described, he, in September, 1777, married Miss Ann Caroline Campbell, daughter of John Campbell, Esq., W.S., Edinburgh. It is not known whether this lady brought him any fortune, but there is reason to suppose that her father's connection with the Royal Bank of Scotland, as a director, led to Mr. Dale's appointment as agent of that establishment in Glasgow, and thus increased his commercial credit and command of capital. Miss Campbell, who had been brought up in the same religious connection with her husband, was also of one heart and mind with him in all his schemes of benevolence. She was the mother of seven children, whom she trained up in the fear of the Lord. Mrs. Dale died in January, 1791. Mr. Dale did not again marry.

It was, of course, not to be expected that all the undertakings in which Mr. Dale was embarked should prove equally successful. One at least was a total failure. It was generally understood that he lost about £20,000 in sinking a coal-pit in the lands of Barrowfield, the coal never having been reached, owing to the soil being a running quicksand, which could not be overcome, although the shaft was laid with iron cylinders. Messrs. Robert Tennant and David Tod were his copartners in this unfortunate project; but they together held a comparatively small share. Mr. Dale was, however, eminently success-

ful on the whole, and had acquired a large fortune. In 1799, being then in his sixty-first year, and nearly his fortieth in business, he resolved on freeing himself of at least a portion of his commercial responsibilities. The mills at Lanark had been uniformly prosperous, yielding returns larger perhaps than any other of his concerns; yet, possibly from his being sole proprietor, and in circumstances to relinquish them without delay, he at once disposed of these extensive and valuable works. Mr. Robert Owen, then a young man residing in Lancashire, was in Glasgow on a visit, and being previously known to Mr. Dale as having, by his talent and persevering industry, raised himself from humble circumstances to be manager of an extensive spinning-mill at Chorlton, he consulted with him as to the propriety of selling the works. The information thus obtained by Mr. Owen convinced him of the profitable nature of the trade, and led him to form a company of English capitalists, who purchased the property at £66,000, and carried on the business for several years, under the firm of the Chorlton Spinning Company, of which Mr. Owen was appointed manager. This situation he held from 1799 to 1827, but not all the time in the same partnership. During the twenty-eight years the mills were under Mr. Owen's management, they cleared of nett profit about £360,000, after having laid aside a sum nearly equal to five per cent. on the paid-up capital. Mr. Owen, some time after his settlement at New Lanark, married Mr. Dale's eldest daughter, with whom he received a large portion.

The above-named company continued to work with profit the Lanark mills from 1799 to 1813, when the property again changed ownership. During the copartnership, most of the English partners sold their interest to Glasgow merchants, who consequently held the largest share at the close of the contract. It appears that by this time (1814) the partners and the manager had each resolved to get rid of the other; and both parties were bent on retaining, if possible, possession of the mills. Mr. Owen had now begun to promulgate some of his peculiar theories; and, for the purpose of carrying them into practice, had constructed the spacious and substantial building at New Lanark, without, it is said, receiving the formal consent of the partners, some of whom disapproved of his schemes. It was resolved to dispose of the property by public roup; and Mr. Owen meanwhile succeeded in forming a new company, which, when the day of sale arrived, became the purchasers, after considerable competition, at the cost of £112,000. When security was required for this large sum, the names of William Allen, Joseph Fox, Robert Owen, Jeremy Bentham, John Walker, and Michael Gibbs, Esquires, were handed in as the partners of the New Lanark Cotton-mill Company.

The education of the common people was at this period occupying much attention. Joseph Lancaster had introduced his method of instructing large numbers at little expense. His Quaker brethren warmly espoused the cause, which speedily excited universal interest, from the highest to the humblest. Mr. Owen entered heartily into the movement, which he advocated on the platform in Glasgow, and towards which he contributed £1000 to the Glasgow subscription alone out of his private funds. His zeal in the cause no doubt recommended him to the benevolent individuals who became his partners; and it is also to be observed, that he had not yet avowed the infidel principles which were destined to give him such unenviable notoriety in future years. The new copartnership laid down, as the basis of its

union, an article rarely to be found in commercial contracts, namely, "That all profits made in the concern beyond five per cent. per annum on the capital invested, shall be laid aside for the religious, educational, and moral improvement of the workers, and of the community at large." And, as appears from the *Memoir of William Allen*, provision was made "for the religious education of all the children of the labourers employed in the works, and that nothing should be introduced tending to disparage the Christian religion, or undervalue the authority of the Holy Scriptures; that no books should be introduced into the library until they had first been approved of at a general meeting of the partners; that schools should be established on the best models of the British, or other approved systems, to which the partners might agree; but no religious instruction, or lessons on religion, should be used, except the Scriptures, according to the authorized version, or extracts therefrom, without note or comment; and that the children should not be employed in the mills belonging to the partnership until they were of such an age as not to be prejudicial to their health." The pious and benevolent founder of the establishment had, in like manner, provided schools and schoolmasters for the education of the workers and their children, and had maintained these throughout the successive changes in the copartnership.

Mr. Owen, being thus vested with great powers and ample means for the most enlarged benevolence, started, under the auspices of the newly-formed company, on an extensive educational plan, embracing, in addition to the ordinary school instruction, the higher branches of science. He gave lessons in military tactics, and caused the workmen to march in order to and from school and workshop in rank and file to the sound of drum and file—a sort of training rather alien to the anti-warlike predilections of his Quaker copartners. He attempted also to introduce Socialist principles, and became himself a prominent leader of that party, which had hitherto been scarcely heard of in the country. He contributed largely in money for the purchase of an estate in the neighbouring parish of Motherwell, and to erect on it a huge building distinguished by the name of New Harmony. In this institution, which soon went to pieces, society was to be reconstituted on Socialist principles, with a community of goods. The partners of Owen were grieved at his folly, and the public shared in their disappointment and regret. He nevertheless pursued his own course, and the consequence was the retirement from the company of those members who had joined it from philanthropic motives, and the abandonment of their admirably-conceived plan of raising up an intelligent, right-principled, and well-conditioned factory population at New Lanark. Mr. Owen continued in connection with the mills till 1827; but during the greater part of his latter years he was occupied in propagating his visionary schemes of infidelity in England and America, in which he spent a princely fortune derived from the profits of the business. Mr. Owen of late years resided chiefly in London, and his children in the United States of America. Mrs. Owen did not adopt the infidel principles of her husband; on the contrary, soon after she had ascertained the nature of his sentiment, she openly avowed her faith in the Lord Jesus, connected herself with the church of which her father had been an elder, and adorned her Christian profession till her death in 1832.

As a retreat from the bustle of a city life, about the year 1800, when his advancing years required repose, Mr. Dale purchased Rosebank—a small

landed property and dwelling-house on the banks of Clyde, about four miles east of Glasgow. He was in his sixty-first year when his connection with the Lanark mills ceased. Having acquired a handsome competency, he resolved on winding up his other business affairs; but the nature of his contracts and copartnerships rendered it impossible to free his estate from responsibility till some years after his death. But whilst gradually withdrawing from other business engagements, he most unaccountably, through the influence of Mr. Owen, became a partner in the Stanley Cotton Mill Company—a connection which caused him much uneasiness during the latter years of his life, and is said to have involved him in a loss of £60,000.

Having seceded from the Established church, and joined the Independent communion, Mr. Dale, in 1769, undertook among them the office of minister, in which he continued until his death, thirty-seven years afterwards. When we turn from the survey of Mr. Dale's multifarious duties as the pastor of a pretty numerous church, to his active charities as a philanthropist, we are left to wonder how he could find time and strength to go through with the many duties he took in hand. We find him at an early period regularly visiting Bridewell, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the convicts; and his example in this respect was long followed by his colleagues in the church. He every year made excursions to distant parts of the country, visiting and comforting the churches with which he stood connected.

Although Mr. Dale shunned the ostentatious display of benevolence, yet his liberality could not always be hid. The present generation have at times had to pay very high prices for the necessaries of life, yet no dread of famine, or even partial scarcity, at least in Scotland, has been entertained for at least half a century. Not so, however, during Mr. Dale's time; for at that period the poor had occasionally to pay ransom prices for food, and even at these prices it sometimes could not be obtained. In the dearth of 1782, 1791-93, and in 1799, Mr. Dale imported, at his own risk, large quantities of food from Ireland, America, and the continent of Europe. To effect this, he chartered ships for the special purpose. The food thus brought in he retailed to the poor at prime cost, thereby in great measure averting the threatened famine, and preventing a still greater advance in prices.

In addition to the benefits, spiritual and temporal, conferred on his countrymen at home, he engaged with the same ardour in most of the schemes then in operation for extending a knowledge of the gospel of peace in foreign countries, especially those which had for their object the translation and circulation of the Word of God. The proposal to translate the Scriptures into the various languages of our eastern empire, as projected and accomplished by the Baptist Missionary Society, had his hearty support from the outset. Mr. Andrew Fuller, of Kettering, who travelled for the purpose of collecting funds for this object, was kindly received by Mr. Dale, and from him received large contributions for the cause. In Mr. Fuller's sermon on covetousness, preached some time after Mr. Dale's death, and printed in the fourth volume of his works, when enjoining on his hearers *who have*, to give of their abundance, and to do so liberally, he says, "The poor people of Glasgow used to say of a late great and good man of that city—'David Dale gives his money by sho'elsful, but God Almighty sho'els it back again.'"

After the sale of the Lanark mills, till his death six years thereafter, Mr. Dale in great measure retired

from business pursuits. During this time he gave an hour or two daily to attendance at the bank, and the winding up of his own private concerns occupied an equal share of his attention; but at no period of his life were his public and private acts of benevolence, or his duties in the pastoral office, more attended to than at this time. For some months before February, 1806, it was seen that his health and strength were failing. About the 1st of March of that year he was confined to bed, and died in peace on the 17th day of the same month, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, in his house, Charlotte Street, Glasgow. In his last illness he frequently expressed his confidence as resting on the fulness, freeness, and simplicity of the gospel truth which he had for so long a period preached to others. His remains were interred in St. David's Church burying-ground. No sculptured marble marks the place where all that is mortal of this good man reposes. The spot is indicated by a hewn stone built into the east boundary-wall, inclosed by an iron railing, about midway betwixt the south and north corner of the ground, having on it the following plain inscription:—"The burying-ground of David Dale, merchant, Glasgow, 1780." The establishment of the branch of the Royal Bank in Glasgow in 1783 proved to be of great service in promoting the trade of the city, especially in the manufacture of cotton goods, which made rapid progress from that date. Mr. Dale's management of the bank business was never objected to; he was discriminating and liberal in granting loans to the industrious prudent trader, while he had the firmness to resist the advances of the mere speculator. An anecdote has been preserved illustrative of his feelings and humanity towards an unfortunate individual who had committed forgery. A young man presented a draft for discount, which Mr. Dale considered to be a forged document; he sent for the young man, and in private informed him of his suspicions; the fact was acknowledged. Mr. Dale then pointed out to him the risk he put his life in by such an act, destroyed the bill, that no proof of his guilt should remain, and finding that he had been led to it by pecuniary difficulties, gave him some money, and dismissed him with a suitable admonition. In regard to his usefulness as a preacher of the gospel, the late Dr. Wardlaw used to say of Mr. Dale, that he was a most scriptural and instructive teacher of a Christian church. He had not acquired in early life a knowledge of the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written, but this lack was amply supplied by application in after-life. He could read with understanding the Hebrew and Greek; the Old and New Testaments were frequently, perhaps daily, studied by him in these languages. His public discourses were sententious. For several years before his death his pulpit services were listened to by many who came on purpose to hear his preaching.

Various estimates of the fortune which Mr. Dale had realized were made about the period of his death; the probability is, that one and all were far wide of the truth. A vast amount of his effects consisted in mill buildings and machinery, which are of a very fluctuating value. A considerable part too was locked up in business concerns in operation, of which he was copartner, some of which were not closed for many years; and some of these proved to be very unprofitable. The exact, or even estimated amount, was never made known to the public; but it must, at the period referred to, have been very considerable. From the losses sustained in winding up, however, it is generally understood that a large portion was swept away, and that but a comparatively small part came ultimately to his family.

DALGARNO, GEORGE,¹ an almost forgotten, but most meritorious and original writer, was born in Old Aberdeen about the year 1626. He appears to have studied at Marischal College, New Aberdeen, but for what length of time, or with what objects, is wholly unknown. In 1657 he went to Oxford, where, according to Anthony Wood, he taught a private grammar-school with good success for about thirty years. He died of a fever on the 28th of August, 1687, and was buried, says the same author, "in the north body of the church of St. Mary Magdalen." Such is the scanty biography that has been preserved of a man who lived in friendship with the most eminent philosophers of his day, and who, besides other original speculations, had the singular merit of anticipating, more than a hundred and thirty years ago, some of the most profound conclusions of the present age respecting the education of the deaf and dumb. His work upon this subject is entitled *Didascalocophus, or the Deaf and Dumb Man's Tutor*, and was printed in a very small volume at Oxford in 1680. He states the design of it to be to bring the way of teaching a deaf man to read and write, as near as possible to that of teaching young ones to speak and understand their mother tongue. "In prosecution of this general idea," says an eminent philosopher of the present day, who has, on more than one occasion, done his endeavour to rescue the name of Dalgarno from oblivion, "he has treated in one short chapter of a *deaf man's dictionary*; and, in another, of a *grammar for deaf persons*; both of them containing a variety of precious hints, from which useful practical lights might be derived by all who have any concern in the tuition of children during the first stage of their education" (*Mr. Dugald Stewart's Account of a Boy Born Blind and Deaf*). Twenty years before the publication of his *Didascalocophus*, Dalgarno had given to the world a very ingenious piece, entitled *Ars Signorum*, from which, says Mr. Stewart, it appears indisputable that he was the precursor of Bishop Wilkins in his speculations respecting "a real character and a philosophical language." Leibnitz has on various occasions alluded to the *Ars Signorum* in commendatory terms. The collected works of Dalgarno were republished in one volume, 4to, by the Maitland Club, in 1834.

DALHOUSIE, JAMES ANDREW BROWN-RAM-SAY, first MARQUIS OF. This eminent statesman was born at Dalhousie Castle, county of Edinburgh, on the 22d of April, 1812. In point of antiquity, the family of Ramsay was conspicuous so early as the reign of David I., when Sir Alexander Ramsay, the knight of Dalwolsie, having signalized himself in the liberation of his country from England, was appointed warden of the middle marches of Scotland, and sheriff of Teviotdale. The envy of his great rival, Sir William Douglas, at this last appointment, and his attack upon the knight of Dalwolsie, while holding open court, and consigning him to a dungeon, where he died of hunger, is one of those terrible tales of ancient Scottish revenge with which our national history is only too abundant. Another distinguished member of the family was Sir John Ramsay, who saved the life of James VI., by stabbing the Earl of Gowrie, when the latter rushed into the king's apartment with a drawn sword, and at the head of his armed attendants, during the confused affray of what is called the Gowrie conspiracy. For this deed he was ennobled by the titles of Lord Barns and Vis-

¹ I am indebted for this article to the *Supplement to the Sixth Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica*; the only source from which I am aware that the information contained in it could have been derived.

count Haddington, and afterwards created an English peer by the title of Earl of Holderness. As he died without issue, his honours expired with him; but his elder brother George, who had been ennobled as Lord Ramsay of Melrose, obtained the king's permission to change his title into that of Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie. William, the second baron, was created Earl of Dalhousie in 1633. The subject of this memoir was the third son of George, ninth Earl of Dalhousie, but more commonly termed "The Laird of Cockpen" from enjoying the possessions, if not also a descent, from that memorable laird whose unlucky courtship is commemorated in the old Scotch song. His mother, who died in 1839, was Christian, only child and heiress of Charles Brown, Esq., of Colstoun, in East Lothian. By the death of his two brothers successively, he became, in 1832, the recognized heir of the family titles and estates. He was first educated at Harrow, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree with honours in 1833; and during his attendance at the university he had for his fellow-students several who were afterwards to be distinguished leaders in the political world. Of these, it is enough to name Earl Stanhope, Sir George Lewis, Mr. Gladstone, the Earl of Elgin, and Earl Canning.

On finishing his education the future governor-general of India, but at this time known as Lord Ramsay, threw himself into the congenial career of politics, and had not long to wait for an opportunity of action. In the elections for the parliament of 1835 he contested, along with the late Mr. Learmonth of Dean, the representation of the city of Edinburgh, against the Hon. James Abercromby, the speaker-elect of the House of Commons, and Sir John Campbell, Whig solicitor-general, and afterwards lord-chancellor of England. With such influence arrayed against him, although it was a keen and closely-contested election, the result could scarcely be otherwise than unfavourable to Lord Ramsay, more especially as he was the open advocate of conservative principles, which were not in general favour with the citizens of Edinburgh. He was soon, however, consoled for his defeat, by being returned in 1837 as their representative to parliament by the important agricultural county of East Lothian, with which he was maternally connected. As a member of the Lower House he had only sat for about a year, when the death of his father, in 1838, called him to the House of Lords; but neither among the lords nor the commons did he distinguish himself as a master in the art of debating. It was soon perceived, however, that he had a peculiar aptitude for the hard laborious duties and substantial work of politics, and that he had only to bide his time in order to secure his advancement. Even already his own party recognized him as one likely to succeed to the premiership. In the meantime, the ebb and flow of politics could neither strand him on shore nor drift him out to sea. In 1843, when Mr. Gladstone rose to the presidency of the board of trade, Lord Dalhousie was appointed vice-president, and, on the retirement of Mr. Gladstone from the office in February, 1845, his lordship was called to the presidency. In this he continued during the rest of Sir Robert Peel's term of government, until Lord John Russell succeeded to the premiership, and although the latter wished that the earl should continue to preside at the board of trade, his lordship thought it a more honourable course to retire with his retiring patron. This desire on the part of a new administration to retain an opponent in such an important charge, was as unusual as it was complimentary; but the cause of this is to be found in

the zeal and efficiency with which the Earl of Dalhousie had presided at the board. It was a transition period in our commercial history which the sudden development of the railway power had introduced, and when new plans, claims, emergencies, and expedients were enough to overwhelm or bewilder the strongest head. Amidst this subversion of an old world for the creation of a new, the diligence of the earl as vice-president, and afterwards as president, was so conspicuous, that his activity in work and power of endurance seemed to be unlimited. He was the first to enter the office of the board, and the last to retire, while he often continued all day at his labours until two or three o'clock on the following morning. It was a stern apprenticeship to that difficult and complex government which now awaited him, and for which none was judged so well fitted. This was nothing less than the office of governor-general of India, as successor to Lord Hardinge; and Lord Dalhousie, having accepted it, arrived at Calcutta on the 12th of January, 1848.

The history of his lordship's administration in India cannot as yet be dispassionately written, as its effects both for good and for evil have not as yet been fully developed. As ruler of our eastern empire, he entered it when its difficulties were of more than ordinary complication; and for the discharge of its duties he brought to it a perseverance that could not be tired, and a resolution that would not yield. Difficulties that would have daunted any other governor-general he fearlessly encountered, and the result of his rule during eight years was manifested in the general confidence it had inspired, the augmentation of our Indian empire, and the greater stability imparted to its government. But, on the other hand, all terminated in a bloody and widely-spread rebellion, by which our eastern possessions were all but lost. Had he gone onward in his innovations too boldly and too rapidly; and was this the inevitable reaction? The question is still one of doubt and discussion. In the meantime, to set himself right with the world, he drew up a minute of his administration in India from January, 1848, to March, 1856, a voluminous detail, occupying forty folio pages, and altogether composing one of the most remarkable state papers ever written. It is of course a justification of his proceedings, and as such is considered partial and one-sided; but even thus, it gives a distinct view both of the difficulties he surmounted and the improvements he carried out in India.

After stating his principles of foreign policy while governor-general, and the wars into which he was compelled to enter, he enumerates the kingdoms he had won to our eastern empire by conquest and annexation. In this way he had added four great kingdoms to the dominions of her majesty Queen Victoria; of which Pegu and the Punjab had been conquered, and Nagpore and Oude annexed; and besides these, were the smaller acquisitions of Satara, Jhansi, and Berar. But still more important than their acquisition, were the improvements he had introduced for developing their resources, and securing to them the blessings of a just and stable government. He pointed with honest pride to the 4000 miles of electric telegraph he had extended over India; to 2000 miles of road he had caused to be constructed from Calcutta to Peshawur; to the opening of the Ganges canal, one of the largest undertakings of the kind in existence; to the progress of the Punjab canal; to the many works of irrigation he had established over our eastern empire, and the reorganization of an official department of public

works. Nor were these either the whole or the most important of his improvements. He had introduced a postal system similar to that of Rowland Hill, by which letters were conveyed at merely one-sixteenth of their former charge; he had improved the training appointed for holders of civil offices; and he had introduced improvements into education and prison discipline, and into the organization of the legislative council. To these and other innovations of a similar character, he alluded as proofs of the wisdom and beneficial character of his government—as the highest benefits bestowed by conquerors upon conquered provinces, in lieu of that liberty which they knew not how to use. This incessant working of an iron will within a naturally delicate constitution had impaired his health, for the recovery of which he went to the mountains; but in vain. While in this enfeebled state he had sent his wife, also an invalid, to Britain, in 1853; but she died on the voyage, and the first intimation he received of her death was from hearing the news-boys shouting the notice in the streets of Calcutta. It was a heavy blow added to sickness; and although he continued to hold on to his duties, it was in doubt whether he should be able to endure a voyage homeward, or even survive in India until a successor had arrived.

While Lord Dalhousie was in this pitiable condition, he was unexpectedly summoned to the most difficult and obnoxious task that had ever yet occurred in his administration. A ravenous appetite for the acquisition of empire in India had been increased by late gratifications, until it had become a sort of disease, and the home authorities had resolved that the King of Oude should be deposed, and his territory annexed to our Anglo-Indian empire. It was a determination as impolitic as it was unjust. The kingdom of Oude was still free; its king and court were recognized as lawful authorities; and the country was strong in castles and a brave population, who, like the ancient Highlanders of Scotland, were ruled by their chiefs embattled among their mountain fortresses. It was from the natives of Oude, also, that the army of our Bengal presidency was chiefly recruited, and whom the deed might transform into dangerous and irreconcilable enemies. Even the native princes were astounded at the iniquity and danger of such a barefaced purpose. It was a peculiarly trying difficulty to Lord Dalhousie, and he knew the disgrace which it would entail upon his character and the history of his rule. He might also transfer upon his successor the performance of the deed, with all its obloquy and danger. But strong in the sense of duty to his own country and the office he held, he would not shrink from such a trying responsibility; and feeling that the task would be too great for a successor still new to office and the country, he offered to remain in India until it was completed. It was a joyful intimation to the home government, who knew none so fit for the task as the Earl of Dalhousie; and from his energy, abilities, and experience of India and its politics, they had no apprehension of failure. How the annexation of Oude was accomplished, and at what a price, the mutiny of India is a terrible memorial.

Lord Canning arrived at Calcutta as governor-general in February, 1856, when his predecessor was all but exhausted by his exertions; and on the 10th of March Dalhousie left Calcutta, after bidding a sad farewell to a deputation of the principal inhabitants. On arriving in Britain, the situation of prime minister was supposed by many of his friends to be awaiting him; but, instead of indulging in such dreams of ambition, he retired to his native home, in quest of the repose which he so greatly needed,

even though it should be in the grave. Nor had his distinguished services the while been forgot. In 1849, when the Punjab had been annexed to our Indian empire, he was raised to an English peerage by the title of Marquis of Dalhousie, of Dalhousie Castle and of the Punjab; and in 1852 he was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, on the death of the Duke of Wellington, who held that office. The marquis was married in 1836 to Lady Susan Georgina, eldest daughter of the Marquis of Tweeddale, by whom he had two daughters, but no sons; and in default of male issue, his earldom devolved on Lord Panmure, who also inherits the ancestral estate of Dalhousie. It was at Dalhousie Castle, the place of his birth, that the Marquis of Dalhousie died, on the 19th December, 1860, at the premature age of forty-eight years.

DALRYMPLE, ALEXANDER. This hydrographer and voluminous writer was the son of Sir James Dalrymple, Bart., of Thirls, and was the seventh son of sixteen children by one mother. He was born at New Thirls, near Edinburgh, the seat of his father, on the 24th of July, 1736. His eldest brother was Sir David Dalrymple, better known by his judicial title of Lord Hailes, and his admirable writings in Scottish history and antiquities. At an early age Alexander was taught geography by his father—not, however, according to the dry routine of learning the names of kingdoms, capitals, and cities by rote, but by showing him their places on the maps, and teaching him whatever was worthy of notice in their form and situation; and to this was probably owing the direction of Alexander's studies by which he was subsequently distinguished. Otherwise, his education, owing chiefly to the political troubles of the period, was very limited, and finished before he was fourteen years of age; so that, beyond a competent knowledge of Latin, all he afterwards learned was owing to his own application. Before he had attained his sixteenth year he went out to India as a writer in the company's service, his choice of the East Indies being decided by reading *Nieuhoff's Voyages*, and a novel of the period called *Joe Thomson*. As the chief qualifications of such an Indian appointment at that time were writing and book-keeping, in which Alexander Dalrymple was deficient, he was first put under the instructions of the storekeeper, from whom he learned little or nothing; but having soon been removed into the secretary's office, he there fell under the notice of Lord Pigot, the new governor of Madras, who, perceiving that he wrote a very bad hand, kindly gave him instructions in penmanship, in which the youth made such proficiency, that his lordship often mistook his pupil's writing for his own. "To this instruction," adds the pupil in his autobiography, "the public are in some measure indebted for whatever excellence there is in the writing to the maps and charts published by Alexander Dalrymple." Another excellent teacher whom he had at this time, was Mr. Orme, the distinguished historian, who was at this period a member of council and its accountant. From an official note written to him by Mr. Dalrymple, he had conceived such a favourable opinion of his talents, that he proposed to have him appointed his sub-accountant, and put him through a course of training to qualify him for this important office. The application in Dalrymple's behalf having proved a failure, Mr. Orme gave him the free use of his valuable library, and among its rare and choice collection of books the disappointed candidate found ample consolation for his disappointment. In his boyhood Dalrymple had entertained such a hatred of France,

that he refused to study its language; but having now become wiser, and finding *Bourvet's Voyage* in Mr. Orme's library, he applied himself to the book without a master, and with the aid of a dictionary persevered in his task until he had translated the whole work.

While he was employed in the secretary's office, Dalrymple had occasion to examine the old records, and among these he found papers illustrative of the great importance of the commerce of the islands in the Eastern Archipelago to the wealth and prosperity of our Anglo-Indian empire. To recover those islands and establish that commerce, was now the great object of his enterprise; and notwithstanding his prospect of succeeding to the secretaryship, and the dissuasions of his patron Lord Pigot, he embarked on a voyage to these islands on the 22d of April, 1759. As proofs of his energy in the pursuit, and his characteristic perseverance, Dalrymple during this voyage received his first nautical tuition from the Hon. Thomas Howe, an able navigator, and captain of the *Winchelsea*, whose ship accompanied, during a part of the voyage, the *Cuddalore*, in which Dalrymple had embarked. Finding also a collection of Spanish histories of the Philippine Islands, he acquired Spanish without a teacher, as he had done the French language, that he might master their contents. Furnished with secret instructions, and a document insuring him of a share in the profits of this adventure, Mr. Dalrymple first visited Sooloo, with the sultan of which he established a commercial treaty highly advantageous to the East India Company. Soon afterwards, however, the political affairs of that place underwent such alterations, that no benefit resulted from the enterprise. In the meantime, Dalrymple, in January, 1762, returned from his eastern voyage. In May, the same year, he returned to Sooloo in the *London*, a packet newly arrived from England, as its captain, with a proper cargo, and a guard of fifteen sepoys; but although he re-established the friendly understanding between the country and the India Company, unfortunate circumstances again interposed to render it ineffectual. Having obtained a grant of the island of Balambang for the East India Company, he took possession of it in their name on the 23d of January, 1763, on his homeward voyage to Madras. As it appeared both to him and his friends that the success of the Anglo-Indian government, in their intercourse with the eastern islands, would depend on the court of directors in London receiving full information on the subject, Dalrymple resolved to proceed to England for the purpose. In consequence of this decision it was resolved by the president and council of Madras that he should go by the way of China, taking Sooloo in his voyage, and endeavour to open up in it communications anew; and there accordingly he landed, but only for twelve days, during which nothing important for the purposes of commerce could be effected. He obtained, however, for the East India Company a grant of the north end of Borneo, and south end of Palawan, with the intermediate islands. Sailing thence to Manilla, he there found the old Sultan of Sooloo, who had escaped from the Spaniards, and placed himself under British protection. Dalrymple was easily induced to carry back the dethroned sovereign, and reinstate him in his dominions, and obtained in return a grant to the East India Company of the northern part of Borneo. Having thus secured depots for the commerce with the East India Islands, Dalrymple proceeded to London, and submitted his plans to the board of directors; but the administration of the company's affairs having passed into other

hands, he was deprived of the co-operation of those influential friends by whom he hoped his measures would have been carried out. The advantages which would have been derived not only by the East Company, but by Britain at large, from such an establishment in the eastern islands, were fully detailed in a pamphlet which he published, entitled, *A Plan for extending the Commerce of this Kingdom, and of the East India Company, by an Establishment at Balambang*. This pamphlet, although printed in 1769, was not published till 1771.

Disappointments, which, like misfortunes, seldom come singly, now crowded upon the bold and talented projector. After his commercial speculation, in which so much labour and energy were expended, had been set aside, a movement was made by the friends of Dalrymple for the establishment of a hydrographical office in this country, to the superintendence of which he should be appointed, with a salary of £500 per annum. But although the negotiation went on so prosperously that the situation was promised to him, the appointment did not follow. Afterwards, having communicated his collection of papers on discoveries in the south seas, which had been a favourite subject of Dalrymple's study, the secretary of state to whom they were presented expressed his regret that he had not seen them sooner, as the appointment was already filled up. Some time after, when the Royal Society proposed to send persons to observe the transit of Venus in 1769, Dalrymple was thought of as fit for such a task, and he was commissioned by the admiralty to examine two vessels that were to be purchased for that especial service. But, by a change of the plan, a naval officer was appointed to command the vessel, with joint authority in the expedition; and Dalrymple, who was aware of the danger of divided councils in such an enterprise, declined to set out on that footing. One appointment, however, which gave him the highest satisfaction of any, was destined, by its failure, to be the worst affliction of all. The court of India directors had appointed him chief of Balambang, and commander of the ship *Britannia*; and thus employed in his favourite commercial scheme, he might have been consoled in his eastern island for the failure of his hopes in England. But his commission was superseded, and an incompetent person was placed in his room. In consequence of the dissatisfaction of the directors with that functionary, they resolved to send a supervisor to Balambang, and in this case Dalrymple offered his services, to redeem the expedition from destruction. He also offered his services free of any present remuneration, except defraying his expenses, and that a small portion of the clear profits of the establishment should be granted to him and his heirs. This liberal offer, instead of being at once accepted, was referred by the directors to a committee of correspondence to examine and report. Whatever report they made, if any, is unknown; but the capture of Balambang soon afterwards, by some Sooloo freebooters, made the services of the committee superfluous.

From the time of his return to England in 1765, Dalrymple had been almost constantly engaged in collecting and arranging materials for a full exposition of the importance of the eastern islands and south seas, and was encouraged by the court of directors to publish various charts, &c. He also took every occasion to keep up his claim on the Madras establishment, and on the appointment of his patron, Lord Pigot, to be governor of Fort St. George, in 1775, he was reinstated in the service of the East India Company, and was nominated to be one of the committee of circuit. He accordingly

went out to Madras, and entered upon the duties of his office, until 1777, when he was recalled, with others, under a resolution of the general court to have their conduct inquired into; but nothing appears to have resulted from the inquiry. Two years afterwards he was appointed hydrographer to the East India Company, and in 1795, when the Admiralty established a similar office, Alexander Dalrymple was judged the fittest person to hold it. Of his talent, indeed, as a hydrographer, the following valuable testimony was given by the distinguished Admiral Kempenfelt, in a letter which he wrote to Dalrymple:—"I have received your very valuable charts for particular parts of the East Indies: what an infinite deal of pains and time you must have bestowed to form such a numerous collection! It seems an Herculean labour; but it is a proof what genius joined with industry is capable of. However, you have the pleasing reflection that you have successfully laboured for the public good, the good of navigation, and that your memory will live for ever." Although he was already hydrographer to the East India Company, the court of directors made no objection to his holding the same office for the Admiralty, judging rightly that the two offices were not incompatible, but rather parts of each other; and accordingly, Alexander Dalrymple accepted the government appointment. The appointment, indeed, was only a tardy act of justice, as when the office of hydrographer to the Admiralty had been proposed nineteen years earlier, it had been promised to Dalrymple.

In this arduous and responsible situation he continued till 1808, when the Admiralty called for his resignation on the ground that he was superannuated. He was now in the seventy-first year of his age, and might be supposed too old for the duties of his office; but Dalrymple, with that habitual energy of purpose which in old age often hardens into obstinacy, refused to give in his resignation. He probably thought, like the Bishop of Grenada, that he had never been so active, so fit for his duties, and efficient as at present, although he had already finished the usual date assigned to the life of man. In consequence of his refusal to resign, he was dismissed, and his death, which occurred only a month after (June 19, 1808), may be supposed to have been hastened by vexation at his dismissal. He left a large library, which was especially rich in works on navigation and geography; and of these the Admiralty purchased the most select, while the others were disposed of by auction. His own works were numerous, amounting to fifty-nine volumes and tracts; but many of them were of a personal and political character, and therefore were soon forgot. Of those that were more important, and connected with his own scientific pursuits, we can merely select the titles of the following:—*Account of Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean before 1764*, 8vo, 1764. *Plan for extending the Commerce of this Kingdom, and of the East India Company, by an Establishment at Balambangan*, 1771. *Historical Collection of South Sea Voyages*, 2 vols. 4to, 1770-1. *Proposition of a Benevolent Voyage to introduce Corn, &c., into New Zealand*, 4to, 1771. *Proposition for Printing, by Subscription, the MS. Voyages and Travels in the British Museum*, 4to, 1773. *An Historical Relation of the several Expeditions from Fort Marlboro' to the Islands off the West Coast of Sumatra*, 4to, 1775. *Collection of Voyages*, chiefly in the South Atlantic Ocean, from the original MS., by Dr. Halley, M. Bouvet, &c.; with a Preface concerning a Voyage of Discovery proposed to be undertaken by Alexander Dalrymple at his own expense; Letters

to Lord North on the subject, and Plan of a Republican Colony," 4to, 1775. *Plan for Promoting the Fur Trade*, and securing it to this Country, by uniting the Operations of the East India and Hudson's Bay Companies," 4to, 1789. *An Historical Journal of the Expedition, by Sea and Land, to the North of California in 1768, 1769, and 1770*, when Spanish Establishments were first made at San Diego and Monterey; translated from the Spanish MS., by William Revelly, Esq.; to which is added, Translation of Cabrera Bueno's Description of the Coast of California, and an Extract from the MS. Journal of M. Sauvagne le Muet, 1714," folio, 1790. *A Treatise of Practical Navigation*. (Of this work only three chapters were printed.)

DALRYMPLE, SIR DAVID, a celebrated Scottish judge and antiquary, was born at Edinburgh, on the 28th of October, 1726. His father was Sir James Dalrymple, of Hailes, Bart., and his mother, Lady Christian Hamilton, a daughter of the Earl of Haddington. His grandfather, who was lord-advocate for Scotland during the reign of George I., was the youngest son of the first Lord Stair, and distinguished for ability even among the members of his own able family; and his father, Sir James, had the auditorship of the exchequer bestowed upon him for life. Sir David Dalrymple was sent to be educated at Eton, where he was eminently distinguished for ability and general good conduct. At this seminary he acquired, with a competent share of classical learning, a fine classical taste and a partiality for English manners and customs, which marked through life both his public and private conduct. From Eton he returned to Edinburgh, where he went through the usual course at the university; and afterwards went to Utrecht, where he prosecuted the study of the civil law, till the suppression of the rebellion in the year 1746, when he returned to his native country. From the sobriety of his character, with his ardour and diligence in prosecuting whatever subject arrested his attention, the highest hopes of his future eminence were now entertained by his friends. Nor were these hopes disappointed; although circumstances led him into studies not altogether such as he would have pursued, had he been left to the bent of his own genius. The study of antiquities and the belles-lettres was the most congenial to his own mind, and in both he was eminently fitted to excel; but from the state of his affairs on the death of his father, who left a large family and an estate deeply encumbered, he found it necessary to adopt the law as a profession, that he might be able to meet the demands which lay against the family inheritance, and make suitable provision for those dependent on him. He accordingly made his appearance as an advocate, or, as it is technically expressed, was called to the Scottish bar, in the year 1748. Here, however, though he had considerable practice, his success was not equal to the sanguine expectations of his friends. In the science of law few men were more expert than Sir David Dalrymple, and in point of industry he was surpassed by no one of his contemporaries; but he had certain peculiarities, probably inherent in his nature, strengthened by study, and confirmed by habit, that impeded his progress, and rendered his efforts less effective than those of men who were far his inferiors in natural and acquired abilities. From natural modesty and good taste he had a sovereign contempt for verbal antitheses, rounded periods, and everything that had the semblance of declamation, for excelling in which he was totally unqualified—his voice being ill-toned, and his manner ungraceful. In consequence of these defects, his

pleadings, which were always addressed to the judgment, never to the passions, often fell short of those of his opponents, who, possessing less enlarged views of their subject, but having higher rhetorical powers, and being less fastidious in the choice of words, captivated their auditors by the breadth of their irony and the sweeping rotundity of their periods. Nor did his memorials, though classically written, and replete with valuable matter, at all times meet with the approbation of the court, which was disposed at times to find fault with their brevity, and sometimes with the extreme attention they manifested to the minutiae of forms, in which it was alleged he concealed the merits of the case. On points, however, which interested his feelings, or which involved the interests of truth and virtue, he lost sight of the intricacies of form; his language became glowing, and his arguments unanswerable. No advocate of his own standing was at the time more truly respectable; and he was often employed as advocate-depute, which gave him frequent opportunities of manifesting that candour of heart and tenderness of disposition, which were at all times striking features of his character, and which so well become the prosecutor in a criminal court. Going the western circuit on one occasion, in this capacity, he came to the town of Stirling, where, the first day of the court, he was in no haste to bring on the business; and being met by a brother of the bar, was accosted with the question, why there was no trial this forenoon. "There are," said Sir David, "some unhappy culprits to be tried for their lives, and therefore it is proper they have time to confer for a little with their men of law." "That is of very little consequence," said the other. "Last year I came to visit Lord Kaimes when he was here on the circuit, and he appointed me counsel for a man accused of a rape. Though I had very little time to prepare, yet I made a decent speech." "Pray, sir," said Sir David, "was your client acquitted or condemned?" "O," replied the other, "most unjustly condemned." "That, sir," said the depute-advocate, "is no good argument for hurrying on trials."

Having practised at the bar with increasing reputation for eighteen years, Sir David Dalrymple was, with the warmest approbation of the public, appointed one of the judges of the Court of Session, in the year 1766. He took his seat on the bench with the usual formalities, by the title of Lord Hailes, the designation by which he is generally known among the learned throughout Europe. This was a situation which it was admitted on all hands that Sir David Dalrymple was admirably calculated to fill. His unwearied assiduity in sifting dark and intricate matters to the bottom was well known, and his manner of expression, elegant and concise, was admirably suited to the chair of authority. That his legal opinions had always been found to be sound, was also generally believed; yet it has been candidly admitted, that he was, as a judge, neither so useful nor so highly venerated as the extent of his knowledge and his unquestioned integrity led his friends to expect. The same minute attention to forms, which had in some degree impeded his progress at the bar, accompanied him to the bench, and excited sometimes the merriment of lighter minds. It is to be noticed, however, that too little regard has been, on some occasions, in the very venerable Court of Session, paid to forms; and that forms, apparently trifling, have seldom, in legal proceedings, been disregarded, without in some degree affecting the interests of truth and justice. It has also been remarked, that such was the opinion which the other judges entertained of the accuracy, diligence, and dignified

character of Lord Hailes, that, in the absence of the lord-president, he was almost always placed in the chair. After having acted as a lord of session for ten years, Lord Hailes was, in the year 1776, nominated one of the lords of justiciary, in which capacity he commanded the respect of all men. Fully impressed with a sense of the importance of his office in the criminal court, all his singularities seemed to forsake him. Before the time of Hailes, it had been too much the case in the Scottish criminal courts for the judge to throw all the weight of his influence into the scale of the crown. Lord Hailes, imitating the judges of England, threw his into the scale of the prisoner, especially when the king's counsel seemed to be overpowering, or when there was any particular intricacy in the case. It is to be regretted that, in almost all of our courts of justice, oaths are administered in a manner highly indecorous, tending rather to derogate from the importance of that most solemn act. In this respect Lord Hailes was the very model of perfection. Rising slowly from his seat, with a gravity peculiarly his own, he pronounced the words in a manner so serious as to impress the most profligate mind with the conviction that he was himself awed with the immediate presence of that awful Majesty to whom the appeal was made. When the witness was young, or appeared to be ignorant, his lordship was careful, before putting the oath, to point out its nature and obligations in a manner the most perspicuous and affecting. It is perhaps impossible for human vigilance or sagacity altogether to prevent perjury in courts of justice; but he was a villain of no common order that could perjure himself in the presence of Lord Hailes. In all doubtful cases it was his lordship's invariable practice to lean to the side of mercy; and when it became his painful duty to pass sentence of death upon convicted criminals, he did so in a strain so pious and so pathetic, as often to overwhelm in a flood of tears the promiscuous multitudes that are wont to be assembled on such occasions. In the discharge of this painful part of his duty, Lord Hailes may have been equalled, but he was certainly, in this country at least, never surpassed.

While Lord Hailes was thus diligent in the discharge of the public duties of his high place, he was, in those hours which most men find it necessary to devote to rest and recreation, producing works upon all manner of subjects, exceeding in number, and surpassing in value, those of many men whose lives have been wholly devoted to literature. Of these, as they are in few hands, though some of them at least are exceedingly curious and highly interesting, we shall present the reader with such notices as our limits will permit, in the order in which they were published. His first work seems to have been *Sacred Poems, a Collection of Translations and Paraphrases from the Holy Scriptures by various Authors*, Edinburgh, 1751, 12mo, dedicated to Charles Lord Hope, with a preface of ten pages. The next was *The Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus, from the Apocrypha*, 12mo, Edinburgh, 1755, without preface or commentary. In the year following, 1756, he published, in 12mo, "*Select Discourses*, by John Smith, late fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, with a preface, many quotations from the learned languages translated, and notes added, containing allusions to ancient mythology, and to the erroneous philosophy which prevailed in the days of the author," &c. &c. Next year, 1757, he republished, with notes, "*A Discourse of the Unnatural and Vile Conspiracy attempted by John Earl of Gowrie, and his Brother, against his Majesty's Sacred Person, at St. Johnstown*, 5th of

August, 1600," 12mo. Two vessels, the *Betsy Cunningham*, and the Leith packet *Pitcairn*, from London to Leith, being wrecked on the shore between Dunbar and North Berwick, in the month of October, 1761, and pillaged by the country people, as was too often done on all the coasts of Britain, and is sometimes done to this day, Sir David published a sermon, which might have been preached in East Lothian on the 25th day of October, 1761: Ac. xxvii. 1, 2, "The barbarous people showed us no little kindness." This is an admirable discourse, deeply affecting, and calculated in a particular manner to carry conviction to the offenders. In 1762 he published from the press of the Foulises, Glasgow, "*Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the Reign of James I. of England*, from a Collection in the Advocates' Library, by Balfour of Denmyln, with a Preface and a few Notes." This is an exceedingly curious little volume, throwing much light on the character of the British Solomon and his sapient courtiers. In 1765 he published, from the same press, the works of the ever memorable Mr. John Hailes of Eaton, now first collected together, in three volumes, with a short preface, and a dedication to Bishop Warburton, the edition said to be undertaken with his approbation. The same year he published a specimen of a book entitled "*Ane Compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritual Songs*, collectit out of sundrie parts of Scripture, with sundrie of other Ballotis changed out of Prophane Songs for avoyding of Sin and Harlotrie," &c. This was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo, and was the first introduction of that singular performance to the notice of modern readers. In 1766 he published at Glasgow, "*Memorials and Letters Relating to the History of Britain in the Reign of Charles I.*, published from the originals, collected by Mr. Robert Wodrow, the historian of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland." This is a very curious performance; and it was followed, the same year, by one perhaps still more so—an account of the preservation of King Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, drawn up by himself; to which are added his letters to several persons. The same year he published the secret correspondence between Sir Robert Cecil and James VI.; and the year following, "*A Catalogue of the Lords of Session*, from the institution of the College of Justice, in the year 1532, with historical notes. The private correspondence of Dr. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and his friends in 1725, was published by Lord Hailes in 1768-69. An examination of some of the arguments for the high antiquity of *Regiam Majestatem*, and an inquiry into the authenticity of the *Leges Malcolmi*. Also, *Historical Memoirs concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, from the Earliest Accounts to the Era of the Reformation*. At the same time he published, *Canons of the Church of Scotland, drawn up in the Provincial Councils held at Perth A.D. 1242 and 1269*. In 1770 he published *Ancient Scottish Poems*, published from MS. of George Bannatyne, 1568, with a number of curious notes and a glossary. His lordship's next performance was "*The Additional Case of Elizabeth, Claiming the Title and Dignity of Countess of Sutherland, by her Guardian*; wherein the facts and arguments in support of her claim are more fully stated, and the errors in the additional cases for the other claimants are detected." This most singularly learned and able case was subscribed by Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards lord-chancellor of England, and Sir Adam Ferguson, but is the well-known work of Lord Hailes. This performance is not to be regarded merely as a law-paper of great ability, but as a

treatise of profound research into the history and antiquity of many important and general points of succession and family history. In 1773 he published *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, inscribed to George, Lord Lyttleton. In 1776 he published, *Huberti Langueti Epistolæ ad Philippum Sydneium, Equitem Anglum, &c.*, inscribed to Lord-chief baron Smythe. The same year was published his *Annals of Scotland, from the Accession of Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore, to the Accession of Robert I.* This was followed, three years after, by *Annals of Scotland, from the Accession of Robert I., surnamed the Bruce, to the Accession of the House of Stuart*. This is a most admirable work, but as it enjoys universal celebrity, and is in the hands of every one who is studious of Scottish history, we do not think it necessary to give any particular remarks upon it. In 1776 he published the first volume of the *Remains of Christian Antiquity*, a work of great erudition, containing accounts of the martyrs of Smyrna and Lyons in the second century, with explanatory notes; dedicated to Bishop Hurd. This is a new and correct version of two most ancient epistles, the one from the church at Smyrna to the church at Philadelphia; the other from the Christians at Vienne and Lyons to those in Asia and Phrygia; their antiquity and authenticity are undoubted. Great part of both is extracted from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. The former was first completely edited by Archbishop Usher. Lord Hailes, with that singular modesty which characterized him, says of his notes to this work, that they will afford little new or interesting to men of erudition, though they may prove of some benefit to the unlearned reader. The erudition Lord Hailes possessed on these topics was of a kind so singular, and is so little studied, that he might have spared any apology on the subject, the learned being, in fact, for the most part, on these subjects more ignorant than the unlearned. With much useful learning, however, these notes display what is still better, true piety and ardent zeal, connected with an exemplary knowledge of Christianity. In 1778 his lordship published the second volume of this work, dedicated to Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol. This volume contains the trial of Justin Martyr and his companions; the epistle of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch; the trial and execution of Fructuosus, Bishop of Torroceña in Spain, and of his two deacons Augurius and Eulogius; the maiden of Antioch, &c. These are all newly translated by Lord Hailes from Ruinart, Eusebius, Ambrose, &c. The notes of this volume display a most intimate acquaintance with antiquity, great critical acumen, both in elucidating the sense and detecting interpolations, and, above all, a fervent and enlightened zeal in vindicating such sentiments and conduct as are conformable to the word of God, against the malicious sarcasms of Mr. Gibbon. The third volume appeared in 1780, dedicated to Thomas Balgray, D.D. It contains the history of the martyrs of Palestine in the third century, translated from Eusebius. In the notes and illustrations to this volume Gibbon comes again under review, and his partiality and misrepresentations are most satisfactorily exposed. In 1781 he published *Octavius, a Dialogue by Marcus Minucius Felix*, with notes and illustrations. The speakers are Cæcilius, a heathen, and Octavius, a Christian, whose arguments prevail with his friend to become a Christian proselyte. In 1782 he published a treatise, by L. C. F. Lactantius, of the manner in which the persecutors died. This was dedicated to Dr. Porteus, Bishop of Chester, afterwards Bishop of London, and largely illustrated by critical notes. In 1783 he published *Disquisi-*

tions concerning the Antiquity of the Christian Church, inscribed to Dr. Halifax, Bishop of Gloucester. This small but highly original work consists of six chapters: 1st, of the conduct and character of Gallio; 2d, of the time at which the Christian religion became known at Rome; 3d, of the cause of the persecution of the Christians under Nero, in which the hypothesis of Gibbon is examined; 4th, of the eminent heathens who are said by Gibbon to have condemned Christianity, viz. Seneca, the Plinys elder and younger, Tacitus, Galen, Epictetus, Plutarch, and Marcus Antoninus (this chapter is particularly interesting to the admirer of heathen philosophers and heathen philosophy); 5th is an illustration of a conjecture of Gibbon respecting the silence of Dion Cassius concerning the Christians; and the 6th treats of the circumstances respecting Christianity that are to be found in the Augustan history. There can scarcely be a doubt, that all these works treating of the early ages of Christianity, were suggested by the misrepresentations of Gibbon, and were they circulated as widely as Gibbon's work, would be found a complete antidote. His lordship, however, was not satisfied with this indirect mode of defence, and, in 1786, published *An Inquiry into the Secondary Causes which Mr. Gibbon has Assigned for the Rapid Growth of Christianity*; in which he has most triumphantly set aside his conclusions. This performance he gratefully and affectionately inscribed to Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester. The same year his lordship published sketches of the lives of John Barclay; of John Hamilton, a secular priest; of Sir James Ramsay, a general officer in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden; of George Leslie, a Capuchin friar; and of Mark Alexander Boyd. These lives were written and published as a specimen of the manner in which a *Biographica Scotica* might be executed, and we do not know that he proceeded any further with the design. In 1788 he published, from her original MSS., the *Opinions of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, with notes, corrective of her ladyship's splenetic humour; and, in 1790, he translated and published, with notes and illustrations, *The Address of Q. Sept. Tertullian to Scapula Tertullus, Pro-consul of Africa*. This address contains many particulars relating to the church after the third century, and in the notes some strange inaccuracies of Mr. Gibbon are detected.

This was the last work which Lord Hailes lived to publish. His constitution had been long in an enfeebled state, which so much diligence in study must have tended to increase. He continued, however, to prosecute his studies, and to attend his duty on the bench till within three days of his death, which happened on the 29th of November, 1792, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. His lordship was twice married. By his first wife, Anne Brown, only daughter of Lord Coalston, one of the judges of the Court of Session, he left issue one daughter, who inherited his estate. By his second wife, Helen Ferguson, youngest daughter of Lord Kilkerran, he left also issue, one daughter. Having no male issue, his baronetcy descended to his nephew. Of the character of Lord Hailes, there can be but one opinion. As an able lawyer and an upright judge, he stands eminently conspicuous in an age and a country where such characters were not rare; and when the exercise of such qualities, from their superabundance, scarcely could merit praise. As a man of general erudition he stands, if we except Warburton, almost without a rival in the age he lived in. His skill in classical learning, the belles-lettres, and historical antiquities, especially those of his own country, have been universally admitted; and had

popularity been his intention, as it was of too many of his contemporaries, there cannot be a doubt but that he could have made himself the most shining meteor among them. Instead, however, of fixing upon subjects that might interest the frivolous, or draw upon him the smiles of the fashionable and the gay, he sedulously devoted his studies to such subjects as he thought particularly called for by the circumstances of the times, and with which all would be benefited by becoming acquainted. A shallow spirit of scepticism was abroad, which, aided by ignorance and misrepresentation, was threatening to become universal, and to change the sober and meditative character of Britons into frothy petulance and flippant vanity. This he attempted to meet by sober investigations into the truth of the facts that had been so confidently assumed respecting the early history of Christianity, by which he certainly left his opponents without the shadow of an excuse for persisting in their conclusions, having proved to a demonstration that their premises were false. Whether he might not have done this in a more popular form we cannot now stay to inquire into. We certainly think the mode he adopted that which was best calculated to cut off the cavilling of adversaries, and to carry conviction to the mind of the reader; and to those who wish to treat the subject in a more popular form, his lordship has furnished abundant materials. His various republications of the ancient poetry of Scotland, and the publication of original letters regarding her history and manners, while they throw much light upon the history of the country and the domestic economy of the times to which they relate, present his lordship in a most amiable point of view; and, while we admire the scholar and the philosopher, we cannot cease to venerate and to love the man. Of his *Annals* we have already spoken. Though necessarily written in a close and severe style, they have long ago risen to a pitch of popularity far beyond many works that took a more immediate hold of the public mind; and we have no doubt that ages will only add to their value. Indeed, he has left nothing to be done for the periods that came under his review. His inquiry into the secondary causes which Gibbon has assigned for the rapid progress of Christianity, is also a masterpiece of its kind, displaying great critical acumen, close reasoning, and great zeal for truth, without the smallest particle of that rancour which too often runs through theological controversy. With all his virtues and all his acquirements, joined to the finest natural abilities, Lord Hailes was not one of those who could boast of the large sums he received for the copyright of his works. He was most commonly his own publisher; and, as is generally the case in such circumstances, the circulation of his writings was, with a few exceptions, confined to the particular friends and acquaintances whom he had drawn around him. The consequence is, that there are many of them no longer to be met with, being wholly confined to the cabinets of the curious. It would be a meritorious work in these days of literary enterprise, and we cannot doubt that an intelligent and spirited publisher might find it a profitable speculation, to publish a neat, cheap, and uniform edition of his multifarious publications. Lord Hailes possessed a natural taste for retirement. The state of his affairs, at a most important period of his life, rendered it necessary for him, and the habit grew upon him as he advanced in years. His constitution, of which he was careful, as well as his principles and habits, rendered him averse to every kind of dissipation. After he was constituted a judge, he considered it unbecoming his character to mingle much with



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the fashionable and the gay world. When he chose to unbend his mind, therefore, it was in the society of a few easy friends, whom he had selected as much on account of their moral and religious worth, as for their genius or learning. With that constellation of men of genius and science which illuminated Edinburgh at that period, Lord Hailes had much agreeable and profitable conversation; but it was impossible for friendship or close intimacy to subsist between men who thought so differently as he and the most of them did upon the most important of all subjects. Though a Whig, and strongly attached to the best principles of the Revolution, he took no part in the broils, civil or ecclesiastical, which agitated the country in the first period of the reign of George III. Some of these he regarded as frivolous, and others as mischievous, and from conscience could not allow himself to sympathize with them. Conscious at all times of the dignity and importance of the high office which he held, he never departed from the decorum becoming that reverend character. This decorum it cost him no effort to support, because he acted from principle improved into a daily sentiment of the heart. Affectionate to his family and relations, simple and mild in his manners, pure in his morals, enlightened and entertaining in his conversation, he left society only to regret, that devoted as he was to more important employments, he had so little time to spare for intercourse with them.

DALRYMPLE, JAMES, Viscount Stair, an eminent lawyer and statesman, and the progenitor of many distinguished persons, was born at Drum-murichie, in the parish of Barr, Ayrshire, in the month of May, 1619. His father, who bore the same name, was proprietor of the small estate of Stair in that county, which on his death in 1624 fell to his son. James Dalrymple received his education at the parish school of Mauchline and the university of Glasgow, and at an early age entered the army raised in Scotland to repel the religious innovations of Charles I. In 1641, when he had attained a captaincy in the Earl of Glencairn's regiment, he became a competitor for the chair of philosophy at Glasgow, and gained it against several rivals. Former writers have made a wonder of his appearing at this competition in his military dress of buff and scarlet, and also at his retaining his commission as captain for some time after assuming the philosophy chair. The truth is, he and his brethren in arms could hardly be considered as soldiers, but rather as civilians taking up arms for a temporary purpose; and, by the same enthusiasm, even clergymen appeared occasionally with sword and pistol. Dalrymple held this chair for six years, during which he employed much of his time in the study of civil law, which was not then taught publicly in Scotland. His mind being thus turned to the law as a profession, he resigned his chair in 1647, and in the ensuing year became an advocate at the Scottish bar. His abilities soon procured him both legal and political distinction. In 1649 he was appointed secretary to the commissioners who were sent by the Scottish parliament to treat with Charles II., then an exile in Holland, for his return to his native dominions. He held the same office in the more successful mission of 1650; and we are told that, on this occasion, he recommended himself to the king by his "abilities, sincerity, and moderation."¹ After a short residence in Holland, during which he saw a number of the learned men of that country, he returned to Scotland, and was one of two persons sent by the

parliament to attend the king at his landing. In the Cromwellian modification of the Court of Session, he was, in 1657, appointed one of the "commissioners for administration of justice," chiefly upon the recommendation of General Monk, who thus characterized him in a letter to the protector—"a very honest man, a good lawier, and one of a considerable estate." It was not, however, without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to accept office under the government of Cromwell. He took the earliest opportunity, after the Restoration, of paying his respects to the king, who knighted him, and nominated him one of the new judges. From this office, however, he retired in 1663, in order to avoid taking "the declaration"—an oath abjuring the right to take up arms against the king. Next year, on the personal solicitation of the king, he resumed his duties, with only a general declaration of his aversion to any measures hostile to his majesty's just rights and prerogatives, the king granting him a sanction in writing for this evasion of the law. On this occasion Charles conferred upon him the title of a baronet.* In 1671 he succeeded Gilmour of Craig-miller as lord-president, and immediately availed himself of the situation to effect some important improvements in the system of judicature. He also, at this time, employed his leisure hours in recording the decisions of the court. As a member of the privy council he was invariably the advocate, though not always successfully, of moderate measures, and he remonstrated as warmly as he durst against all who were of an opposite character. When the celebrated test-oath was under consideration, in 1681, Dalrymple, for the purpose of confounding it altogether, suggested that John Knox's confession of faith should be sworn to as part of it. As this inculcated resistance to tyranny as a duty, he thought it would counterbalance the abjuration of that maxim contained in another part of the oath. The discrepancy passed unobserved, for not a bishop in parliament was so far acquainted with ecclesiastical history as to know the contents of that confession. However, inconsistent as it was, it was forced by the government down the throats of all persons in office, and thus became the occasion of much mischief. Lord Stair himself refused to take it, and accordingly had to retire from his offices. Before this period he had prepared his celebrated work, *The Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, which was now published. This work still continues to be the grand text-book of the Scottish lawyer. "It is not without cause," says Mr. Brodie, in a late edition, "that the profound and luminous disquisitions of Lord Stair have commanded the general admiration of Scottish lawyers. Having brought to the study of jurisprudence a powerful and highly cultivated intellect, he was qualified to trace every rule to principle. Yet such was his sterling practical good sense, that he rarely allowed himself to be carried away by theory—too frequently the failing of philosophic minds less endowed with this cardinal virtue. His philosophy and learning have enabled him to enrich jurisprudence with a work which, in embodying the rules of law, clearly develops the ground on which they are founded."

Lord Stair lived for about a year at his country seat in Wigtownshire, but experiencing much persecution from the government, found it necessary, in October, 1682, to take refuge in Holland. In his absence he was accused of high treason, on the grounds that some of his tenants had been concerned in the insurrection at Bothwell Bridge. An attempt, however, which was made to obtain a surrender of his person from Holland, proved abortive. From

¹ Forbes' *Journal of the Session*.

his retirement at Leyden he sent forth his *Decisions*, through the medium of the press at Edinburgh, the first volume appearing in 1684, and the second in 1687. In 1686 he published at Leyden a Latin treatise of much originality, under the title of *Physiologia Nova Experimentalis*. He also busied himself at this time in a work respecting the mutual obligations of the sovereign and his people, on which subject he entertained more liberal opinions than what were generally received in that age. This work, however, was never published. When the Prince of Orange was about to sail for Britain, Lord Stair requested to know what was the object of his expedition. The prince replied that it was not personal aggrandizement, but "the glory of God, and the security of the Protestant religion, then in imminent danger." The reply of Lord Stair was a strange mixture of the sublime and ludicrous. Taking off his wig, and exhibiting his bald head, he said, "Though I be now in the seventieth year of my age, I am willing to venture that (pointing to his head), my own and my children's fortune, in such an undertaking." He accordingly accompanied the prince, and was rewarded, after the settlement of affairs under William and Mary, with a reappointment to the presidency of the Court of Session, and a peerage under the title of Viscount Stair. Though thus restored to his country, and to more than his former honours, the latter years of this great man were not happy. He had never been the friend of the high-church party, and therefore he could expect no favour from that class of malcontents under the Revolution settlement. But the Presbyterian party, also, for which he had done and suffered so much, treated him with little respect, considering him too deeply concerned in the late oppressive and cruel system to be worthy of their confidence. Under these circumstances he breathed his last on the 25th of November, 1695, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and was buried in the High Church of Edinburgh.

Lord Stair had been married, in 1643, to Margaret Ross, co-heiress of the estate of Balneil, in Wigtonshire, by whom he had five sons and four daughters. The eldest son, John, having held office under James II., was, like his father, held in suspicion by the Presbyterian party; but, nevertheless, attained high office under the Revolution government. He was secretary of state for Scotland, and elevated to the rank of Earl of Stair in 1703. On his death, in 1707, he was succeeded in his title by the celebrated commander and diplomatist, John, second Earl of Stair. The junior branches of the family have produced fruit almost equally distinguished. Sir James Dalrymple, the second son, was himself the author of *Collections concerning Scottish History preceding the Death of David I.*, which appeared in 1705; and the grandfather of Sir John Dalrymple, of Cranston, author of that excellent work, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Dissolution of the Last Parliament of Charles II., until the Sea Battle off La Hogue*, in two volumes 4to. The youngest son, Sir David, was the grandfather of Lord Hailes and Alexander Dalrymple, two persons already commemorated in this work. Through these channels, and by the alliances of his daughters, the blood of Lord Stair now flows in most of the noble families in Scotland. The historical eminence of the family is only to be paralleled by the immense influence which it possessed for many years in this country—an influence hardly matched by that of the Dundasses in later times.¹

DALRYMPLE, JOHN, second Earl of Stair, was the second son of the first earl, and the grandson of subject of the preceding memoir. He was born at Edinburgh, July 20, 1673, and, while yet a mere boy, had the misfortune to kill his elder brother by the accidental discharge of a pistol. Although a royal remission was procured for this offence, his parents found it necessary for their own comfort to banish him from their sight, as his presence awakened the most painful associations. He was therefore placed for some years under the charge of a clergyman in Ayrshire—a humane and sensible man, who soon perceived the excellent qualities of his pupil's character. Under the charge of this person he became a proficient scholar, and in the course of time, through a series of favourable reports to his parents, he had the satisfaction of seeing the young exile restored to the bosom of his family, of which he was destined to be the principal ornament. The more advanced parts of his education he received at Leyden, where he was reputed one of the best scholars in the university, and subsequently at the college of his native city. His first appearance in life was as a volunteer under the Earl of Angus, commander of the Cameronian regiment at the battle of Steinkirk, in August, 1692, being then nineteen years of age. For some years afterwards he devoted himself at Leyden to the study of that profession in which two preceding generations of his family had already gained so much distinction. But on returning in 1701 from his Continental travels, he accepted a commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Scottish regiment of foot-guards. In the succeeding year he served as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough at the taking of Venlo and Liege, and the attack on Peer. In the course of 1706 he successively obtained the command of the Cameronian regiment and the Scots Greys. His father dying suddenly, January 8, 1707, he succeeded to the family titles, and was next month chosen one of the Scottish representative peers in the first British parliament. In the subsequent victories of Marlborough, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, and Ramilies, the Earl of Stair held high command, and gained great distinction. But the accession of the Tory ministry in 1711, while it stopped the glorious career of Marlborough, also put a check upon his services. He found it necessary to sell his command of the Scots Greys and retire from the army.

As one who had thus suffered in the behalf of the Protestant succession, the earl was entitled to some consideration, when that was secured by the accession of George I. He was, on that occasion, appointed to be a lord of the bed-chamber, and a privy councillor, and constituted commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, in the absence of the Duke of Argyle. Next year he was sent as ambassador to France, with the difficult task of conciliating the government of the Duke of Orleans to the new dynasty of Britain. It is allowed on all hands that his lordship conducted this business with unexampled address and dignity, his diplomatic skill being only equalled by the external splendours of his cortege. Unfortunately his usefulness was destroyed in 1719, by the Mississippi enthusiasm. His lordship could not stoop to flatter his countryman Mr. Law, then comptroller-general of the French finances, but whom

repeat, as descriptive of the succession of predominating influences in Scotland during the last century:—

"First came the men o' mony wimples,
In common language ca'd Da'rumples,
And after them came the Dundasses,
Wha raide our lords and lairds like asses."

A quatrain, it must be confessed, more true than respectful, although, in both cases alike, the predominance was grounded on inherent family talent.

¹ We preserve, for drollery's sake, the following easy rhymes which Lord Auchinleck, father of James Boswell, used to

he probably recollected as a somewhat disreputable adventurer on the streets of Edinburgh. The British government, finding that the hostility of this powerful person injured their interests, found it necessary—if a mean action can ever be necessary—to recal the Earl of Stair, notwithstanding their high sense of his meritorious services. He returned to his native country in 1720, and for the next twenty-two years lived in retirement at his beautiful seat of Newliston, near Edinburgh, where he is said to have planted several groups of trees in a manner designed to represent the arrangement of the British troops at one of Marlborough's victories. He also turned his mind to agriculture, a science then just beginning to be a little understood in Scotland, and it is a well-attested fact that he was the first in this country to plant turnips and cabbages in the open fields. On the dissolution of the Walpole administration in 1742, his lordship was called by the king from his retirement, appointed field-marshal, and sent as ambassador and plenipotentiary to Holland. He was almost at the same time nominated to the government of Minorca. In the same year he was sent to take the supreme command of the army in Flanders, which he held till the king himself arrived to put himself at the head of the troops. His lordship served under the king at the battle of Dettingen, June 16, 1743; but, to use the indignant language of Lord Westmoreland, in alluding to the case in parliament, he was reduced to the condition of a statue with a truncheon in its hand, in consequence of the preference shown by his majesty for the Hanoverian officers. Finding himself at once in a highly responsible situation, and yet disabled to act as a free agent, he resigned his command. France, taking advantage of the distraction of the British councils respecting the partiality of his majesty for Hanoverian councils, next year threatened an invasion; and the Earl of Stair came spontaneously forward, and, on mere grounds of patriotism, offered to serve in any station. He was now appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Great Britain. In the succeeding year his brother-in-law, Sir James Campbell, being killed at the battle of Fontenoy, the earl was appointed his successor in the colonelcy of the Scots Greys, a command he had been deprived of thirty-one years before by Queen Anne. His last appointment was to the command of the marine forces, in May, 1746. His lordship died at Queensberry House, Edinburgh, on the 9th of May, 1747, and was buried with public honours in the church at Kirkliston. It is matter of just surprise that no monument has ever been erected to this most accomplished and patriotic nobleman—neither by the public, which was so much indebted to him, nor by his own family, which derives such lustre from his common name. His lordship left a widow without children; namely, Lady Eleanor Campbell, grand-daughter of the Lord-chancellor Loudoun, and who had previously been married to the Viscount Primrose.

DALYELL, SIR JOHN GRAHAM, Bart. This accomplished student and expositor of Scottish antiquarianism, like many who are devoted to that science, was the descendant of an ancient family of historical note, being the second son of Sir Robert, the fourth baronet of Binns, Linlithgowshire, while his mother, Elizabeth Graham, was of the family of Gartmore, and consequently a descendant of the "great marquis." He was born in 1777. Being devoted to more peaceful pursuits than his renowned ancestors, he studied for the Scottish bar, and was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1797. His favourite occupation, however, instead of

inclining to that of a barrister on the boards of the Parliament House, was to keep aloof from the din of wordy war, and take refuge among the crypts of the Advocates' Library, absorbed in the study of that valuable collection of MSS. connected with Scottish history and antiquities for which the library is so distinguished. The fruit of this was soon apparent; for two years had not elapsed after his enrolment as an advocate when he produced his first work in quarto, entitled *Fragments of Scottish History*, containing, among other valuable matter, the "Diary of Robert Birrell, burgess of Edinburgh, from 1532 to 1608." Little more than two years afterwards (in 1801), he published, in two volumes octavo, a *Collection of Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century*. Of the labour he underwent in the task, and the diligence with which he discharged it, an estimate may be formed from the fact, that in preparing this collection he had examined about 700 volumes of manuscripts. None, however, but those who are conversant with this kind of literature can be fully aware of its difficulties, owing to the loose manner in which the Scottish poems of this period were transcribed, and the variety of readings, as well as amount of interpolated nonsense with which they are disfigured. For these two works he found a fitting publisher in Mr. Archibald Constable, at that time an antiquarian, and the friend of antiquarians, whose old-book shop at the Cross was the favourite haunt of those distinguished men by whose publications he afterwards became a prince in the realms of literature.

The next work of Mr. Graham Dalyell was a *Tract chiefly relative to Monastic Antiquities, with some Account of a Recent Search for the Remains of the Scottish Kings interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline*. This work, which appeared in 1809, was the first of a series of four or five thin octavos, illustrative of our Scottish ecclesiastical records, which he issued at various intervals; and the chartularies which he severally illustrated were those of the bishoprics of Aberdeen and Murray, the abbey of Cambuskenneth, the chapel-royal of Stirling, and the preceptory of St. Anthony at Leith—the series having been carried on till 1828. But this was not his only occupation, as during the long interval he published an edition of the *Journal of Richard Bannatyne*, the secretary and amanuensis of John Knox; and another, of the *Scottish Chronicle of Lindsay of Pittcottie*. By way of literary diversissement amidst these labours in our national antiquities, Mr. Dalyell also published, in 1811, *Some Account of an Ancient Manuscript of Martial's Epigrams*, which was illustrated by an engraving, and anecdotes explanatory of the manners and customs of the Romans. Of these only thirty copies were printed, six of them being on vellum.

A more important work than any of the preceding, and requiring a larger amount of original thought as well as wider research, was published by Mr. Dalyell in 1834, under the title of *An Essay on the Darker Superstitions of Scotland*. Such a title sufficiently intimates not only the extent of reading it required among books the most trying to the patience of a diligent investigator, but also into those depths of time where he was compelled to grope, in the midst of darkness and doubt, while he traced our national superstitions to their primitive homes in the forests of Germany, upon the shores of Norway, or even the more dismal and unknown wilds of Scythia. The last work which he published was the *Musical Memoirs of Scotland*. This appeared in 1850, when he was now in his seventy-third year; but the vivacity of style in which it is written, and the sprightly character of the anecdotes with which the subject is illustrated, give no indications either of the feebleness or the apathy of

old age. The work possesses also the additional recommendation of a splendid quarto form and many excellent engravings, for he was not only an ardent lover of music, but a thorough judge of it as a science, and through life he had always affectionately turned to it as a relief from his more severe occupations.

Besides those literary productions we have mentioned, comprising an authorship of fifty years' duration, Mr. Graham Dalyell published *Observations on some Interesting Phenomena in Animal Physiology, exhibited by Several Species of Planaria*, 8vo, 1814. Another work, which he published in 1847, in two splendid quartos, enriched with more than a hundred coloured plates drawn from the living subjects, was entitled, *Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland, represented from Living Subjects, with Practical Observations on their Nature*. He was also the author of several articles in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

From the foregoing brief notice some estimate may be formed of the literary character of Mr. Dalyell. An antiquary at a time when Scottish antiquarianism was little cultivated, his labours as well as his example gave a powerful impulse to that study, which soon became so widely diffused, and has been productive of such happy results. It is owing, indeed, to this spirit of inquiry that few histories of nations have been more effectually cleared from darkness, and purified from error, than that of Scotland, although few have undergone such a cruel process as that which was devised to annihilate it. But Mr. Dalyell was something more than an antiquary, although he stood in the front rank of the order; he was also an accomplished classical scholar, and well acquainted with mechanical science and natural history, of which his writings are an abundant proof. Although as an author he was so prolific, his diligence and perseverance are the more to be admired when we remember that such was his fastidiousness in composition, that he would seldom commit his manuscript to the press until it had been re-written four or five times over.

Sir John Graham Dalyell received the honour of knighthood by patent in 1836, and succeeded to the baronetcy of Binns by the death of his elder brother in 1841. His own death occurred on the 7th of June, 1851. As he was never married, he was succeeded in his title and estates by his brother, Sir William Cunningham Cavendish Dalyell, commander in the royal navy.

DALYELL, THOMAS, an eminent cavalier officer, was the son of Thomas Dalyell, of Binns, in West Lothian, whom he succeeded in that property. The lairds of Binns are understood to have been descended from the family afterwards ennobled under the title of Earl of Carnwath. The mother of the subject of this memoir was the Honourable Janet Bruce, daughter of the first Lord Bruce of Kinloss, a distinguished minister of James VI., and who, with the Earl of Marr, was chiefly instrumental in securing the succession of that monarch to the English crown. Thomas Dalyell, who is said to have been born about the year 1599, entered the service of Charles I., and had at one time the command of the town and garrison of Carrickfergus, where he was taken prisoner by the rebels. He was so much attached to his master that, to testify his grief for his death, he never afterwards shaved his beard. In the army which Charles II. led from Scotland, in 1651, he had the rank of major-general, in which capacity he fought at the battle of Worcester. Being there taken prisoner, he was committed to the Tower, and his estates were forfeited, and he was himself exempted from the general act of indemnity. However, he made

his escape, and seems to have gone abroad, whence he returned, and landed with some royalists in the north of Scotland, in March, 1654. Supported by a small party, he took possession of the castle of Skelko, and assisted in the exertions then made for the restoration of Charles, who soon afterwards transmitted the following testimony of his approbation:—

“TOM DALYELL,

Though I need say nothing to you by this honest bearer, Captain Mewes, who can well tell you all I would have said, yett I am willing to give it you under my own hand, that I am very much pleased to hear how constant you are in your affection to me, and in your endeavours to advance my service. We have all a harde work to do: yett I doubt not God will carry us through it: and you can never doubt [fear] that I will forgett the good part you have acted; which, I trust me, shall be rewarded whenever it shall be in the power of your affectionat frind,

CHARLES R.

“Colen, 30th Dec. 1654.”

All hope of an immediate restoration being soon after abandoned, Dalyell obtained recommendations from his majesty for eminent courage and fidelity, and proceeded to Russia, then an almost barbarous country, where he offered his services to the reigning czar, Alexis Michaelowitch. He seems to have entered the Muscovite service as a lieutenant-general, but soon was elevated to the rank of general. In these high commands he fought bravely against the Turks and Tartars. After active employment for several years, General Dalyell requested permission to return to Scotland, whereupon the czar ordered a strong testimony of his services to pass under the great seal of Russia. Part of this document was conceived in the following terms:

“That he formerly came hither to serve our great czarian majesty: whilst he was with us he stood against our enemies and fought valiantly. The military men that were under his command he regulated and disciplined, and himself led them to battle; and he did and performed everything faithfully, as a noble commander. And for his trusty services we were pleased to order the said lieutenant-general to be a general. And now having petitioned us to give him leave to return to his own country, we, the great sovereign and czarian majesty, were pleased to order that the said noble general, who is worthy of all honour, Thomas, the son of Thomas Dalyell, should have leave to go into his own country. And by this patent of our czarian majesty we do testify of him that he is a man of virtue and honour, and of great experience in military affairs. And in case he should be willing again to serve our czarian majesty, he is to let us know of it beforehand, and he shall come into the dominions of our czarian majesty with our safe passports, &c. Given at our court, in the metropolitan city of Muscov, in the year from the creation of the world, 7173, January 6.”

On his return to Scotland Charles II. manifested a better sense of his promises towards him than was customary with that monarch. “Tom Dalyell” was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces and a privy-councillor, in 1666; subsequently, he represented the county of Linlithgow in parliament, his estates being now restored. In the year just mentioned, General Dalyell suppressed the ill-starred insurrection of the Covenanters. By a bold march across the Pentland Hills, he came upon the insurgents by surprise, and, on the evening of the 28th of November, gained a complete victory over them. In this year, also, he raised a regiment of foot; but its place in the military lists is not now known. It

is known, however, with historic certainty, that some years afterwards he raised the distinguished horse regiment called the Scots Greys, which was at first composed exclusively of the sons of the cavalier gentry, and was intended to keep down the sturdy children of the covenant. The letters of service for raising the Greys are dated the 25th of November, 1681. The commission of General Dalzell was intermitted for a fortnight in June, 1679, when the Duke of Monmouth was intrusted with his office, in order to put down the Bothwell Bridge insurrection. It was generally believed that, if he had commanded at Bothwell instead of Monmouth, there would have been sharper execution upon the insurgents. Being offended at the promotion of Monmouth, the old man resigned all his employments, but was quickly restored to them, and an ample pension besides. Some years before this period he had received a gift of the forfeited estate of Muir of Caldwell, who was concerned in the insurrection suppressed by him in 1666; but his family complain that they were deprived of this by the reversal of Muir's attainder after the Revolution, and that they never received any other compensation for an immense sum expended by their ancestor in the public service.

An individual who rode in Dalzell's army, has left the following graphic account of him:—

"He was bred up very hardy from his youth, both in diet and clothing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jockey coats. He never wore a peruke, nor did he shave his beard since the murder of King Charles the First. In my time his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle.¹ He usually went to London once or twice in a year, and then only to kiss the king's hand, who had a great esteem for his worth and valour. His unusual dress and figure when he was in London, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys and other young people, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas as he went to court or returned from it. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door to go in to the king, and would let them know exactly at what hour he intended to come out again and return to his lodgings. When the king walked in the park, attended by some of his courtiers, and Dalzell in his company, the same crowds would always be after him, showing their admiration at his beard and dress, so that the king could hardly pass on for the crowd; upon which his majesty bid the devil take Dalzell, for bringing such a rabble of boys together, to have their guts squeezed out, whilst they gaped at his long beard and antic habit; requesting him at the same time (as Dalzell used to express it) to shave and dress like other Christians, to keep the poor bairns out of danger. All this could never prevail upon him to part with his beard; but yet, in compliance to his majesty, he went once to court in the very height of fashion; but as soon as the king and those about him had laughed sufficiently at the strange figure he made, he reassumed his usual habit, to the great joy of the boys, who had not discovered him in his fashionable dress" (*Memoirs of Captain Creighton*, by Swift).

¹ The comb with which he used to dress this ornament of his person is still preserved at Binns. It gives a vast idea of the extent of the beard, and of the majestic character of Dalzell in general—being no less than twelve inches broad, while the teeth are at least six inches deep.

On the accession of James VII. in 1685, Dalzell received a new and enlarged commission to be commander-in-chief; but the tendency of the court to Popery offended his conscience so grievously, that it is not probable he could have long retained the situation. Death, however, stepped in, and "rescued him," to use Creighton's language, "from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of duty to his prince on one side, and true zeal for his religion on the other." He died about Michaelmas, 1685. A contemporary historian informs us that, "after he had procured himself a lasting name in the wars, he fixed his old age at Binns, his paternal inheritance, adorned by his excellence with avenues, large parks, and fine gardens, and pleased himself with the culture of curious flowers and plants." His estate was inherited by a son of the same name, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, and was succeeded by a daughter Magdalene, who, marrying James Menteith of Auldcaith, transmitted the property and title to her son, Sir James Menteith Dalzell, ancestor of the present representative. Through this alliance the family now claims to represent the old line of the Earls of Menteith.

General Dalzell, as might be expected, is represented by the Presbyterian historians as "a man naturally rude and fierce, who had this heightened by his breeding and service in Muscovy, where he had seen little but the utmost tyranny and slavery." There are two ways, however, of contemplating the character of even so blood-stained a persecutor as Dalzell. He had, it must be remarked, served royalty upon principle in its worst days; had seen a monarch beheaded by a small party of his rebellious subjects, and a great part of the community, including himself, deprived of their property, and obliged to flee for their lives to foreign lands; and all this was on account of one particular way of viewing politics and religion. When the usual authorities of the land regained their ascendancy, Dalzell must naturally have been disposed to justify and support very severe measures, in order to prevent the recurrence of such a period as the civil war and usurpation. Thus all his cruelties are resolved into an abstract principle, to the relief of his personal character, which otherwise, we do not doubt, might comparatively be good. How often do we see, even in modern times, actions justified upon general views, which would be shuddered at if they stood upon their naked merits, and were to be performed upon the sole responsibility of the individual!

DALZELL, ANDREW, A.M. and F.R.S., was born in the year 1750, at a farmhouse in the parish of Ratho, near Edinburgh, the son of an industrious husbandman. He acquired the principles of his classical education at the parochial school of the parish; from thence he went to the university of Edinburgh. There, by his assiduity and the gentleness and purity of his manners and conduct, he acquired the esteem of the professors, and, in consequence of their high recommendation, was appointed tutor to Lord Maitland, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale. He attended Lord Maitland to the university of Glasgow, where he assisted him in his studies, and with him heard the celebrated Professor Miller deliver a course of his juridical lectures. Having accompanied his pupil to Paris, he was on his return home recommended, and through the interest of the Lauderdale family, appointed to succeed Mr. Hunter as professor of Greek in the university of Edinburgh. Classical learning had fallen into great neglect in Edinburgh when Mr. Dalzell assumed his chair; for

while Professor Moore, one of the most profound and accurate scholars of the age, was raising the celebrity of the Glasgow university by his teaching of the Greek language, and while the Foulises were printing in their press at that city their beautiful editions of the Greek classics, the literati of the Scottish capital were dedicating their whole attention to the cultivation of English and French literature. It became therefore the anxious desire of Professor Dalzell to revive the taste for ancient learning. To promote this object he delivered a course of lectures on the language, history, eloquence, philosophy, poetry, literature, antiquities, and fine arts of the Greeks. Possessed of a perfect knowledge of the subject, these lectures were admirable for their systematic arrangement and the elegance of the language in which they were clothed; and being delivered in a distinct tone, with much suavity of manner, they caused a general and enthusiastic study of the language. Indeed, it became a sort of fashion of the students of the university to attend his lectures, and the celebrity he acquired had the effect of drawing many students to Edinburgh from England and from distant parts of the kingdom. In order still farther to increase that enthusiastic love of Grecian literature which he wished to instil into the minds of his pupils, he published several volumes of collections of select passages from the Greek writers. These he accompanied with short Latin notes, which are remarkable for their perspicuity and judgment, and for the classical purity of their language. The unremitting care which he bestowed on the improvement of his students was repaid by them with the most affectionate respect; nor did the interest he felt in them terminate with the discharge of his academical duties, for he exerted himself to the utmost in promoting their future welfare, and to him hundreds owed their establishment in life. But although he was thus eminently successful in reviving the love of ancient literature in Edinburgh, it was often a subject of deep regret to him that his influence over the minds of his pupils was only transitory, and that when he happened to meet them in after-life he almost invariably found that they had neglected their classical studies. Such, it is much to be feared, must ever be the case, the prosecution of ancient learning being, generally speaking, incompatible with the struggle and bustle of the world. The only satisfaction which remains is, that the deficiency is daily becoming less important in the increasing beauty and copiousness of modern, more especially of English, literature.

On the death of Dr. James Robertson, professor of oriental languages, Mr. Dalzell was appointed to succeed him as keeper of the library of the university. He was afterwards chosen to succeed the Rev. Dr. John Drysdale as principal clerk to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, being the first layman who had ever held that honourable appointment. For some time before his death the delicate state of his health prevented him from performing his public duties, when his place was ably supplied by Dr. Thomas Macknight, one of the city clergymen of Edinburgh. He died on the 8th December, 1806, having for upwards of thirty years shed a lustre on the university by his many virtues, his high talents, and great classical attainments. Remarkable for many amiable qualities, and endowed with rich intellectual qualities, it may easily be supposed that his society was the delight of his friends; and as he had the good fortune to live during one of the brightest periods of Scottish literary history, when a galaxy of great men adorned the society of Edinburgh, he included in the circle of his acquaintance many of the greatest men this country ever produced. Of

the number of his intimate friends were Dr. Gilbert Stewart, Dr. Russel the historian, Sir Robert Liston, Dr. Robertson the historian, Lord Monboddo, Dugald Stewart, and Professor Christison. Mr. Dalzell in stature was about the middle height; his features were full, but not heavy, with a fair complexion and a mild and serene expression of countenance. His address was pleasing and unpretending, and his conversation and manner singularly graceful. He was frequently to be met in his solitary walks in the King's Park, which was one of his favourite lounges. He was married to the daughter of the well-known Dr. John Drysdale of the Tron Church, and left several children.

His works consist of the collections from Greek authors, which he published in several volumes, under the title of *Collectanea Minora*, and *Collectanea Majora*, a translation of Chevalier's description of the Plain of Troy, and many valuable papers of biography, and on other subjects, which he contributed to the Edinburgh Royal Society's *Transactions*. He also edited Dr. Drysdale's sermons.

DAVID I., a celebrated Scottish monarch, was the youngest of the six sons of Malcolm III., who reigned between 1057 and 1093, and who must be familiar to every reader as the overthrower of Macbeth, and also the first king of the Scots that was entitled to be considered as a civilized prince. The mother of King David was Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, heir to the Saxon line of English princes, but displaced by William the Conqueror. The year of David's birth is not known; but it is conjectured to have been not long antecedent to the death of his father, as all his elder brothers were then under age. It is conjectured that he must have received the name of David from having been born at a time when his mother had no hope of more children, in reference to the youngest son of Jesse. Owing to the usurpations of Donald Bane and Duncan, he spent his early years at the English court, under the protection of Henry I., who had married his sister Matilda or Maud, the celebrated founder of London Bridge. There, according to an English historian, "his manners were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity." Here also he took to wife Matilda, the daughter of Walthoof, Earl of Northumberland, and widow of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton. After the Scottish throne had been occupied successively by his elder brothers Edgar and Alexander, he acceded to it on the 27th of April, 1124, when he must have been in the very prime of life. Soon before this time, namely, in 1113, he had manifested that zeal for the church which distinguished him throughout his reign, by bringing a colony of Benedictine monks from Tyron, in France, whom he settled at Selkirk. These he subsequently translated to Roxburgh, and finally, 1128, to Kelso. In the latter year, besides founding the magnificent monastery of Kelso, he erected that of Holyrood at Edinburgh, which he endowed in the most liberal manner.

During the reign of Henry I. David maintained a good understanding with England, and seems to have spent a considerable part of his time in the court of his brother-in-law and sister. The following curious anecdote of one of his visits is related in a volume entitled *Remaines concerning Britain*, published in 1614. "Queen Maud was so devoutly religious that she would go to church barefooted, and always exercised herself in works of charity, inasmuch that, when King David, her brother, came out of Scotland to visit her, he found her in her privy chamber with a towell about her middle, washing, wiping, and kissing poore people's feete; which he disliking, said,

'Verily, if the king your husband knew this, you should never kisse his lippes!' She replied, 'that the feete of the King of heaven were to be preferred before the lippes of a king in earth!'" On the death of Henry, in 1135, his daughter Maud was displaced by the usurper Stephen, and to enforce her right David made a formidable incursion into England, taking possession of the country as far as Durham. Not being supported, however, by the barons, who had sworn to maintain his niece in her right, he was obliged, by the superior force of Stephen, to give up the country he had acquired, his son Henry accepting, at the same time, from the usurper, the honour of Huntingdon, with Doncaster and the castle of Carlisle, for which he rendered homage. Next year David made a new incursion, with better success. He is found in 1138 in full possession of the northern provinces, while Stephen was unable, from his engagements elsewhere, to present any force against him. The Scots ravaged the country with much cruelty, and particularly the domains of the church; nor was their pious monarch able to restrain them. The local clergy, under these circumstances, employed all their influence, temporal and spiritual, to collect an army, and they at length succeeded. On the 22d of August, 1138, the two parties met on Cutton Moor, near Northallerton, and to increase the enthusiasm of the English, their clerical leaders had erected a standard upon a high carriage, mounted on wheels, exhibiting three consecrated banners, with a little casket at the top containing a consecrated host. The ill-assorted army of the Scottish monarch gave way before the impetuosity of these men, who were literally defending their altars and hearths. This encounter is known in history as the battle of the Standard. Prince Henry escaped with great difficulty. Next year David seems to have renounced all hopes of establishing his niece. He entered into a solemn treaty with Stephen, in virtue of which the earldom of Northumberland was conceded to his son Henry. In 1140, when Stephen was overpowered by his subjects, and Maud experienced a temporary triumph, David repaired to London to give her the benefit of his counsel. But a counter insurrection surprised Maud; and David had great difficulty in escaping along with his niece. He was only saved by the kindness of a young Scotsman named Oliphant, who served as a soldier under Stephen, and to whom David had been godfather. This person concealed the monarch from a very strict search, and conveyed him in safety to Scotland. David was so much offended at the manner in which he had been treated by Maud, that he never again interfered with her affairs in England, for which he had already sacrificed so much. He was even struck with remorse for having endeavoured, by the use of so barbarous a people as the Scots, to control the destinies of the civilized English, to whom, it would thus appear, he bore more affection than he did to his own native subjects. At one time he intended to abdicate the crown and go into perpetual exile in the Holy Land, in order to expiate this imaginary guilt; but he afterwards contented himself with attempting to introduce civilization into his country. For this purpose he encouraged many English gentlemen and barons to settle in Scotland by giving them grants of land. In like manner he brought many different kinds of foreign monks into the country, settling them in the various abbeys of Melrose, Newbottle, Cambuskenneth, Kinloss, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, as well as the priory of Lesmahago and the Cistercian convent of Berwick, all of which were founded and endowed by him. The effects which these comparatively enlightened bodies of men must have produced

upon the country ought to save David from all modern sneers as to his apparently extreme piety. Sanctimoniousness does not appear to have had any concern in the matter: he seems to have been governed alone by a desire of civilizing his kingdom, the rudeness of which must have been strikingly apparent to him in consequence of his education and long residence in England. The progress made by the country in the time of David was accordingly very great. Public buildings were erected, towns established, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce promoted. Laws, moreover, appear to have been now promulgated for the first time. David was himself a truly just and benevolent man. He used to sit on certain days at the gate of his palace to hear and decide the causes of the poor. When justice required a decision against the poor man, he took pains to explain the reason, so that he might not go away unsatisfied. Gardening was one of his amusements, and hunting his chief exercise; but, says a contemporary historian, I have seen him quit his horse and dismiss his hunting equipage, when any, even the meanest of his subjects, required an audience. He commenced business at daybreak, and at sunset dismissed his attendants and retired to meditate on his duty to God and the people. By his wife Matilda David had a son, Henry, who died before him, leaving Malcolm and William, who were successively kings of Scotland; David, Earl of Huntingdon, from whom Bruce and Baliol are descended, and several daughters. David I. is said, by a monkish historian, to have had a son older than Henry, but who perished in childhood after a remarkable manner. A person in holy orders had murdered a priest at the altar, and was protected by ecclesiastical immunity from the punishment due to his offence. His eyes, however, were put out, and his hands and feet cut off. He procured crooked irons or hooks to supply the use of hands. Thus maimed, destitute, and abhorred, he attracted the attention of David, then residing in England as a private man. From him this outcast of society obtained food and raiment. David's eldest child was then two years old; the ungrateful monster, under pretence of fondling the infant, crushed it to death in his iron fangs. For this crime, almost exceeding belief, he was torn to pieces by wild horses. On losing his son Henry, in 1152, King David sent his son Malcolm on a solemn progress through the kingdom, in order that he might be acknowledged by the people as their future sovereign. He in like manner recommended his grandson William to the barons of Northumberland as his successor in that part of his dominions. Having ultimately fixed his residence at Carlisle, the pious monarch breathed his last, May 24th, 1153; being found dead in a posture of devotion. David I., by the acknowledgment of Buchanan himself, was "a more perfect exemplar of a *good king* than is to be found in all the theories of the learned and ingenious."¹

DAVIDSON, JOHN, an eminent divine, was born, we may suppose, some time about the year

¹ James I. is recorded by Mair to have pronounced this sentence over the grave of his illustrious ancestor—"Rest there, thou most pious monarch, but who didst no good to the commonwealth, nor to kings in general," which Eellenden has rendered—"he was ane soir sanet for the crown." This only shows that the utility of monasteries was less in the time of James I. than in the days of David I., and that King James regarded nothing as useful but what was conducive to his grand object, the increase of the royal authority. The death of James I. is a sufficient answer to his apophthegm: he was assassinated in consequence of his attempts to render himself *useful to kings in general*—that is to say, his attempts to rise upon the ruins of the nobility.

1550, as he was enrolled a student of St. Leonard's College, in the university of St. Andrews, in the year 1567; where he continued until 1570. Being educated for the ministry, he early displayed much fervour in his piety, and a fearless boldness and constant zeal in the cause of the Reformation in Scotland. When the regent Morton, in the year 1573, obtained an order in the privy-council, authorizing the union of several parishes into one, Davidson, then a regent in St. Leonard's College, expressed his opposition to and displeasure at that crying abuse in the church, in a poem, which, although printed without his knowledge, brought him into great trouble. He was summoned to a justice-ayre held at Haddington, when sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him; he was, however, soon after liberated on bail, in the hope that the leniency thus shown would induce him to retract what he had written, or at least that his brethren might be prevailed upon to condemn the poem. But these expectations were disappointed; and Davidson, finding the intercession even of some of the principal gentry in the country unavailing, and that nothing but a recantation would save him from punishment, fled to the west of Scotland, and thence into England, where he remained until the degradation of the regent, when he returned home. He ultimately attended the earl, along with other clergymen, when his lordship was about to suffer on the scaffold, and on that occasion a reconciliation took place between them.

Davidson again involved himself in difficulties by the active part which he took against Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling. Robert Montgomery, it appears, had made a Simoniacal purchase of the archbishopric of Glasgow from the Earl of Lennox; after which, accompanied by a number of soldiers, Montgomery came to Glasgow, and proceeded to the church. He there found the incumbent in the pulpit, when, going up to him, he pulled him by the sleeve, and cried, "Come down, sirrah." The minister replied, "He was placed there by the kirk, and would give place to none who intruded themselves without orders." Thereupon much confusion and some bloodshed ensued. The presbytery of Stirling suspended Montgomery, and were supported in their authority by the General Assembly; but the Earl of Lennox, not inclined to submit to this opposition, obtained a commission from the king to try and bring the offenders to justice. Before this court could be held, however, the Earl of Gowrie and other noblemen seized upon the young king, and carried him to the castle of Ruthven, and there constrained him to revoke the commission, and to banish the Earl of Lennox from the kingdom. But the king, having afterwards made his escape from his rebel nobles, banished all those who had been engaged in this treasonable enterprise. Montgomery, who in the meanwhile had made submission to the church, again revived his claim to the archbishopric of Glasgow, whereon Mr. Davidson, then minister of Libberton, was appointed by the presbytery of Edinburgh to pronounce sentence of excommunication against him; which duty he performed with great boldness. He was also appointed one of the commission sent to Stirling to remonstrate with the king on account of this measure in favour of Montgomery. In consequence, however, of his *faithfulness* with which he had admonished his majesty, Davidson found it expedient to make a hurried journey into England, where he remained for a considerable time.

Having returned to Scotland, Mr. Davidson signified himself in the year 1590, by his letter in

answer to Dr. Bancroft's attack on the Church of Scotland. In 1596, while minister of Prestonpans, he took an active part in accomplishing the renewal of the national covenant. He was chosen to minister to the assemblage of divines and elders, which congregated for confession and prayer in the Little Church of Edinburgh, as a preparatory step to the introduction of the overture for that purpose into the General Assembly; and on this occasion "he was so assisted by the Spirit working upon their hearts, that within an hour after they had convened, they began to look with quite another countenance than at first, and while he was exhorting them the whole assembly melted into tears before him." "Before they dismissed they solemnly entered into a new league and covenant, holding up their hands, with such signs of sincerity as moved all present." And "that afternoon, the (General) Assembly enacted the renewal of the covenant by particular synods." "There have been many days of humiliation for present judgments or imminent dangers; but the like for sin and defection was never seen since the Reformation" (*Calderwood's Church History*).

In the General Assembly held at Dundee, in the year 1598, it was proposed that the clergy should vote in parliament in the name of the church. Davidson, looking upon this measure as a mere device for the introduction of bishops, opposed it violently. "Busk, busk, busk him," he exclaimed, "as bonnily as you can, and fetch him in as fairly as you will, we see him weel enough—we can discern the horns of his mitre." He concluded by entreating the assembly not to be rash; for, "brethren," said he, "see you not how readily the bishops begin to creep up." He would have protested against the measure—which, notwithstanding the efforts to pack the Assembly, was carried only by a majority of ten—but the king, who was present, interposed and said, "That shall not be granted: see, if you have voted and reasoned before." "Never, sir," said Davidson, "but without prejudice to any protestation made or to be made." He then tendered his protestation, which, after having been passed from one to another, was at last laid down before the clerk; whereon the king took it up, and having showed it to the moderator and others who were around him, he put it in his pocket. The consequences of this protest did not, however, end here; Davidson was charged to appear before the council, and was by order of the king committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but, on account of the infirm state of his health, the place of his confinement was changed to his own manse. Afterwards his liberty was extended to the bounds of his own parish, in which he was allowed to perform the duties of his charge; and there, after labouring in his vocation for some years, during which he suffered much from bad health, he died at Prestonpans in the year 1604.

He was a man of sincere piety, and of an ardent and bold disposition, which fitted him to take a leading part in the great movements of the period. Davidson is particularly deserving of notice on account of the exertions which he made for the religious and literary instruction of his parishioners in Prestonpans. At his own expense he built the church, the manse, and the school and school-master's house. The school was erected for teaching the three learned languages, and he bequeathed all his heritable and movable property for its support. But by much the most extraordinary feature in his character was his reputation for prophecy. Calderwood tells, that Davidson, "one day seeing Mr. John Kerr, the minister of Prestonpans, going in a scarlet cloak like a courtier, told him to lay aside

that abominable dress, as he (Davidson) was destined to succeed him in his ministry; which accordingly came to pass." On another occasion, when John Spottiswood, minister of Calder, and James Law, minister of Kirkliston, were called before the synod of Lothian, on the charge of playing at foot-ball on Sabbath, Davidson, who was acting as moderator, moved that the culprits should be deposed from their charges. The synod, however, awarded them a slighter punishment; and when they were ordered in to receive their sentence, Davidson called out to them, "Come in, you pretty foot-ball men, the synod ordains you only to be rebuked." Then, addressing the meeting in his usual earnest and prophetic manner, he said—"And now, brethren, let me tell you what reward you shall get for your lenity; these two men shall trample on your necks, and the necks of the whole ministry of Scotland." The one was afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews, and the other of Glasgow.—We quote the following from Wodrow's *MS. Lives of Scottish Clergymen*:—"When Davidson was about to rebuild the church of Prestonpans, "a place was found most convenient upon the lands of a small heritor of the parish, called James Pinkerton. Mr. Davidson applied to him, and signified that such a place of his land, and five or six acres, were judged most proper for building the church and churchyard dyke, and he behaved to sell them." The other said "he would never sell them, but he would freely gift those acres to so good a use," which he did. Mr. Davidson said—"James, ye shall be no loser, and ye shall not want a James Pinkerton to succeed you for many generations:" and hitherto, as I was informed some years ago, there has been still a James Pinkerton succeeding to that small heritage in that parish, descending from him; and after several of them had been in imminent danger when childless.

DEMPSTER, GEORGE, of Dunnichen (an estate near Dundee, which his grandfather, a merchant in that town, had acquired in trade), was born about the year 1735. He was educated at the grammar-school of Dundee and the university of St. Andrews; after which he repaired to Edinburgh, where, in 1755, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates. Possessed of an ample fortune, and being of a social disposition, Mr. Dempster entered eagerly into all the gaieties of the metropolis; and at the same time he cultivated the friendship of a group of young men conspicuous for their talents, and some of whom afterwards attained to eminence. In the number were William Robertson and David Hume, the future historians. Mr. Dempster became a member of the "*Poker Club*," instituted by the celebrated Dr. Adam Ferguson, which met in a house near the Netherbow, and had for its object harmless conviviality: but a society which included David Hume, William Robertson, John Home (the author of *Douglas*), Alexander Carlyle, and George Dempster, must necessarily have conducted to the intellectual improvement of its members. It was succeeded, in the year 1756, by the "*Select Society*," a much more extensive association, consisting of most of the men of talent, rank, and learning in Scotland. The object of this society was the advancement of literature and the promotion of the study and speaking of the English language in Scotland, and Dempster was one of the ordinary directors. A list of the members of this society will be found in the appendix to Professor Dugald Stewart's *Life of Dr. Robertson*.

After travelling some time on the Continent, Mr. Dempster returned to Scotland, and practised for a short while at the bar. But, abandoning that pro-

fession early in life, he turned his attention to politics, and stood candidate for the Fife and Forfar district of burghs. His contest was a very arduous one, and cost him upwards of £10,000; but it was successful, for he was returned member to the twelfth parliament of Great Britain, which met on the 25th November, 1762. He entered the House of Commons as an independent member unshackled by party. In the year 1765 he obtained the patent office of secretary to the Scottish order of the Thistle, an office more honourable than lucrative; and it was the only reward which he either sought or procured for twenty-eight years of faithful service in parliament. Mr. Dempster was decidedly opposed to the contest with the American colonies, which ended in their independence; and concurred with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox in maintaining that taxes could not be constitutionally imposed without representation. He did not, however, enter into any factious opposition to the ministry during the continuance of the first American war; but on its conclusion he was strenuous in his endeavours to obtain an immediate reduction of the military establishment, and the abolition of sinecure places and pensions. He joined Mr. Pitt when that great statesman came into power, and supported him in his financial plans, particularly in the establishment of the sinking fund. Mr. Dempster had directed much of his attention to the improvement of our national commerce and manufactures, which he desired to see freed from all restraint. But the object to which at this time, and for many years afterwards, he seems to have directed his chief attention, was the encouragement of the Scottish fisheries.

This had been a favourite project with the people of Scotland ever since the time when the Duke of York, afterwards James II., patronized and became a subscriber to a company formed expressly for the purpose. At length Mr. Dempster succeeded in rousing the British parliament to a due appreciation of the national benefits to be derived from the encouragement of the fisheries on the northern shores, and was allowed to nominate the committee for reporting to the house the best means of carrying his plans into execution.

About this period Mr. Dempster was elected one of the East India Company's directors. It is believed that his election took place in opposition to the prevailing interest in the directory; and certainly his mistaken notions on the subject of oriental politics must have rendered him an inefficient member of that court. Misled by the commercial origin of the corporation, he would have had the company, after it had arrived at great political influence, and acquired extensive territorial possessions in India, to resign its sovereign power, and to confine itself to its mercantile speculations. The policy of relinquishing territorial dominion in India, has long been a cry got up for party purposes; but it seems very extraordinary that Dempster, controlled by no such influence, should have so violently opposed himself to the true interest of the country. The error into which he fell is now obvious; he wished to maintain an individual monopoly, when the great wealth of the country rendered it no longer necessary, while he proposed to destroy our sway over India, when it might be made the means of defending and extending our commerce. Finding himself unable to alter our Indian policy, he withdrew from the directory and became a violent parliamentary opponent of the company. He supported Mr. Fox's India bill, a measure designed chiefly for the purpose of consolidating a Whig administration; and on one occasion he declared, that "all chartered rights should be held inviolable,—those derived from one charter

only excepted. That is the sole and single charter which ought in my mind to be destroyed, for the sake of the country, for the sake of India, and for the sake of humanity."—"I for my part lament, that the navigation to India had ever been discovered, and I now conjure ministers to abandon all ideas of sovereignty in that quarter of the world: for it would be wiser to make some one of the native princes king of the country, and leave India to itself."

In 1785 Mr. Dempster gave his support to the *Grenville act*, by which provision was made for the decision of contested elections by committees chosen by ballot. On the regency question of 1788-9 he was opposed to the ministry; declaring that an executive so constituted would "resemble nothing that ever was conceived before; an un-whig, un-tory, odd, awkward, anomalous monster."

In the year 1790 Mr. Dempster retired from parliamentary duties. Whether this was owing to his own inclination, or forced upon him by the superior influence of the Athole family, a branch of which succeeded him in the representation of his district of burghs, seems doubtful. He now devoted his undivided attention to the advancement of the interests of his native country. It was chiefly through his means that an act of parliament had been obtained affording protection and giving bounties to the fisheries in Scotland; and that a joint-stock company had been formed for their prosecution. In the year 1788 he had been elected one of the directors of this association, and on that occasion he delivered a powerful speech to the members, in which he gave an historical account of the proceedings for extending the fisheries on the coasts of Great Britain. He then showed them that the encouragement of the fisheries was intimately connected with the improvement of the Highlands; and in this manner, by his zeal and activity in the cause, Mr. Dempster succeeded in engaging the people of Scotland to the enthusiastic prosecution of this undertaking. The stock raised, or expected to be raised, by voluntary contribution, was estimated at £150,000. Even from India considerable aid was supplied by the Scotsmen resident in that country. The company purchased large tracts of land at Tobermory in Mull, on Loch Broom in Ross-shire, and on Loch-Bay and Loch-Folliart in the Isle of Skye; at all of these stations they built harbours or quays and erected storehouses. Everything bore a promising aspect, when the war of 1793 with France broke out, and involved the project in ruin. The price of their stock fell rapidly, and many became severe sufferers by the depreciation. Still, however, although the undertaking proved disastrous to the shareholders, yet the country at large is deeply indebted to Mr. Dempster for the great national benefit which has since accrued from the parliamentary encouragement given to our fisheries.

In farther prosecution of his patriotic designs, Mr. Dempster attempted to establish a manufacturing village at Skibo, on the coast of Caithness; but the local disadvantages, in spite of the cheapness of labour and provisions, were insuperable obstacles to its prosperity; and the consequence was, that he not only involved himself, but his brother also, in heavy pecuniary loss, without conferring any lasting benefit on the district.

On the close of his parliamentary career, Mr. Dempster had discontinued his practice of passing the winter in London, and spent his time partly at his seat at Dunnichen, and partly in St. Andrews. In that ancient city he enjoyed the society of his old friend Dr. Adam Ferguson, and of the learned professors of the university; and we have a pleasing

picture of the happy serenity in which this excellent and truly patriotic statesman passed the evening of his life, in the fact that he was in use to send round a vehicle, which he facetiously denominated "*the route coach*," in order to convey some old ladies to his house, who, like himself, excelled in the game of whist, an amusement in which he took singular pleasure. His time while at Dunnichen was more usefully employed. When Mr. Dempster first directed his attention to the improvement of his estate, the tenantry in the north of Scotland were still subject to many of the worst evils of the feudal system. "I found," he says (speaking of the condition of his own farmers), "my few tenants without leases, subject to the blacksmith of the barony; thirled to its mills; wedded to the wretched system of out-field and in; bound to pay kail and to perform personal services; clothed in hoddens, and lodged in hovels." The Highland proprietors, instead of attempting to improve the condition of their farmers and peasantry, were driving them into exile, converting the cultivated lands on their estates into pasturage, and supplying the place of their tenantry with black cattle. Mr. Dempster, in order to find employment for the population thus cruelly driven from their native country, became more strenuous in his endeavours for the encouragement of our fisheries, while, in the course he pursued on his own estate, he held out a praiseworthy example to the neighbouring proprietors, of the mode which they ought to pursue in the improvement of their estates. He granted long leases to his tenants, and freed them from all personal services or unnecessary restrictions in the cultivation of their grounds; he inclosed and drained his lands; he built the neat village of Letham; he drained and improved the loch or moss of Dunnichen, and the peat-bog of Restennet, by which he added greatly to the extent and value of his property, and rendered the air more salubrious. And having ascertained by experiments that his land abounded in marl, he immediately rendered the discovery available; inasmuch, it is estimated, that he acquired a quantity of that valuable manure of the value of £14,000.

After having enjoyed much good health, and a cheerful old age, until his last illness, Mr. Dempster died on the 13th of February, 1818, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. We cannot more appropriately finish our imperfect sketch of this good and able patriot, than by subjoining an extract from one of his letters to his friend Sir John Sinclair:—"I was lately on my death-bed, and no retrospect afforded me more satisfaction than that of having made some scores—hundreds of poor Highlanders happy, and put them in the way of being rich themselves, and of enriching the future lairds of Skibo and Portrossie. —Dunnichen, 2d Nov. 1807."

DEMPSTER, THOMAS, a learned professor and miscellaneous writer, was born at Brechin, in the shire of Angus, sometime in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Of his family or education nothing certain has been preserved, farther than that he studied at Cambridge. In France, whither he went at an early period of his life, and where probably he received the better part of his education, he represented himself as a man of family, and possessed of a good estate, which he had abandoned for his religion, the Roman Catholic. He was promoted to a professor's chair at Paris in the college of Beauvais. Bayle says, that though his business was only to teach a school he was as ready to draw his sword as his pen, and as quarrelsome as if he had been a duellist by profession; scarcely a day passed, he adds, in

which he did not fight either with his sword or at fisticuffs, so that he was the terror of all the school-masters. Though he was of this quarrelsome temper himself, it does not appear, however, that he gave any encouragement to it in others; for one of his students having sent a challenge to another, he had him horsed on the back of a fellow-student, and whipped him upon the seat of honour most severely before a full class. To revenge this monstrous affront, the scholar brought three of the king's life-guardsmen, who were his relations, into the college. Dempster, however, was not to be thus tamed. He caused hamstringing the life-guardsmen's horses before the college gate; themselves he shut up close prisoners in the belfrey, whence they were not relieved for several days. Disappointed of their revenge in this way, the students had recourse to another. They lodged an information against his life and character, which not choosing to meet, Dempster fled into England. How long he remained, or in what manner he was employed there, we have not been informed; but he married a woman of uncommon beauty, with whom he returned to Paris. Walking the streets of Paris with his wife, who, proud of her beauty, had bared a more than ordinary portion of her breast and shoulders, which were of extreme whiteness, they were surrounded by a mob of curious spectators, and narrowly escaped being trodden to death. Crossing the Alps, he obtained a professor's chair in the university of Pisa, with a handsome salary attached to it. Here his comfort, and perhaps his usefulness, was again marred by the conduct of his beautiful wife, who at length eloped with one of his scholars. Previously to this, we suppose, for the time is by no means clearly stated, he had been professor in the university of Nîmes, which he obtained by an honourable competition in a public dispute upon a passage of Virgil. "This passage," he says himself, "was proposed to me as a difficulty not to be solved, when I obtained the professorship in the royal college of Nîmes, which was disputed for by a great number of candidates, and which I at once very honourably carried from the other competitors; though some busy people would have had it divided among several, the senate declaring in my favour, and not one among so many excellent men and eminent in every part of learning dissenting, besides Barnier. The choice being also approved by the consuls, and the other citizens, excepting some few whom I could name if they deserved it; but since they are unworthy so much honour, I shall let their envy and sly malice die with them, rather than contribute to their living by taking notice of them." At this period Dempster must have professed to be a Huguenot, the university of Nîmes being destined solely for the professors of the reformed religion. Be this as it may, Dempster, driven from Pisa by the infidelity of his wife, proceeded to Bologna, where he obtained a professorship which he held till his death in the year 1625.

Dempster was the author of many books, and during his own life certainly enjoyed a most extensive reputation. His powers of memory were so great, that he himself was in the habit of saying that he did not know what it was to forget. Nothing, it was said by some of his encomiasts, lay so hidden in the monuments of antiquity, but that he remembered it; and they gave him on this account the appellation of a speaking library. He was also allowed to have been exceedingly laborious, reading generally fourteen hours every day. If he really devoted so large a portion of his time to reading, his knowledge of books, even though his memory had been but of ordinary capacity, must have been im-

mense; but he wanted judgment to turn his reading to any proper account. What was still worse, he was destitute of common honesty; "and shamefully," says Bayle, "published I know not how many fables." In his catalogue of the writers of Scotland, it has been observed that he frequently inserted those of England, Wales, and Ireland, just as suited his fancy; and to confirm his assertions, very often quoted books which were never written, and appealed to authors who never existed. "Thomas Dempster," says M. Baillet, "has given us an ecclesiastical history of Scotland in nineteen books, wherein he speaks much of the learned men of that country. But though he was an able man in other respects, his understanding was not the more sound, nor his judgment the more solid, nor his conscience the better for it. He would have wished that all learned men had been Scots. He forged titles of books which were never published, to raise the glory of his native country; and has been guilty of several cheating tricks, by which he has lost his credit among men of learning.

The catalogue of Dempster's works is astonishingly ample, and they undoubtedly exhibit proofs of uncommon erudition. Of his numerous writings, however, his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, is the most remarkable, though, instead of being, as its title would indicate, an ecclesiastical history of Scotland, it is merely a list of Scottish authors and Scottish saints. The work was composed in Italy, where, it is presumable, the works of Scottish authors were not easily accessible; in consequence of which he could not be expected to proceed with any very great degree of accuracy; but many of his errors, even candour must admit, are not the result of inadvertency, but of a studied intention to mislead. A more fabulous work never laid claim to the honours of history. Of the names which he so splendidly emblazons, a large proportion is wholly fictitious, and his anecdotes of writers who have actually existed are entitled to any kind of commendation but that of credibility. In extenuation of this fabulous propensity, however, it ought to be observed, that he lived in an age when such fabrications were considered as meritorious rather than reprehensible. The rage for legends framed for promoting the practice of piety, as was foolishly imagined, gave a general obliquity to the minds of men, rendering them utterly insensible to the sacred claims and the immutable character of truth. The most impudent lie, if it was supposed to favour the cause of religion, was dignified with the name of a *pious* fraud; and the most palpable falsehood, if it was designed to promote national glory, met, from the general impulse of national vanity, with the same indulgence. Hence that contemptible mass of falsehood and of fiction which darkens and disfigures all, and has totally blotted out the early history of some nations. Dempster had certainly an irritable, and, in some degree, a ferocious disposition, but we do not see that he ought to be charged with moral turpitude beyond the average of the men of his own age and standing in society. Yet for the honour of his country, as he foolishly imagined, he has compiled an immense mass of incredible fictions, which he has gravely told; and seems to have hoped mankind in general would receive as well authenticated historical facts. Losing in the brilliancy of his imagination any little spark of integrity that illumined his understanding, when the reputation of his native country was concerned, he seems to have been incapable of distinguishing between truth and falsehood. In this respect, however, he does not stand alone, the earlier historians of every country being in some degree chargeable

with the same failing. Even in the most splendid works of the same kind, written at periods comparatively late, many passages might be pointed out which there is no necessity for supposing their compilers seriously believed. With all his faults, the reputation of Dempster certainly extended itself to every country of Europe; and though his most elaborate works are digested with so little care or so little skill that they can only be regarded as collections of ill-assorted materials, exhibiting little merit beyond assiduity of transcription; yet it would perhaps be difficult to point out another Scottish writer who had the same intimate acquaintance with classical antiquity.

DICK, Rev. JOHN, D.D., an eminent divine of the Scottish Secession church, was born at Aberdeen on the 10th October, 1764. His father, the Rev. Alexander Dick, a native of Kinross, was minister of the Associate congregation of Seceders in that city.

Of the earlier years of Dr. Dick little more is known than that he distinguished himself at the grammar-school. On entering the university in October, 1777, when in his thirteenth year, he obtained a bursary in King's College, having been preferred to competitors of long standing. Here he studied humanity under Professor Ogilvie, Greek under Leslie, and philosophy under Dunbar, and on 30th March, 1781, he took the degree of A.M.

In 1785 Dr. Dick, who had now attained the age of twenty-one, and had studied for the clerical office in connection with the Secession, received his license as a preacher from the Associate presbytery of Perth and Dunfermline, and soon afterwards began to attract notice by the elegance of his sermons, the gracefulness of his delivery, and the dignity and fervour of his manner in the pulpit. The consequence of this favourable impression was, that he received, shortly after being licensed, simultaneous calls from three several congregations,—those of Scone, Musselburgh, and Slateford, near Edinburgh, to the last-named of which he was appointed by the synod, and was ordained on the 26th October, 1786, at the age of twenty-two. With this appointment Dr. Dick was himself highly gratified. He liked the situation, and soon became warmly attached to his people, who, in their turn, formed the strongest attachment to him. During the first year of his ministry he lived with Dr. Peddie of Edinburgh, there being no residence for him in the village. One, however, was built, and at the end of the period named he removed to it, and added to his other pursuits the culture of a garden which had been assigned him, and in which he took great delight. A few years afterwards he married Miss Jane Coventry, second daughter of the Rev. George Coventry of Stitchell in Roxburghshire, a connection which added greatly to his comfort and happiness.

Dr. Dick's habits were at this time, as indeed they also were throughout the whole of his life, extremely regular and active. He rose every morning before six o'clock and began to study, allowing himself only from two to three hours' recreation in the middle of the day, when he visited his friends or walked alone into the country. Nor was his labour light, for, although an excellent extempore speaker, he always wrote the discourses he meant to deliver, in order to insure that accuracy and elegance of language which, he rightly conceived, could not be commanded, or at least depended on, in extemporaneous oratory. The consequence of this care and anxiety about his compositions was a singular clearness, conciseness, and simplicity of style in his sermons. Nor was he

less happy in the matter than the manner of his discourses. The former was exceedingly varied and comprehensive, embracing nearly the whole range of theology.

In 1788, two years after his settlement at Slateford, Dr. Dick made his first appearance as an author. In that year he published a sermon entitled, *The Conduct and Doom of False Teachers*, a step suggested by the publication of *A Practical Essay on the Death of Christ*, by Dr. M'Gill of Ayr, in which Socinian opinions were openly maintained. The general aim of Dr. Dick's discourse was to expose all corrupters of the truth, particularly those who, like Dr. M'Gill, disseminated errors, and yet continued to hold office in a church whose creed was orthodox. During all the debates in this case, which took place before the General Assembly, Dr. Dick attended, and took a deep interest in all the proceedings connected with it which occurred in that court.

The subject of this memoir did not appear again as an author till 1796, when he published another sermon, entitled *Confessions of Faith shown to be Necessary, and the Duty of Churches with Respect to them Explained*. This sermon, which was esteemed a singularly able production, had its origin in a controversy then agitated on the subject of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* in relation to seceders who were involved in an inconsistency by retaining the former entire, while, contrary to its spirit, they threw off spiritual allegiance to magisterial authority. In this discourse Dr. Dick recommends that confessions of faith should be often revised, and endeavours to do away the prejudice which prevents that being done.

From this period till 1800 the doctor's literary productions consisted wholly of occasional contributions to the *Christian Magazine*, a monthly publication conducted by various ministers belonging to the two largest branches of the Secession. The contributions alluded to were distinguished by the signature *Chorepiscopus*. But in the year above-named the able work appeared on which Dr. Dick's reputation as a writer and theologian now chiefly rests. This was *An Essay on the Inspiration of the Scriptures*; a production which was received with great applause, and which made the author's name widely known throughout the religious world. The popularity of this work was so great that it went through three editions during Dr. Dick's lifetime, and a fourth, on which he meditated certain alterations, which, however, he did not live to accomplish, was called for before his death.

Dr. Dick had now been fifteen years resident at Slateford, and in this time had been twice called to occupy the place of his father, who had died in the interval; but the synod, in harmony with his own wishes, declined both of these invitations, and continued him at Slateford. The time, however, had now arrived when a change of residence was to take place. In 1801 he was called by the congregation of Greyfriars, Glasgow, to be colleague to the Rev. Alexander Pirie, and with this call the synod complied, Dr. Dick himself expressing no opinion on the subject, but leaving it wholly to the former to decide on the propriety and expediency of his removal. The parting of the doctor with his congregation on this occasion was exceedingly affecting. Their attachment to each other was singularly strong, and their separation proportionally painful.

Having repaired to Glasgow, Dr. Dick was inducted, as colleague and successor, into his new charge, one of the oldest and wealthiest in the Secession church, on the 21st May, 1801. Previously to the doctor's induction a large portion of the members

of the congregation had withdrawn to a party who termed themselves the Old Light; but the diligence, zeal, and talents of its new minister speedily restored the church to its original prosperity.

From this period nothing more remarkable occurred in Dr. Dick's life than what is comprised in the following brief summary of events. In 1810 he succeeded, by the death of Dr. Pirie, to the sole charge of the Greyfriars. In 1815 he received the degree of Dr. of Divinity from the college of Princeton, New Jersey, and in the following year he published a volume of sermons. In 1820 he was chosen to the chair of theological professor to the Associate synod in room of Dr. Lawson of Selkirk, who died in 1819; an appointment which involved a flattering testimony to his merits, being the most honourable place in the gift of his communion. Yet his modesty would have declined it, had not his friends insisted on his accepting it. For six years subsequent to his taking the theological chair, Dr. Dick continued sole professor, but at the end of that period, viz. in 1825, a new professorship, intended to embrace biblical literature, was established, and the Rev. Dr. John Mitchell was appointed to the situation. From this period Dr. Dick's labours were united with those of the learned gentleman just named.

On the retirement of the Earl of Glasgow from the presidency of the Auxiliary Bible Society of Glasgow, in consequence of the controversy raised regarding the circulation of the Apocrypha, Dr. Dick was chosen to that office, and in March, 1832, he was elected president also of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Association, to the furtherance of whose objects he lent all his influence and talents. But his active and valuable life was now drawing to a close, and its last public act was at hand. This was his attending a meeting on the 23d January, 1833, in which the lord-provost of the city presided, for the purpose of petitioning the legislature regarding the sanctification of the Sabbath. On this occasion Dr. Dick was intrusted with one of the resolutions, and delivered a very animated address to the large and respectable assemblage which the object alluded to had brought together; thus showing that, consistently with the opinions he maintained as to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, he could join in an application to parliament for the protection of the sacred day against the encroachments of worldly and ungodly men.

On the same evening Dr. Dick attended a meeting of the session of Greyfriars, to make arrangements for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, but on going home he was attacked with a complaint, a disease in the interior of the ear, which brought on his death, after an illness of only two days' duration. This excellent man died on the 25th January, 1833, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, the forty-seventh of his ministry, and the thirteenth of his professorship. His remains were interred in the High Churchyard of Glasgow on the 1st of February following, amidst expressions of regret which unequivocally indicated the high estimation in which he was held. About a year after his death his theological lectures were published in four volumes, 8vo, with a memoir prefixed.

It only remains to be added, that Dr. Dick, during the period of his ministry in Glasgow, attracted much notice by the delivery of a series of monthly Sabbath evening lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, which were afterwards published at intervals in two volumes; and, on a second edition being called for, were collected in one volume. These lectures, which were followed up by a series of discourses on the divine

attributes, are reckoned models for the exposition of the Holy Scriptures.

DICK, THOMAS, LL.D., F.R.A.S., &c. This popular writer, who made the difficulties of natural science intelligible to the multitude, was born in the Hilltown, Dundee, on the 24th of November, 1774. His father, Mungo Dick, a small linen manufacturer, being a member of the Secession Church, educated his son according to that strict religious system which was then prevalent in Scottish households, and especially among those of his own communion. He was also taught his letters at home chiefly by his mother, and could read the New Testament before he went to school. The direction of his mind to astronomical studies is said to have been given in the ninth year of his age by the appearance of a remarkable meteor, the first flash of which had such an effect upon him that, overcome with awe, he fell to the ground. After this he anxiously sought and perused every book connected with the science of astronomy. This occupation was opposed, however, to the wishes of his father, who intended to bring him up to the manufacturing business; but Thomas Dick, who in his thirteenth year had contrived, by saving his pocket-money, to purchase a small work on astronomy, made its pages his constant study, even while seated at the loom. This bias towards study was further strengthened by a severe attack of small-pox, followed by measles, which so greatly weakened his constitution, that he preferred the exercise of thought to the bodily labour of weaving.

The book to which we have referred was entitled, *Martin's Gentlemen's and Ladies' Philosophy*, and his curiosity to see the planets described in it was so intense, that he begged, borrowed, or purchased the eyes of invalided spectacles from every quarter; and having contrived a machine for the purpose of grinding these lenses into the proper form, he mounted them in pasteboard tubes, and commenced with such embryo telescopes his celestial discoveries. These strange doings so astonished the neighbourhood that they thought the boy had lost his wits, while his parents were grieved at the visitation. Further acquaintanceship, however, with the nature of his studies, and the conviction that they were "not uncanny," reconciled them to his parents, and at the age of sixteen he was free to choose his future occupation. He accordingly became an assistant teacher in one of the schools of Dundee; and having prepared himself by this occupation for the college, he entered himself when twenty years old as a student in the university of Edinburgh, supporting himself in the meantime by private teaching. Diligently prosecuting the studies of philosophy and theology, and holding the office of master in several schools successively, he also contributed essays to various publications, by which he trained himself for the important tasks of his future authorship. In 1801 he was licensed to preach in the Secession church, and officiated for several years as a probationer in various parts of Scotland; but at last he settled for ten years as teacher of the Secession school at Methven, in consequence of the invitation of the Rev. J. Jamieson, and the kirk-session of that quarter, who were patrons of the school. Having thus found a permanent resting-place, Thomas Dick began those experiments for the intellectual and moral improvement of the people at large which formed his great principle of action throughout the whole of his life. For this purpose he recommended the study of the sciences to the working-classes, established a "people's library," and founded what might properly be called

the first mechanic's institute of the kingdom—for this was six years before the name was first applied to it.

After remaining ten years at the Secession school of Methven, Mr. Dick removed to an educational establishment at Perth, where he spent other ten years as a public teacher. It was while holding this situation also that he wrote his *Christian Philosopher*, which was published in 1827. As soon as the work appeared it was received with favour, and the numerous editions through which it successively passed showed how widely and firmly it had secured for itself readers in every class of society. In consequence of this success, he resigned his laborious occupation of a schoolmaster for the more important one of a teacher of the people through the press, for which he had now shown himself so well qualified. In the fifty-third year of his age he accordingly retired to Broughty Ferry, in the neighbourhood of Dundee, and built for himself a neat little cottage on the top of the hill overlooking the Tay. The plot of ground on which this edifice was erected was so barren that nothing would grow on it, until he had laid eight thousand wheel-barrow loads of fresh soil upon it—and as for the house, it had a room at the top of it with openings to the four cardinal points, and fitted up as an observatory, in which were placed his books and philosophical instruments. The rustics gazed in astonishment at the house erected in so high and bleak a region, and at the observatory surmounting the whole, and at last concluded that his principal wish was to dwell near the stars. To him, however, it was a dwelling congenial to the high themes on which he meditated, and here he continued to produce his numerous works until within a few years of his death, when age paralyzed the activity of his pen.

The principal works of Dr. Dick, besides his *Christian Philosopher*, were *The Philosophy of Religion*; *The Philosophy of a Future State*; *The Improvement of Society by the Diffusion of Knowledge*; *The Mental Illumination and Moral Improvement of Mankind*; *Christian Beneficence contrasted with Covetousness*; *Celestial Scenery, or the Wonders of the Planetary System Displayed*; *The Sidereal Heavens*; *The Practical Astronomer*; *The Solar System*; and, *The Atmosphere and Atmospheric Phenomena*. In all of these works he endeavoured to enlist science and philosophy in the service of religion, and by the simplicity of his treatment and clearness of style adapt the subjects to every class of readers. And few authors in so important an aim have succeeded so well or acquired such popularity, while his publications, which went through several editions, were extensively read and highly valued both in Britain and America. It is melancholy, however, to reflect that, with all this success in authorship, he still remained poor; this was owing not by any means to expensive habits, but the carelessness of his contracts with his publishers, so that his literary labours were very scantily remunerated. Thus it was that in old age, and with the high distinction he had won, he was obliged to lead a life of rigid economy. An attempt was made, in 1845, by some of the most influential in Dundee and its neighbourhood, to obtain for him a pension from government; but the application failed. Another was made in 1847, and with more success, as a pension of £50 a-year was awarded to him. Happily this scanty sum was increased by the liberality of several gentlemen in Dundee, Inverness, and other places, who in consequence of an appeal through the press raised a small fund, out of which between £20 and £30 were annually paid to him. The title of LL.D. was conferred upon him

by Union College, New York, United States, where his popularity as a writer was greater than even at home. Dr. Dick died on the 29th of July, 1857, at the age of eighty-three.

DICKSON, DAVID, an eminent Presbyterian divine of the seventeenth century, of whom Wodrow remarks, that, "if ever a Scots biography and the lives of our eminent ministers and Christians be published, he will shine there as a star of the first magnitude." Remarkable not merely for the part he took in public affairs—his preaching produced the most astonishing effects in the early part of the century in which he lived. Fleming in his work on the *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, says of Dickson's pulpit ministrations, "that for a considerable time few Sabbaths did pass without some evidently converted, or some convincing proof of the power of God accompanying his Word. And truly (he adds) this great spring-tide, as I may call it, of the gospel, was not of a short time, but of some years' continuance; yea, thus like a spreading moor-burn, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another, which put a marvellous lustre on those parts of the country, the savour whereof brought many from other parts of the land to see its truth." We may be permitted to devote a few pages to the history of a man thus recommended by his great public usefulness, his talents, and virtues.

The subject of our narrative was a native of Glasgow, in which city his father John Dick, or Dickson, was a merchant. The latter was possessed of considerable wealth, and the proprietor of the lands of the Kirk of the Muir, in the parish of St. Ninians, and barony of Fintry. He and his wife, both persons of eminent piety, had been several years married without children, when they entered into a solemn vow, that, if the Lord would give them a son, they would devote him to the service of his church. A day was appointed, and their Christian townsmen were requested to join with them in fasting and prayer. Without further detail of this story, we shall merely say, that Mr. David Dickson, their son, was born in the Tron Street (or Trongate) of Glasgow, in 1583; but the vow was so far forgot, that he was educated for mercantile pursuits, in which he was eminently unsuccessful, and the cause of much pecuniary loss to his parents. This circumstance, added to a severe illness of their son, led his parents to remember their vow; Mr. Dickson was then "put to his studies, and what eminent service he did in his generation is known."¹

Soon after taking the degree of Master of Arts, Mr. Dickson was appointed one of the regents or professors of philosophy in the university of Glasgow; a situation held at that period in all the Scottish colleges by young men who had just finished their academical career, and were destined for the church. "The course of study which it was their duty to conduct was calculated to form habits of severe application in early life, and to give them great facility both in writing and in speaking. The universities had the advantage of their services during the vigour of life, when they were unencumbered by domestic cares, and when they felt how much their reputation and interest depended on the exertions which they made. After serving a few years (seldom more than eight, or less than four), they generally obtained appointments in the church, and thus transferred to another field the intellectual industry and aptitude for communicating knowledge by which they had distin-

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS. Advocates' Library, i. 128. Wodrow's *Life of Dickson*, prefixed to *Truth's Victory over Error*, p. x.

guished themselves in the university. It may well be conceived, that by stimulating and exemplifying diligence, their influence on their brethren in the ministry was not less considerable than on the parishioners, who more directly enjoyed the benefit of attainments and experience, more mature than can be expected from such as have never had access to similar means of improvement.¹ But we must return from a digression, which seemed necessary in order to explain a system which is no longer pursued.

Mr. Dickson remained several years at Glasgow, and was eminently useful in teaching the different branches of literature and science, and in directing the minds of his students to the end to which all such attainments should lead them—the cultivation of true piety. But in accordance with the custom already noticed, he was now removed to a more honourable, though certainly more hazardous calling. In the year 1618 he was ordained minister of Irvine. At this period, it would appear he had paid but little attention to the subject of church government, a circumstance the more remarkable when we consider the keen discussions between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians on such questions. But the year in which he had entered on his ministry was too eventful to be overlooked. The General Assembly had agreed to the five ceremonies now known as the Perth articles, and a close examination convinced Mr. Dickson that they were unscriptural. Soon afterwards, when a severe illness brought him near death, he openly declared against them; and no sooner had Law, the Archbishop of Glasgow, heard of it, than he was summoned before the court of high commission. He accordingly appeared, but declined the jurisdiction of the court, on account of which sentence of deprivation and confinement to Turfiff was passed upon him. His friends prevailed upon the archbishop to restore him, on condition that he would withdraw his declination; a condition with which he would not comply. Soon after, Law yielded so far as to allow him to return to his parish, if he would come to his castle, and withdraw the paper from the hall-table without seeing him; terms which Mr. Dickson spurned, as being “but juggling in such a weighty matter.” At length he was permitted, in July, 1623, to return unconditionally.²

After noticing the deep impression Mr. Dickson made upon the minds of his hearers, Mr. Wodrow gives us the following account of his ministerial labours at Irvine:—“Mr. Dickson had his week-day sermon upon the Mondays, the market-days then at Irvine. Upon the Sabbath evenings, many persons under soul distress used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down; in all which he had an extraordinary talent; indeed he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In a large hall he had in his house at Irvine, there would have been, as I am informed by old Christians, several scores of serious Christians waiting for him when he came from the church. Those, with the people round the town, who came in to the market at Irvine, made the church as throng, if not thronger, on the Mondays as on the Lord’s-day, by these week-day sermons.

The famous Stewarton sickness was begun about the year 1630; and spread from house to house for many miles in the strath where Stewarton water runs on both sides of it. Satan endeavoured to bring a reproach upon the serious persons who were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running some, seemingly under serious concern, to excesses, both in time of sermon and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr. Dickson and other ministers who dealt with them, to act so prudent a part, as Satan’s design was much disappointed, and solid, serious, practical religion flourished mightily in the west of Scotland about this time, even under the hardships of prelacy.”

About the year 1630 some of the Scottish clergymen settled among their countrymen who had emigrated to the north of Ireland. While they were permitted to preach they had been highly useful; but the Irish prelates did not long allow them to remain unmolested: they felt the progress of their opinions, and with a zeal which, in attempting to promote, often defeats its own cause, determined to silence the Presbyterians, or oblige them to conform. In 1637 Robert Blair and John Livingston, against whom warrants had been issued, after secreting themselves near the coast, came over to Scotland. They were received by Mr. Dickson at Irvine, and were employed occasionally in preaching for him. He had been warned that this would be seized upon by the bishops as a pretext for deposing him, but he would not deviate from what he considered his duty. He was, therefore, again called before the high commission court; but we are only told that “he soon got rid of this trouble, the bishops’ power being now on the decline.”

In the summer of the same year several ministers were charged to buy and receive the *Service Book*; a measure which produced the most important consequences. Mr. John Livingston, in his autobiography, has truly said that the subsequent changes in the church took their rise from two petitions presented upon this occasion. Many others followed, and their prayer being refused, increased the number and demands of the petitioners; they required the abolition of the high commission, and exemption from the Perth articles. These were still refused, and their number was now so great as to form a large majority of the ministers and people. The presbytery of Irvine joined in the petition, at the instigation of Mr. Dickson, and throughout the whole of the proceedings which followed upon it, we shall find him taking an active but moderate part.

When the General Assembly of 1638 was convoked, David Dickson, Robert Baillie, and William Russell, minister at Kilbarnie, were appointed to represent the presbytery at Irvine, and “to propound, reason, vote, and conclude according to the word of God, and confession approved by sundry General Assemblies.” Mr. Dickson and a few others were objected to by the king’s party, as being under the censure of the high commission, but they proved the injustice of the proceedings against them, and were therefore admitted members. He seems to have borne a zealous and useful part in this great ecclesiastical council: his speech, when the commissioner threatened to leave them, is mentioned by Wodrow with much approbation; but the historian has not inserted it in his memoir, as it was too long, and yet too important and nervous to be abridged. A discourse upon Arminianism, delivered at their eleventh session, is also noticed, of which Principal Baillie says that he “refuted all those errors in a new way of his own, as some years ago he had conceived it in a number of sermons on the new covenant. Mr.

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission for Visiting the Scottish Universities*, 1837, p. 221. Another practice at this period was, that the regents, when they took the oath of office, should engage to vacate their charge in the event of marrying. Mr. James Dalrymple (afterwards the Viscount of Stair), having married while a regent at Glasgow in 1643, demitted, but was reappointed.—*Ibid.*

² Wodrow’s *Memoir of Dickson*, p. 12, 13. Livingston’s *Characteristics*, edit. 1773, p. 81.

David's discourse was much as all his things, extempore; so he could give no double of it, and his labour went away with his speech.⁷¹ An effort was made at this period by John Bell, one of the ministers of Glasgow, to obtain Mr. Dickson for an assistant, but the opposition of Lord Eglinton and that of Mr. Baillie in behalf of the presbytery of Irvine, were sufficient to delay, though not to prevent the appointment.

In the short campaign of 1639 a regiment of 1200 men, of which the Earl of Loudon was appointed coroner (or colonel), and Mr Dickson chaplain, was raised in Ayrshire. The unsatisfactory pacification at Berwick, however, required that the Scots should disband their army, and leave the adjustment of civil and ecclesiastical differences to a parliament and assembly. Of the latter court Mr. Dickson was, by a large majority, chosen moderator; a situation which he filled with great judgment and moderation. In the tenth session a call was presented to him from the town of Glasgow, but the vigorous interference of Lord Eglinton, and of his own parishioners, contributed still to delay his removal. His speech at the conclusion of the assembly, as given by Stevenson, displays much mildness, and forms a striking contrast to the deep-laid plans formed by the king's party, to deceive and ensnare the Scottish clergy.

Soon afterwards (1640) Mr. Dickson received an appointment of a much more public and important nature than any he had yet held. A commission for visiting the university of Glasgow had been appointed by the assembly of 1638, to the members of which the principal had made himself obnoxious, by a strong leaning towards episcopacy. It was renewed in subsequent years, and introduced several important changes. Among these was the institution of a separate professorship of divinity, to which a competent lodging and a salary of £800 Scots was attached. This situation had been long destined for Mr. Dickson; and when he entered upon the duties of it, he did not disappoint the expectations of the nation. Not only did he interpret the Scriptures, teach casuistical divinity, and hear the discourses of his students, but Wodrow informs us that he preached every Sunday forenoon in the High Church.

We find Mr. Dickson taking an active part in the assembly of 1643. Some complaints had been made of the continuance of episcopal ceremonies, such as, repeating the doxology and kneeling, and Alexander Henderson, the moderator, David Calderwood, and Mr. Dickson, were appointed to prepare the draught of a directory for public worship. It had, we are informed, the effect of quieting the spirits of the discontented. This is the only public transaction in which we find him employed while he remained at Glasgow.

The remaining events in Mr. Dickson's life may be soon enumerated. In 1650 he was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, where he dictated in Latin to his students, what has since been published in English, under the title of *Truth's Victory over Error*. Mr. Wodrow mentions that the greater part of the ministers in the west, south, and east of Scotland had been educated under him, either at Glasgow or Edinburgh. There Mr. Dickson continued till the Restoration, when he was ejected for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. The great change which took place so rapidly in the ecclesiastical establishment of the country preyed upon him, and undermined his constitution.

His last illness is thus noticed by Wodrow:—"In December, 1662, he felt extremely weak. Mr. John

Livingston, now suffering for the same cause with him, and under a sentence of banishment for refusing the foresaid oath, came to visit Mr. Dickson on his death-bed. They had been intimate friends near fifty years, and now rejoiced together as fellow confessors. When Mr. Livingston asked the professor how he found himself, his answer was, 'I have taken all my good deeds and all my bad deeds, and cast them through each other in a heap before the Lord, and fled from both, and betaken myself to the Lord Jesus Christ, and in him I have sweet peace!' Mr. Dickson's youngest son gave my informer, a worthy minister yet alive, this account of his father's death. Having been very weak and low for some days, he called all his family together, and spoke in particular to each of them; and when he had gone through them all, he pronounced the words of apostolical blessing (2 Cor. xiii. 14) with much gravity and solemnity, and then put up his hand, and closed his own eyes, and without any struggle or apparent pain immediately expired in the arms of his son, my brother's informer,² in the year 1663." This period has been noticed by some of our historians as particularly calamitous. In the course of a few years, when the church most required their support, the deaths of Dickson, Durham, Baillie, Ramsay, Rutherford, and many others, are recorded.³

Of Mr. Dickson's works the indefatigable Wodrow has given a minute account. By these he is best known, and it is perhaps the best eulogium that could be pronounced upon them, that they have stood the test of more than two hundred years, and are still highly valued.

His commentaries on the Psalms, on the Gospel of St. Matthew, on the Epistles, and on that to the Hebrews, which was printed separately, were the results of a plan formed among some of the most eminent ministers of the Scottish church for publishing "short, plain, and practical expositions of the whole Bible." To the same source we are indebted for some of the works of Durham, Ferguson, Hutchison, &c.; but the plan was never fully carried into effect, and several of the expositions in Wodrow's time still remained in manuscript. Mr. Dickson's *Treatise on the Promises*, published at Dublin, in 1630, 12mo, is the only other work printed during his life, with the exception of some ephemeral productions arising out of the controversy with the doctors of Aberdeen, and the disputes between the resolutioners and protesters. A few poems on religious subjects are mentioned by Wodrow, but they are long since quite forgotten.

Mr. Dickson's *Therapeutica Sacra, or Cases of Conscience Resolved*, has been printed both in Latin and English. On the 25th of July, 1661, he applied to the privy council for liberty to publish the English version; and Fairfoul, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, was appointed to examine and report upon it. "Now, indeed," says Wodrow sarcastically, "the world was changed in Scotland, when Mr. Fairfoul is pitched upon to revise Mr. David Dickson, professor of divinity, his books." What was the result of this application is not known; it is only certain that no further progress was made in the attainment of this object till 1663, after the author's death. On the 23d of March that year his son, Mr. Alexander Dickson, professor of Hebrew in the university of Edinburgh, again applied to the lords of the council, who in October granted license to print it without restriction.⁴ It was accordingly published in 1664.

² Wodrow's *Memoir of Dickson*, p. xiii.

³ Law's *Memoirs*, p. 13.

⁴ *History of the Suff. of the Church of Scotland*, ed. 1828.

¹ Baillie's printed *Letters and Journals*, i. 125.

The last work which we have to notice is *Truth's Victory over Error*, which was translated by the eccentric George Sinclair, and published as his own in 1684. What his object in doing so was Wodrow does not determine, but only remarks that *if* (and we think there is no doubt in the matter) it was "with the poor view of a little glory to himself, it happened to him as it generally does to self-seeking and private-spirited persons even in this present state." In accordance with the prevailing custom of the times, many of Mr. Dickson's students had copied his dictates, and Sinclair's trick was soon and easily detected. One of them inserted in the running title the lines,

"No errors in this book I see,
But G. S. where D. D. should be."

The first edition, with the author's name, was printed at Glasgow, in 1725, and has prefixed to it a memoir of the author, by Wodrow, to which we have already alluded, and to which we are indebted for many of the facts mentioned in this article.¹

DOIG, DR. DAVID, the son of a small farmer in the county of Angus, was born in the year 1719. His father dying while he was still an infant, he was indebted for subsistence to a stepfather, who, although in very moderate circumstances, and burdened with a young family, discharged to him the duty of an affectionate parent. From a constitutional defect of eyesight, he was twelve years of age before he had learned to read; he was enabled, however, by the quickness of his intellect, and the constancy of his application, amply to redeem his lost time: his progress was so rapid, that after three years' attendance at the parochial school, he was the successful candidate for a bursary in the university of St. Andrews. Having finished the usual elementary course of classical and philosophical education, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and commenced the study of divinity, but was prevented from completing his studies by some conscientious scruples regarding certain of the articles in the Presbyterian confession of faith. Thus diverted from his original intention of entering the church, he taught for several years the parochial schools of Monifieth in Angus, and Kennoway and Falkland in Fifeshire. His great reputation as a teacher then obtained for him, from the magistrates of Stirling, the appointment of rector of the grammar-school of that town; which situation he continued to fill with the greatest ability for upwards of forty years. It is a curious coincidence, that on one and the same day he received from the university of St. Andrews a diploma as Master of Arts, and from the university of Glasgow the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.—Dr. Doig died March 16th, 1800, at the age of eighty-one.

In addition to a profound knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, both of which he wrote with classical purity, Dr. Doig had made himself master of the Hebrew, Arabic, and other oriental languages, and was deeply versed in the history and literature of the East. Of his proficiency in the more abstruse learning he has afforded abundant proof in his dissertations on *Mythology*, *Mysteries*, and *Philology*, which were written at the request of his intimate friend and the companion of his social hours, the Rev. Dr. George Gleig, and published in the *Ency-*

clopedia Britannica; of which work that able and ingenious clergyman edited the last volumes, and was himself the author of many of the most valuable articles which the book contains. That part of the encyclopedia containing the article *Philology*, written by Dr. Doig, having been published in the same week with a *Dissertation on the Greek Verb* by Dr. Vincent, afterwards Dean of Westminster, that author was so much struck with the coincidence, in many points, with his own opinions, that he commenced an epistolary correspondence with Dr. Doig; and these two eminent philologists, by frequent communication, assisted and encouraged each other in their researches on these subjects. The same liberal interchange of sentiment characterized Dr. Doig's correspondence with Mr. Bryant, in their mutual inquiries on the subject of ancient mythology. Amongst other proofs which Dr. Doig gave of his profound learning, was a *Dissertation on the Ancient Hellenes*, published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*.

The most remarkable event of Dr. Doig's literary life, however, was his controversy with Lord Kames. That eminent philosopher, in his *Essay on Man*, had maintained, as the foundation of his system, that man was originally in an entirely savage state, and that by gradual improvement he rose to his present condition of diversified civilization. These opinions were combated by Dr. Doig, who endeavoured to prove that they were neither supported by sound reason, nor by historical fact; while they were at the same time irreconcilable with the Mosaic account of the creation. In the Bible the historical details of the earliest period present man in a comparatively advanced state of civilization; and if we resort to profane history, we find that the earliest historical records are confirmatory of the sacred books, and represent civilization as flowing from those portions of the globe—from the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile—which the biblical history describes as the seat of the earliest civilization. Modern history is equally favourable to Dr. Doig's system. In Eastern Asia we find nations remaining for thousands of years in identically the same state of improvement, or if they have moved at all, it has been a retrograde movement. In Africa, also, we perceive man in precisely the same condition in which the Greek and Roman writers represent him to have been two thousand years ago. Europe alone affords an example of progress in civilization, and that progress may be easily traced to intercourse with the eastern nations. Man seems to possess no power to advance unassisted, beyond the first stage of barbarism. According to Dr. Robertson, "in every stage of society, the faculties, the sentiments, and the desires of men, are so accommodated to their own state, that they become standards of excellence to themselves; they affix the idea of perfection and happiness to those attainments which resemble their own, and wherever the objects of enjoyment to which they have been accustomed are wanting, confidently pronounce a people to be barbarous and miserable." The impediments which prejudice and national vanity thus oppose to improvement were mainly broken down in Europe by the crusades and their consequences, whereby the civilization of the East was diffused through the several nations in Europe. America presents the only instance of a people having advanced considerably in civilization unassisted, apparently, by external intercourse. The Mexicans and Peruvians, when first discovered, were greatly more civilized than the surrounding tribes: but although this be admitted, yet, as it still remains a debatable question whence the people of America

¹ Wodrow in his *Analytica*, MS. Advocates' Library, sets down the following characteristic anecdote of Mr. Dickson: "I heard that when Mr. David Dickson came in to see the Lady Eglington, who at the time had with her the Lady Wigton, Culross, &c., and they all caressed him very much, he said, 'Ladies, if all this kindness be to me as Mr. David Dickson, I can [render] you no thanks, but if it be to me as a servant of my Master, and for his sake, I take it all weel.'" VOL. I.

derived their origin, and as the most plausible theory represents them as having migrated from the nations of Eastern Asia, it may, after all, be contended, that the Mexicans and Peruvians had rather retrograded than advanced, and that, in truth, they only retained a portion of the civilization which they originally derived from the same common source.

Dr. Doig's controversy with Lord Kames was maintained in two letters addressed to his lordship, but which were not published until 1793, several years after the death of Lord Kames; they led, however, to an immediate intimacy between the controversialists, of the commencement of which we have an interesting anecdote:—The first of these letters "dated from Stirling, but without the subscription of the writer, was transmitted to Lord Kames, who was then passing the Christmas vacation at Blair-Drummond; his curiosity was roused to discover the author of a composition which bore evidence of a most uncommon degree of learning and ingenuity. In conversing on the subject with an intimate friend, Dr. Graham Moir of Leckie, a gentleman of taste and erudition, and of great scientific knowledge, who frequently visited him in the country, his lordship producing the letter of his anonymous correspondent, 'In the name of wonder,' said he, 'Doctor, what prodigy of learning have you got in the town of Stirling, who is capable of writing this letter, which I received a few days ago?' The doctor, after glancing over a few pages, answered, 'I think I know him,—there is but one man who is able to write this letter, and a most extraordinary man he is;—David Doig, the master of our grammar-school.'—'What!' said Lord Kames, 'a genius of this kind within a few miles of my house, and I never to have heard of him! And a fine fellow, too: he tells his mind roundly and plainly; I love him for that:—he does not spare me: I respect him the more:—you must make us acquainted, my good doctor: I will write him a card; and to-morrow, if you please, you shall bring him to dine with me.' The interview took place accordingly, and to the mutual satisfaction of the parties. The subject of their controversy was freely and amply discussed; and though neither of them could boast of making a convert of his antagonist, a cordial friendship took place from that day, and a literary correspondence began, which suffered no interruption during their joint lives."

We have various testimonies of the high respect in which Dr. Doig was held by all who were acquainted with him, and the sincere regard felt for him by his friends. Mr. Tytler, in his *Life of Lord Kames*, embraces the opportunity, while treating of the controversy between him and Lord Kames, to give a short outline of his life, as a small tribute of respect to the memory of a man whom he esteemed and honoured; and whose correspondence for several years, in the latter part of his life, was a source to him of the most rational pleasure and instruction. John Ramsay of Ochertyre raised a mural tablet to his memory, on which he placed the following inscription:—

DAVID DOIG!

Dum tempus erit, vale!
Quo desiderio nunc recordor
Colloquia, coenas, itinera,
Quæ tecum olim habui,
Prope Taichii marginem,
Ubi læti sæpe una erravimus!
Sit mihi pro solatio merita tua contemplare.
Tibi puero orbo,
Ingenui igniculus dedit Pater cœlestis,
Tibi etiam grandævo,
Labor ipse erat in deliciis.
Te vix alius doctrinæ ditior,
Nemo edoctus modestior.
Tuo in sermone miti lucebant

Candor, charitas, jucunda virtus,
Ingenui lumine sane gratior.
Defunctum te doleant octogenarium
Cives, discipuli, sodales.
Venerande Senex! non omnis extinctus es!
Anima tua, sperare lubet, paradisum incolit.
Ibi angelorum ore locutura,
Ibi per sempiternas sæculorum ætates,
Scientiæ animi in terris insatiabilem
Ad libitum expletura.

J. R.

DAVID DOIG!

Farewell through time!
With what regret do I now remember
The conversation, the meals, the journeys,¹
Which I have had with thee,
On the banks of the Teith,
Where, well pleased, we often strayed together.
Be it my consolation
To muse upon thy good qualities.
On thee, an orphan, thy heavenly Father
Bestowed the seeds of Genius:
To thee, even when well stricken in years,
Labour itself was delight.
Than thee, few more rich in literature,
None of the learned more unassuming.
In thy converse mildly shone
Candour, kindness, amiable virtue.
More engaging than the glare of genius.
When thou died'st, aged fourscore,
Townsmen, scholars, and companions,
Dropt a tender tear.
Venerable old man,
Thou hast not utterly perished!
Thy soul, we trust, now dwells in heaven:
There to speak the language of angels;
There, throughout the endless ages of eternity,
To gratify to its wish that thirst for knowledge
Which could not be satiated on earth.

A favourite amusement of Dr. Doig was the composition of small poetical pieces, both in Latin and English, of which those of an epigrammatic turn were peculiarly excellent. From among those fugitive pieces, the magistrates of Stirling selected the following elegiac stanzas, which he had composed on the subject of his own life and studies, and engraved them upon a marble monument, erected to his memory at the expense of the community of Stirling.

Edidici quædam, perlegi plura, notavi
Pauca, cum domino mox peritura suo,
Lubrica Pieris tentarem præmia palmæ,
Credulus, ingenio huius nimis alta meo.
Extincto famam nixituro crescere saxo
Posse putem, vivo quæ mihi nulla fuit!

DON, DAVID. This excellent botanist was born at Forfar in the year 1800. His father being the proprietor of a nursery and botanic garden there, such a circumstance was sufficient to give the mind of David a bias towards this science in early youth, and while working in his father's garden he would necessarily become acquainted with the plants and flowers among which he was occupied. But an ordinary or merely professional amount of knowledge on such subjects was not sufficient for him, and he pursued his investigations under the direction of his father, who was himself an able practical botanist, until he had acquired considerable knowledge of the subject as a science. This was shown in Edinburgh, when Mr. Don, sen., was appointed to the charge of the botanic garden in that city; David, who at that time was a young man, was found to possess such botanical knowledge, that Mr. Patrick Neill and other gentlemen connected with the garden obtained for him the means of attending some of the classes in the university. The stay of his father was but for a short time in Edinburgh, and he returned to his own botanical garden in Forfar, where he had cultivated the botany of his native country with great success;

¹ Dr. Doig, in company with Mr. Ramsay, visited Oxford and Cambridge in 1791, and some years after they spent a few weeks together at Peterhead.

but the young man, who now required a wider field of study, obtained soon afterwards a situation in the establishment of Messrs. Dickson of Broughton, near Edinburgh, where he had the care of the finest collection of plants in Scotland. In 1819 David Don went to London, and being recommended to Mr. Lambert, who at that time had a large collection of plants, he was by that gentleman established entirely in his own house as curator and librarian. In 1822 the situation of librarian to the Linnæan Society became vacant, and to this congenial office, notwithstanding his youth, Don was appointed. Already, indeed, he had acquired high distinction among the students in botanical science, while this appointment afforded the best opportunities for the extension and improvement of his knowledge. In 1836 he was appointed professor of botany in King's College, London, in consequence of the death of Professor Burnett; and the duties of this office he continued to discharge with credit to the end of his life. That valuable life, however, was unexpectedly and prematurely terminated. Although of a robust and strong constitution, a malignant tumour appeared on his lip, and although it was removed, it soon re-appeared in an aggravated form, and ended his days on the 8th of December, 1840, when he had only reached the forty-first year of his age.

The reputation of David Don as a distinguished botanist was established in early life, not only among his friends, but the world at large, by his publications on the science which he so enthusiastically cultivated. One of the first of these was a description of several species of plants which were either entirely new, or confined to a few localities, and had been collected in Scotland by his father and other persons. This article was published in the third volume of the *Memoirs of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh*. Soon after he published, in the thirteenth volume of the Linnæan Society, *A Monograph of the Genus Saxifraga*, by which his reputation as a sound accurate botanist was firmly established. His appointment of librarian to the Linnæan Society having directed his studies to the Indian collection of plants contained in its museum, he published descriptions of several species of plants that grew in Nepal, under the title of *Prodromus Floræ Nepalensis*. Indeed, after his appointment as librarian, almost every volume of the Linnæan Society's *Transactions* was enriched by him with papers on various departments of systematic botany. His numerous scientific contributions from early youth to the close of his life are to be found in every volume of the *Transactions of the Linnæan Society* from vol. 13 to vol. 18; in the *Memoirs of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh*, vols. 3 and 5; and in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, vols. 2 and 19. These are chiefly descriptive of various new genera and species, and on various points in the physiology of plants, while the scientific character of their author has been thus briefly summed up by his biographer, whose account we have followed: "His numerous papers . . . are sufficient proof of his industry, and they have a real value. Don's knowledge of plants was most extensive, and his appreciation of species ready and exact. He was not, however, fully alive to the importance of studying plants in their morphological relations, and many of his papers are open to criticism on this ground."

DONALDSON, JOHN. This wayward artist and author, who wanted nothing but common sense to have attained very high distinction, was born at Edinburgh in 1737. His father, a glover in rather humble circumstances, was a man addicted to meta-

physical theories and reveries, which did not, however, interfere with his daily business; but in the son this tendency finally predominated to the exclusion of every other care.

Even while a child, John Donaldson exhibited an extraordinary aptitude for drawing; he copied every object with chalk upon his father's cutting-board, and when he was only twelve or thirteen years of age, he had attained such proficiency in executing miniature portraits in Indian ink, as to assist in supporting his parents. He was likewise so admirable a copyist in imitating ancient engravings with his pen, that these imitations were often mistaken even by the skilful for originals.

After he had thus spent some years in Edinburgh, he went to London, and for some time painted portraits in miniature with great success. But besides these, he betook himself to historical drawing, in which he was still more successful, and one of his productions in this department (the tent of Darius) gained the prize given by the Society of Arts. He also painted two subjects in enamel, the one on the death of Dido, and the other from the story of Hero and Leander, both of which obtained prizes from the same society. He was now regarded as an artist of high promise, and his foot was planted upon the ladder which would have raised him to fame and fortune, when the spirit of the moral dreamer which had been growing within him, superseded the inspiration of the artist. He had begun to think that the taste, intellectual pursuits, government, morals, and religion of mankind were all wrong—and that, as the necessary consequence of his making such a discovery, he was the person destined to set them all right. His father had been able, while discussing the most abstruse metaphysical subjects, to carry on his work without interruption, and cut out gloves upon the board; but John, an exaggeration of his father, was so wholly possessed by his theories as to become in the ordinary affairs of life as helpless as a child. An indifference, nay, a positive aversion to the art which he had cultivated so carefully and successfully, had now obtained complete possession, which he manifested by startling indications: he maintained that Sir Joshua Reynolds must be a very dull fellow to devote his life to the study of lines and tints; and on one occasion, when the carriage of Lord North waited at his door, his lordship was sent away with a "not at home," because the artist was not in a humour to paint. Donaldson also cultivated his conversational powers, which were chiefly distinguished by smart epigram and sarcasm—and thinking perhaps that these would be available instruments in the regeneration of human opinion, he would start from his easel to his writing-desk, and finish an epigram, or secure a flying thought, though some person of rank should at the time be sitting for his portrait. Of course his improvement as a painter was stopped, and his friends and patrons alienated. But neither by these instances, nor by the fact that younger and inferior artists were now obtaining the precedence, would he submit to be warned—these were merely proofs that the whole world was in the wrong, and combined in a conspiracy against the man who could reform them. Thus he went on until he had neither business to cultivate nor customers to resort to him.

In the meantime, although he had abandoned painting, he was not idle, as the masses of manuscript he had written attested; but their subjects were too *outré* or undigested to be fit for publication. The only works he published, notwithstanding all this mass of labour, were an *Essay on the Elements of Beauty*, and a volume of poems. He is supposed also to have been the author of an anonymous pamphlet

entitled *Critical Remarks upon the Public Buildings of London*. Among his various studies was the science of chemistry, and he discovered a method not only of preserving vegetables, but the lean of meat, so as to remain uncorrupted during the longest voyages, for which he obtained a patent; but his want of money, and entire ignorance of business, prevented him from deriving any benefit from the discovery. The last twenty years of Donaldson's life were years of suffering, chiefly arising from penury; his eyesight as well as his business had failed, and he frequently was in want of the common necessities of life. His last illness was occasioned by sleeping in a room which had been lately painted. In consequence of this imprudence he was seized with a total debility, and being removed by some friends to a lodging at Islington, he, in spite of every care they could bestow, died on the 11th of October, 1801. Such was the end of John Donaldson, a man addicted to no vice, and temperate to abstemiousness; endowed with high talent in various departments independent of that of art, and beloved by all who knew him on account of his many virtues as well as endowments. His only fault—but one which was sufficient to negative all his good qualities—was that total want of common sense which is so necessary for the business of every-day life, and without which all talent must be unavailing.

DONALDSON, WALTER. This learned writer, who is classed among the eminent scholars of the seventeenth century, was a native of Aberdeen, and was born probably about the year 1575. His father held the rank of a gentleman; his mother was the daughter of David Lamb of Dunkenny. The first notice we have of him shows that he formed part of the retinue of David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir Peter Young, great almoner of Scotland, when they were sent as ambassadors by James VI. to the court of Denmark, and to some of the princes of Germany. This was probably in 1594, when the embassy was sent to announce the birth of the king's eldest son, Henry, afterwards Prince of Wales. After his return home, where he made a short stay, Donaldson once more visited the Continent, and studied in the university of Heidelberg, where the civil law was ably taught by the elder Gothofredus. While studying at this university, he also appears to have instructed private pupils, one of whom, a native of Riga, published his *Synopsis of Ethics*, without his knowledge or consent. Donaldson mentions, although not in the language of displeasure, that the work thus surreptitiously published under the title of *Synopsis Moralis Philosophiæ*, went through several editions in Germany, and also in Great Britain, and that the learned Keckermann had in several instances plagiarized from its pages.

From Germany Donaldson repaired to France, where he permanently settled, and was appointed principal of the Protestant university of Sedan. Here, besides performing the duties of principal, he taught moral and natural philosophy, and the Greek tongue—a proof of the variety of his attainments, and the high estimation in which they were held. In this university were also two of his learned countrymen, one of whom was John Smith, one of the professors of philosophy, and the other the celebrated Andrew Melville, who occupied one of the chairs of divinity. Besides such multifarious teaching, Donaldson had leisure to compose a large and learned work for the use of students, extending to nearly 700 pages, and the plan of which had been suggested to him by Gothofredus, his teacher at Heidelberg. It was a systematic arrangement, in Greek and Latin,

of passages extracted from Diogenes Laertius, under the title of *Synopsis Locorum Communium, in qua Philosophiæ Ortus, Progressus, &c., ex Diogene Laërtio digeruntur*. Francof. 1612, 8vo. The same work also reappeared under the title of *Electa Laërtiana: in quibus e Vitis Philosophorum Diogenis Laërtii totius Philosophiæ Ortus, Progressus, varique de Singulis Sententiæ, in Locos Communes methodice digeruntur*. Autore G. Donaldsono, Scoto-Britanno. Francofurti ad Moenum, 1625, 8vo.

After residing sixteen years at Sedan, Donaldson was invited to open a college at Charenton, near Paris; but the idea of a new Protestant seminary established so nigh the walls of the capital seems to have alarmed the dominant religion of the country, and the Papists instituted a lawsuit for the purpose of frustrating the design. It was while this suit was pending that he again exercised his pen in the service of instruction, by producing another learned work, entitled *Synopsis Oeconomica, autore G. Donaldsono, Scoto-Britanno, Aberdonensi, J. C. ad celcissimum Carolum, Walliæ Principem*. Paris, 1620, 8vo. Of this work there was a reprint at Rostock in 1624, and another at Frankfurt in 1625, while its merits are commended in *Bayle's Dictionary* as a work deserving to be read. And here the record of this distinguished and valued scholar terminates. We are unable to ascertain how the lawsuit ended, or where and at what time Donaldson died. We can only learn inferentially that he was survived by his widow, whose name was either Hoffman or Goffin, and by several children.

DOUGALL, JOHN, was born in Kirkcaldy in Fifeshire, where his father was the master of the grammar-school. After receiving the primary branches of education at home, he proceeded to the university of Edinburgh, where he studied for some time, with the intention of entering the Church of Scotland; but afterwards changing his design, he devoted himself principally to classical learning, for which his mind was unusually gifted. He also directed his attention to the study of mathematics, of ancient and modern geography, and of the modern languages, including most of those of northern Europe. He made the tour of the Continent several times in the capacity of tutor and travelling companion. Afterwards he was private secretary to the learned General Melville; and ultimately he established himself in London, where he dedicated his life to literary pursuits. He was the author of *Military Adventures*, 8vo; *The Modern Preceptor*, 2 vols. 8vo; *The Cabinet of Arts, including Arithmetic, Geometry, and Chemistry*, 2 vols. 8vo; and contributed besides to many scientific and literary works, particularly to the periodical publications of the day. He also engaged in the translation of works from the French and Italian languages. For many years he employed himself, under the patronage of the late Duke of York, in preparing a new translation of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, with copious notes and illustrations. This work, however, he did not live to complete, which is much to be regretted, as from his classical knowledge he must have rendered it highly valuable. He had likewise intended to prepare an English translation of Strabo, as well as to clear up many doubtful passages in Polybius, for which he was eminently qualified; but the want of encouragement and the narrowness of his circumstances frustrated his wishes. Reduced in the evening of his life to all the miseries of indigence and neglect, he sunk, after a long and severe illness, into the grave, in the year 1822, leaving his aged widow utterly destitute and unprovided for; and affording in him-

self an instructive but painful example of the hardships to which, unless under very favourable circumstances, men even of extraordinary attainments are apt to be reduced, when, forsaking the ordinary paths of professional industry, they yield to the captivations of literature.

DOUGLAS, SIR CHARLES, a distinguished naval officer, was a native of Scotland; but we have not learned where he was born, nor to what family he belonged. His education must have been very good, as he could speak no fewer than six different European languages with perfect correctness. He was originally in the Dutch service, and it is said that he did not obtain rank in the British navy without great difficulty. In the Seven Years' war, which commenced in 1756, he was promoted through the various ranks of the service till he became post-captain. At the conclusion of the war, in 1763, he went to St. Petersburg, his majesty having previously conferred upon him the rank of baronet. On the war breaking out with America in 1775, Sir Charles had a broad pendant given him, and commanded the squadron employed in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. His services on this station were, after his return to England, rewarded with very flattering honours, and he soon after obtained command of the *Duke*, 98 guns. Sir Charles was remarkable not only as a linguist, but also for his genius in mechanics. He suggested the substitution of locks for matches in naval gunnery—an improvement immediately adopted, and which proved of vast service to the British navy. On the 24th of November, 1781, he was appointed first captain to Sir George Rodney, then about to sail on his second expedition to the West Indies. Sir George having hoisted his flag in the *Formidable*, Captain Douglas assumed the command of that vessel, and they sailed on the 15th of January, 1782, from Torbay. On the 12th of April took place the celebrated engagement with the French fleet, in which the British gained a most splendid victory, chiefly, it is supposed, in consequence of the *Formidable* having been directed across the enemy's line. In our memoir of Mr. Clerk of Eldin we have recorded part of the controversy which has been carried on respecting the originator of this idea. It was there shown that Sir Charles Douglas utterly denied the claims of Mr. Clerk: we must now show what claims have been put forward for himself. Douglas, it must be remarked, was an officer of too high principle to make any claims himself. He thought it a kind of insubordination for any one to claim more honour than what was allowed to him by his superiors in the despatches or in the gazette. Hence, whenever any one hinted at the concern which he was generally supposed to have had in suggesting the measure, he always turned the conversation, remarking in general terms—"We had a great deal to do, sir, and I believe you will allow we did a great deal." The claim has been put forward by his son, Major-general Sir Howard Douglas, who, at the same time, speaks in the following terms of his father's delicacy upon the subject:—"He never, I repeat, asserted, or would accept, when complimented upon it, greater share in the honour of the day than what had been publicly and officially given him, and I am sure his spirit would not approve of my reclaiming any laurels of that achievement from the tomb of his chief." The principal proof brought forward by Sir Howard consists of the following extract from a letter by Sir Charles Dashwood—a surviving actor in the engagement of the 12th of April, though then only thirteen years of age. "Being one of the aides-de-camp to the commander-in-chief on that memor-

able day, it was my duty to attend both on him and the captain of the fleet, as occasion might require. It so happened, that some time after the battle had commenced, and whilst we were severely engaged, I was standing near Sir Charles Douglas, who was leaning on the hammocks (which in those days were stowed across the fore-part of the quarter-deck), his head leaning on his one hand, and his eye occasionally glancing on the enemy's line, and apparently in deep meditation, as if some great event were crossing his mind: suddenly raising his head, and turning quickly round, he said, 'Dash, where's Sir George?' 'In the after-cabin, sir,' I replied. He immediately went aft: I followed; and on meeting Sir George coming from the cabin, close to the wheel, he took off his cocked hat with his right hand, holding his long spy-glass in his left, and, making a low and profound bow, said—"Sir George, I give you joy of the victory!"—"Poh!" said the chief, as if half angry, 'the day is not half won yet.'—"Break the line, Sir George!" said Douglas, 'the day is your own, and I will insure you the victory.'—"No," said the admiral, 'I will not break my line.' After another request and another refusal, Sir Charles desired the helm to be put a-port; Sir George ordered it to starboard. On Sir Charles again ordering it to port, the admiral sternly said, 'Remember, Sir Charles, that I am commander-in-chief,—starboard, sir,' addressing the master, who during this controversy had placed the helm amidships. The admiral and captain then separated; the former going aft, and the latter going forward. In the course of a couple of minutes or so, each turned and again met nearly on the same spot, when Sir Charles quietly and coolly again addressed the chief—"Only break the line, Sir George, and the day is your own." The admiral then said in a quick and hurried way, 'Well, well, do as you like,' and immediately turned round, and walked into the after-cabin. The words 'Port the helm,' were scarcely uttered, when Sir Charles ordered me down with directions to commence firing on the starboard side. On my return to the quarter-deck I found the *Formidable* passing between two French ships, each nearly touching us. We were followed by the *Namur* and the rest of the ships astern, and from that moment the victory was decided in our favour."

Referring the reader for a further discussion of this controversy to the 83d number of the *Quarterly Review*, we may mention that Lord Rodney never failed to confess that the advantages of the day were greatly improved by Sir Charles Douglas. After the conclusion of the war, the gallant officer was intrusted with the command of the Nova Scotia station, which, however, he resigned, in consequence of some proceedings of the navy board with which he was displeased. During the preparations for war in 1787, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and next year he was reappointed to the Nova Scotia station. He expired, however, January, 1789, in the act of entering a public meeting at Edinburgh, a stroke of apoplexy having cut him off in a single moment. Over and above all his claims to the honours of the 12th of April, he left the character of a brave and honest officer. His mechanical inventions have been followed up by his son, Sir Howard, whose work on naval gunnery is a book of standard excellence.

DOUGLAS, DAVID. It seldom happens in the present day, when the path of knowledge is accompanied with the comforts and facilities of a railway, that the pursuit of science is closed with the honours of martyrdom. In this case, however, the subject of

the present memoir forms a rare and mournful exception.

David Douglas was born at Scone, in Perthshire, in the year 1798, and was the son of a working mason. After having received a common education at the parish school of Kinnoul, he was, at an early period, placed as an apprentice in the garden of the Earl of Mansfield, at Scone Palace. In this occupation his favourite pursuit had full scope and development, so that he soon became remarkable in the neighbourhood for his love of reading during the winter, and his researches in quest of wild plants during the months of summer. Thus he continued till his twentieth year, when a still more favourable opportunity of improvement presented itself at Valleyfield, the seat of Sir Robert Preston, in whose garden, famous for its store of rich exotics, he became a workman; and the head gardener of the establishment, Mr. Stewart, having observed the ardour of his young assistant in the study of botany as a science, procured him access to Sir Robert Preston's rich botanical library. From Valleyfield, David Douglas removed to Glasgow, where he was employed as gardener in the botanic garden of the university; and here the valuable knowledge he had acquired was so highly estimated by Dr. (afterwards Sir) William Hooker, the professor of botany at Glasgow, that he made him the companion of his professional explorations while collecting materials for his *Flora Scotica*. In this way Douglas had ample opportunity of improving his knowledge of plants in the Western Highlands, over which these scientific tours extended, as well as securing the approbation of one who could well appreciate his acquirements. The result was, that Professor Hooker recommended his talented assistant as a botanical collector to the Horticultural Society of London, by whom he was sent in 1823 to the United States, for the purpose of enriching our home collection in botany with choice transatlantic specimens; and this he successfully accomplished, by bringing home before the close of the year many fine plants, as well as a valuable collection of fruit-trees, by which the store of the society in the latter important production was materially augmented.

The zeal and ability which Douglas had shown on this occasion soon procured employment in a wider field of enterprise. This was to explore the botanical resources of the country adjoining the Columbia River, and southwards towards California, and ascertain its multifarious productions. He left England for this purpose in July, 1824, and as soon as the vessel touched the shore he commenced his operations. This was at Rio-de-Janeiro, where a large collection of rare orchidaceous plants and bulbs rewarded his labours. Among these bulbs was a new species of Gesneria, hitherto unknown to the botanists of England, and which Mr. Sabine, the secretary of the Horticultural Society, named the *G. Douglasii*, in honour of its discoverer. So rich was the soil and so plentiful the productions of this part of South America, that Douglas, who could here have increased his scientific treasures to an indefinite extent, was obliged to leave it with regret. In doubling Cape Horn, he shot several curious birds, only to be found in these latitudes, and carefully prepared them for being brought home. The vessel touched at the island of Juan Fernandez, that romantic residence of Alexander Selkirk; and Douglas, who was delighted with its wooded scenery and soil, sowed here a plentiful collection of garden seeds, in the hope that some future Robinson Crusoe would be comforted by the produce, should such a person again become its tenant. On the 7th of April, 1825, he arrived at

Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia, where his proper mission was to commence; and here his fitness for it was well attested by the immense collection of seeds and dried specimens which he transmitted to the Horticultural Society at home. Among his discoveries were several species of a pine of enormous size, one of these, belonging to the class which he called the *Pinus Lambertiana*, in honour of Mr. Lambert, vice-president of the Linnean Society, measuring 215 feet in height, and 57 feet 9 inches in circumference. The cones of this forest Titan, of which he sent home specimens, were 16 inches long and 11 in circumference. But they had something else than mere bulk to recommend them; for their kernel, which is pleasant to the taste, and nutritious, is roasted or pounded into cakes by the Indians, and used as an important article of food; while the resin of the tree, on being subjected to the action of fire, acquires a sweet taste, and is used by the natives as sugar. After having spent two years in the country adjoining the Columbia, and exploring it in every direction, Douglas, in the spring of 1827, left Fort Vancouver, and crossed the Rocky Mountains to Hudson's Bay, where he met Sir John Franklin, Dr. Richardson, and Captain Back, on their way homeward from their second overland Arctic expedition, with whom he returned to England. His successful labours in botanical science, and the important additions he had made to it, insured him a hearty welcome among the most distinguished of the scientific scholars in London; so that, without solicitation, and free of all expense, he was elected a fellow of the Geological, Zoological, and Linnean Societies. He was also requested to publish his travels, and a liberal offer to this effect was made to him by Mr. Murray, the publisher; but though he commenced the undertaking, he did not live to complete it, so that his authorship was confined to several papers which he contributed to the *Transactions* of the three societies of which he was elected a fellow; and extracts from his letters to Dr. Hooker, which were published in *Brewster's Edinburgh Journal* for January, 1828.

After remaining in London for two years, Mr. Douglas resumed his duties, and set off upon that last scientific tour which was destined to a melancholy termination. He returned to the Columbia River in 1829, and after some time spent in exploration among his former fields of research, which he prosecuted with his wonted ardour and success, he went to the Sandwich Islands. The inhabitants of these islands being in the practice of trapping wild bulls in pits dug for the purpose, Mr. Douglas, one evening, after a few months' residence, fell into one of these excavations, in which an animal had been previously snared; and the fierce creature, already maddened by its captivity, fell upon him, so that next morning he was found dead, and his body dreadfully mangled. This tragical event occurred on the 12th of July, 1834.

Thus prematurely, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, was the life of this enterprising traveller and skilful botanist cut short. The value of his discoveries, even in so brief a career, it would be difficult fully to appreciate. He introduced into our country almost all the new hardy plants that enrich our gardens. To these may be added many ornamental shrubs, as well as valuable timber-trees that adorn our sylvan plantations, and give promise of extensive future advantage to Britain. Of the plants alone, which are too numerous to specify in this work, he introduced 53 of the woody and 145 of the herbaceous genus, while his dried collection of Californian plants alone consists of about 800 different kinds. He was thus no mere curiosity-hunter, but a benefactor to society

at large; and it may be, that while new productions are implanted in our soil, and naturalized in our climate, the name of the humble but sagacious and enterprising individual who thus benefited our country for ages to come, will pass into utter forgetfulness. But if he has been unable to command immortality, he has done more—he has deserved it.

DOUGLAS, GAVIN, one of the most eminent of our early poets, was the third and youngest son of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, by Elizabeth Boyd, only daughter of Robert, Lord Boyd, high chamberlain of Scotland. The Earls of Angus were a younger branch of the family of Douglas, and helped in the reign of James II. to depress the enormous power of the main stock; whence it was said, with a reference to the complexions of the two different races, that the *red Douglas had put down the black*. Archibald, the fifth earl, father to the poet, is noted in our history for his bold conduct respecting the favourites of James III. at Lauder, which gained him the nickname of *Bell-the-cat*. His general force of character amidst the mighty transactions in which he was engaged, caused him to be likewise designated "the great earl." According to the family historian, he was everyway accomplished both in body and mind; of stature tall, and strong made; his countenance full of majesty, and such as bred reverence in the beholders; wise, and eloquent of speech; upright and regular in his actions; sober, and moderate in his desires; valiant and courageous; a man of action and undertaking; liberal also; loving and kind to his friends; which made him to be beloved, revered, and respected by all men.

Gavin Douglas, the son of such a father, was born about the year 1474, and was brought up for the church. Where his education was commenced is unknown; but, according to Mr. Warton, there is certain evidence that it was finished in the university of Paris. He is supposed, in youth, to have travelled for some time over the Continent, in order to make himself acquainted with the manners of other countries. In 1496, when only twenty-two years of age, he was appointed rector of Hawick—a benefice probably in the gift of his family, which has long held large property and high influence in that part of the country. We are informed by the family historian that in youth he felt the pangs of love, but was soon freed from the tyranny of that unreasonable passion. Probably his better principles proved sufficient to keep in check what his natural feelings, aided by the poetical temperament, would have dictated. However, he appears to have signalized his triumph by writing a translation of Ovid's *Remedy of Love*. He alludes in a strange manner to this work, in his translation of Virgil; giving the following free reading of the well-known passage in the *Æneid*, where his author speaks of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* as having been his former compositions:—

"So thus followand the floure of poetry,
The battellis and the man translate have I,
Quhilk yore ago in myne undauntit youth
Unfructuous idelnes ffeed, as I couth,
Of Ovideis Lufe the Remede did translate,
And syne of his Honour the Pallice wrate."

In those days, it does not seem to have been considered the duty of a translator to put himself exactly into the place of the author; he was permitted to substitute modern allusions for the original; and, as this specimen testifies, to alter any personality respecting the author, so as to apply to himself. The translation of the *Remedy of Love*, which must have been written before the year 1501, has not been pre-

served. In the year just mentioned, he wrote his *Palace of Honour*—an apologue for the conduct of a king, and which he therefore addressed very appropriately to his young sovereign, King James IV. The poet, in a vision, finds himself in a wilderness, where he sees troops of persons travelling towards the Palace of Honour. He joins himself to the train of the muses, and in their company proceeds to the happy place. At this point of the allegory his description of one of their resting-places is exceedingly beautiful:—

"Our horses pasturit on ane pleasand plane,
Law at the foot of ane fair grene montane,
Amid ane meid, shaddowt with cedar trees,
Safe fra all heit, thair might we weil remain.
All kind of herbis, flours, fruit, and grain,
With every growand tree thair men might cheis,
The beryal streams rinnand over staneie greis,
Made sober noise; the shair dinnit again,
For birdis sang, and sounding of the beis."

In his last adventure he seems to allude to the law of celibacy, under which, as a priest, he necessarily lay. The habitation of the honourable ladies (which he describes in gorgeous terms) is surrounded by a deep ditch, over which is a narrow bridge, formed of a single tree; and this is supposed to represent the ceremony of marriage. Upon his attempting to pass over the bridge, he falls into the water, and awakes from his dream. Sage, in his life of Douglas, prefixed to the edition of the *Æneid*, thus speaks of the poem under our notice: "The author's excellent design is, under the similitude of a vision, to represent the vanity and inconstancy of all worldly pomp and glory; and to show that a constant and inflexible course of virtue and goodness is the only way to true honour and felicity, which he allegorically describes as a magnificent palace, situated on the top of a very high mountain, of a most difficult access. He illustrates the whole with a variety of examples, not only of those noble and heroic souls whose eminent virtues procured them admission into that blessed place, but also of those wretched creatures whose vicious lives have fatally excluded them from it for ever, notwithstanding of all their worldly state and grandeur." This critic is of opinion that the poet took his plan from the palace of happiness described in the *Tablet* of Cebes.

In all probability these poems were written at his residence in the town of Hawick, where he was surrounded with scenery in the highest degree calculated to nurse a poetical fancy. In 1509 he was nominated to be provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles, at Edinburgh, and it is likely that he then changed his residence to the capital. Some years before, he had contemplated a translation of the *Æneid* into Scottish verse, as appears from his *Palace of Honour*, where Venus presents him with a copy of that poem in the original, and, in virtue of her relation to the hero, requests the poet to give a version of it in his vernacular tongue. Douglas commenced his labours in January, 1511–12, and although he prefaced each book with an original poem, and included the poem written by Mapheus Vigus¹ as a thirteenth book, the whole was completed in eighteen months, two of which, he tells us, were spent exclusively in other business. The work was completed on the 22d of July, 1513. The *Æneid* of Gavin Douglas is a work creditable in the highest degree to Scottish literature, not only from a specific merit of the translation, but because it was the first translation of a Roman classic executed in the English language.²

¹ A learned Italian of the fifteenth century.

² The near affinity of the languages of England and Scotland at this time, renders any circumlocutory mode of expressing this idea unnecessary.

To adopt the criticism of Dr. Irving—"Without pronouncing it the best version of this poem that ever was or ever will be executed, we may at least venture to affirm, that it is the production of a bold and energetic writer, whose knowledge of the language of his original, and prompt command of a copious and variegated phraseology, qualified him for the performance of so arduous a task. And whether we consider the state of British literature at that era, or the rapidity with which he completed the work, he will be found entitled to a high degree of admiration. In either of the sister languages few translations of classical authors had hitherto been attempted; and the rules of the art were consequently little understood. It has been remarked, that even in English, no metrical version of a classic had yet appeared; except of Boethius, who scarcely merits that appellation. On the destruction of Troy, Caxton had published a kind of prose romance, which he professes to have translated from the French: and the English reader was taught to consider this motley composition as a version of the *Æneid*. Douglas bestows severe castigation on Caxton for his presumptuous deviation from the classical story, and affirms that his work no more resembles Virgil, than the devil is like St. Austin. He has, however, fallen into one error, which he exposes in his predecessor; proper names are often so transfigured in his translation that they are not, without much difficulty, recognized. In many instances he has been guilty of modernizing the notions of his original. The sibyl, for example, is converted into a nun, and admonishes Æneas, the Trojan baron, to persist in counting his beads. This plan of reducing every ancient notion to a clerical standard has been adopted by much later writers; many preposterous instances occur in the learned Dr. Blackwell's memoirs of the court of Augustus.

"Of the general principles of translation, however, Douglas appears to have formed no inaccurate notion. For the most part, his version is neither rashly licentious nor tamely literal. . . . Though the merit of such a performance cannot be ascertained by the inspection of a few detached passages, it may be proper to exhibit a brief specimen:—

Facilis descensus Averni,
Notæ atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est; pauci quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens exivit ad æthera virtus,
Dis geniti, potuerunt. Tenent media omnia silvæ,
Cocythusque sinu labens circumfluit atro.

VIRGIL.

It is richt facill and eich gate, I thê tell,
For to descend and pass on doun to hell:
The black yettis of Pluto and that dirk way
Standis evir open and patent aycht and day:
Bot theræfor to return agane on licht,
And here aboue recour this airis licht,
That is diffiicill werk, theare labouris lyeis.
Full few there bene quhom heich aboue the skyes
Thare ardent vertew has rasit and upheit,
Or yet quahme equale Jupiter deifeyt,
Thay quihikis bene gendrit of goddis, may thidder attane.
All the midway is widernes vnpiane,
Or wilsom forest; and the laithly flude
Cocytus with his dreisy bosum vnrude
Flowis enuiron round about that place.

DOUGLAS."

Mr. Warton pronounces for judgment upon Douglas' *Æneid*, that it "is executed with equal spirit and fidelity, and is a proof that the Lowland Scotch and English languages were then nearly the same. I mean the style of composition; more especially, in the glaring affectation of anglicizing Latin words."

It is not, however, in the translation that the chief

merit lies. The poet has gained much greater praise for the original poetry scattered through the book. To an ordinary reader, the plan of the work may be best described by a reference to the structure of *Marmion*, which is decidedly an imitation of it. To every book is prefixed what Douglas calls a prologue, containing some descriptions or observations of his own, and some of which afford delightful glimpses of his personal character and habits. Those most admired are the prologue to the seventh book, containing a description of winter; that to the twelfth book, containing a description of a summer morning; and that to the thirteenth (supplementary) book, which describes an evening in June. It would appear that the author, in these and other cases, sought to relax himself from the progressive labour of mere translation, by employing his own poetical powers on what he saw at the time around him. Mr. Warton speaks of Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* as among the earliest descriptive poems produced in England. Whether he be correct or not, we may at least affirm, that Douglas, in his prologues to the books of Virgil, has given Scotland the credit of producing poems of that kind more than a century earlier.

These compositions being of such importance in Scottish literature, it seems proper in this place to present a specimen sufficient to enable the reader to judge of their value. It is difficult, however, to pitch upon a passage where the merit of the poetry may be obvious enough to induce the reader to take a little trouble in comprehending the language.² We have with some hesitation pitched upon the following passage from the prologue to the seventh book, which, as descriptive of nature in a certain aspect in this country, is certainly very faithful and even picturesque:—

* * * * *
"The firmament overcast with cludis black:
The ground fadit, and faugh³ wox all the fieldis
Mountane toppis sleikit with snaw owre heildis:
On raggit rockis of hard harsh quhyn stane,
With frostyn frontis cald clynth clewis chane:
Bewty was lost, and barrand shew the landis
With frostis hore, overfret the fieldis standis.
Thick drumly skuggis⁴ dirkinio so the hevin,
Dim skysis oft furth warpit fearful levin.⁵
Flaggis⁶ of fyre, and mony felloun flaw,
Sharp soppis of sleit and of the swyppand snaw:
The dolly dichis war al douk and wate,
The low dales all foddert all with spate,
The plane stretis and every hie way
Full of flusghis, dubbis, myre, and clay."

Owr cragis and the frontis of rockys sere,
Hang gret yse schokkils, lang as ony spere:
The grund stude barrane, widdert, dosk, and gray
Herbis, flowris, and gersis wallowit away:
Woddis, forestis, with naket bewis blout,
Stude stripit of their wede in every bout;
So boustousie Boreas his bugill blew,
The dere full dorne full in the dailis drew:

The watter lynnys routes, and every lynd
Quhistlit and brayit of the southend wynd:
Pure lauboraris and byssy husbandmen,
Went weet and wery draight in the fen;
The silly sheep and thare little hird-gromes
Lurkis under lye of bankis, woddis, and bromes;
And utheris dautit greter bestial
Within thare stabill seist in thare stall."

The caller air, penetrative and pure,
Dasing the blude in every creature,

² Well do I recollect, in early days, borrowing old Gavin's translation from a circulating library, in order to steal a sly march upon my class-fellows in version-making. What was my disappointment on finding that the copy was a great deal more unintelligible than the original, and that, in reality, he of St. Giles stood more in need of a translator than he of Mantua!

³ Fallow. ⁴ Shadows. ⁵ Lightning. ⁶ Flakes.

¹ *History of English Poetry*, ii. 281, 2.

Made seik warm stovis and bene fyris hote,
In doubill garment clad, and welicote,
With mychty drink, and metis comfortive,
Aganis the stern winter to strive.
Repatriit¹ wele, and by the chynnay bekit,
At evin betym down in the bed they strekit,
Warpit my hede, keil on clathis thrynefald,
For to expell the perillous persand cald;
I crosst me, synce bownit for to sleep:

Approaching near the breking of the day,
Within my bed I walkynit quhare I lay;
So fast declynes Cynthia the mone,
And kayis kekllys on the rufe abone,

Fast by my chalmre, on his wisnet treis,
The sary gled quhisillis with mony an pew,
Quharby the day was dawing wicl I knew;
Bade bete the fyre and the candill alicht,
Synce blessit me, and in my wedis dycht:
Ane schot-windo² unschet, ane litel on char,
Persavyt the morning blae, wam, and har,
Wyth cloudy gum and rak owirquhelnit³ the air;

— Blaiknynt schew the brayis,
With hirstis harsk of waggand wyndil strayis,
The dew-droppis congeilit on stibbil and vynd,
And sharp hailstansys mortfundyt of kynd,
Stoppand on the thack, and on the causay by:
The schote I clost, and drew inward in hy;
Cheverand of cald, the sessoun was sa snell,
Schafe with hait flambis to steme the freezing fell.
And as I bounit me to the fire me by,
Baith up and downe the house I did espy;
And second Virgil on ane letteron⁴ stand,
To wryte anone I cynt my pen in hand,
And as I culd, with ane fald diligence,
This nint buke followand of profound science,
Thun has begun in the chyll wynter cald,
Quhen frostis dois owir fete baith fryn and fald."

The poet concludes his description of the month of May in the twelfth prologue with the following fine apostrophe:—

"Welcum the lord of licht, and lampe of day,
Welcum fosterere of tender herbis grene,
Welcum quickener of flurest flouris schene,
Welcum support of every rute and vane,
Welcum comfort of all kind frute and grane,
Welcum the birdis beild upon the brier,
Welcum maister and ruler of the year,
Welcum weifare of husbands at the plewis,
Welcum repaire of woddis, treis, and bewis,
Welcum depainter of the blomyt medis,
Welcum the lyf of every thing that spedis,
Welcum storare of all kind bestial,
Welcum be thy bricht beims glendand all!"

It remains to be mentioned that the translation of Virgil, being written at a time when printing hardly existed in Scotland, continued in manuscript till long after the death of Bishop Douglas, and was first published at London in 1553, at the same time with the *Palice of Honour*. The work bore the following title: *The xili. Bukes of Eneados of the Famoso Poet Virgill. Translatet out of Latyne Verses into Scottissh Meter, by the Reverend Father in God, Mayster Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkel, and Unkil to the Erle of Angus. Euery Buke hauing hys Particular Prologue*. A second edition was printed at Edinburgh in 1710, by the celebrated Thomas Ruddiman, with a life by Bishop Sage. Even this later impression is now rarely met with.

The Earl of Angus was at this time possessed of great influence at court, in virtue of which he filled the office of chief magistrate of the city. Less than two months after Gavin Douglas had finished his translation, the noble provost and all his retainers accompanied King James on the fatal expedition which terminated in the battle of Flodden. Here the poet's two elder brothers, the Master of Angus and Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, fell, with 200 gentlemen of their name. The earl himself had

previously withdrawn from the expedition, on account of an unkind expression used by his imprudent sovereign. He died, however, within a twelvemonth thereafter, of grief, leaving his titles and immense territorial influence to the heir of his eldest deceased son, and who was consequently nephew to the provost of St. Giles. It is curious to find that, on the 30th of September, only three weeks after his country had experienced one of the greatest disasters recorded in her history, and by which himself had lost two brothers and many other friends, the poet was admitted a burgess of Edinburgh. This fact was discovered by Sibbald in the council register, with the phrase added, *pro commune bono villa, gratis*. But perhaps there is some mistake as to the date, the register of that period not being original, but apparently a somewhat confused transcript.

The consequences of this fatal battle seemed at first to open up a path of high political influence to Gavin Douglas. His nephew, being as yet very young, fell in some measure under his tutelage, as the nearest surviving relation. The queen, who had been appointed regent for her infant son James V., in less than a year from her husband's death, was pleased to marry the young Earl of Angus, who accordingly seemed likely to become the actual governor of the kingdom. The step, however, was unpopular, and at a convention of the nobles it was resolved, rather than obey so young a member of their own body, to call in the Duke of Albany, cousin to the late king. This personage did not realize the expectations which had been formed respecting him; and thus it happened, that for some years the chief power alternated between him and Angus. Sometimes the latter individual enjoyed an influence deputed to him in the queen's name by the duke, who occasionally found it necessary to retire to France. At other times, both the queen and her husband were obliged to take refuge in England, where, on one of these occasions, was born their only child, Margaret Douglas, destined in future years to be the mother of Lord Darnley, the husband of Queen Mary.

The fortunes and domestic happiness of our poet appear to have been deeply affected by those of his nephew. Soon after the battle of Flodden, the queen conferred upon him the abbacy of Aberbrothock, vacant by the death of Alexander Stewart, the late king's natural son. In a letter addressed by her grace to Pope Leo X. she extols Douglas as second to none in learning and virtue, and earnestly requests that he may be confirmed in the possession of this abbacy till his singular merits should be rewarded with some more ample endowment. Soon after she conferred on him the archbishopric of St. Andrews, which, if confirmed, would have placed him at the head of the Scottish church. But the queen and her husband were not powerful or popular enough to secure him in this splendid situation. He was first intruded on by one John Hepburn, who had been appointed by the chapter, and then both he and Hepburn were displaced by the pope, in favour of Forman, the Bishop of Moray, a busy and ambitious churchman, who had been legate *à latere* to Pope Julius II. Douglas was at the same time deprived of the abbacy of Aberbrothock. It appears that, although these disputes were carried on by strength of arms on all sides, the poet himself was always averse to hostile measures, and would rather have abandoned his own interest than bring reproach upon his profession. The queen, having hitherto failed to be of any service to him, nominated him, in 1515, to be Bishop of Dunkeld, and on this occasion, to make quite sure, confirmation of the

¹ Well solaced with victuals. ² A kind of sliding panel in the fronts of old wooden houses. ³ Desk.

gift was, by the influence of her brother Henry VIII., procured from the pope. In those days, however, a right which would suffice one day might not answer the next; and so it proved with Gavin Douglas. The Duke of Albany, who arrived in May, 1515, though he had protected the right of Archbishop Forman on the strength of a papal bull, not only found it convenient to dispute that title in the case of Douglas, but actually imprisoned the poet for a year, as a punishment for having committed an act so detrimental to the honour of the Scottish church. In the meantime, one Andrew Stewart, brother to the Earl of Athole, and a partisan of Albany, got himself chosen bishop by the chapter, and was determined to hold out the cathedral against all whatsoever. Gavin Douglas, when released, was actually obliged to lay a formal siege to his bishopric before he could obtain possession. Having gone to Dunkeld, and published his bull in the usual form at the altar, he found it necessary to hold the ensuing entertainment in the dean's house, on account of his palace being garrisoned by the servants of Andrew Stewart. The steeple of the cathedral was also occupied as a fortress by these men, who pretended to be in arms in the name of the governor. Next day, in attempting to go to church, he was hindered by the steeple garrison, who fired briskly at his party: he had therefore to perform service in the dean's house. To increase his difficulties, Stewart had arrived in person, and put himself at the head of the garrison. His friends, however, soon collected a force in the neighbouring country, with which they forced Stewart to submit. The governor was afterwards prevailed upon to sanction the right of Gavin Douglas, who gratified Stewart by two of the best benefices in the diocese.

In 1517, when Albany went to France in order to renew the ancient league between Scotland and that country, he took Douglas and Panter as his secretaries, his object being in the former case to have a hostage for the good behaviour of the Earl of Angus during his absence.¹ However, when the negotiation was finished, the Bishop of Dunkeld is said to have been sent to Scotland with the news. He certainly returned long before the governor himself. After a short stay at Edinburgh, he repaired to his diocese, where he employed himself for some time in the diligent discharge of his duties. He was a warm promoter of public undertakings, and, in particular, finished a stone bridge over the Tay (opposite to his own palace) which had been begun by his predecessor. He spent so much money in this manner, and in charity, that he became somewhat embarrassed with debt. During the absence of the Duke of Albany, his nephew Angus maintained a constant struggle with the rival family of Hamilton, then bearing the title of Earl of Arran, which formed a great part of the governor's strength in Scotland. In April, 1520, both parties met in Edinburgh, determined to try which was most powerful. The Bishop of Dunkeld, seeing that bloodshed was threatened, used his influence with Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, who was a partisan of Arran; when that prelate, striking his hand on his breast, asseverated, on his conscience, that he knew nothing of the hostile intentions of his friends. He had in reality assumed armour under his gown, in order to take a personal concern in the fray, and his hand caused the breastplate to make a rattling noise. "Methinks," said Douglas, with admirable sarcasm, "your conscience clatters;" a phrase that might be interpreted either into an allusion to the noise itself,

or to what it betrayed of the archbishop's intentions. Douglas retired to his own chamber to pray, and in the meantime his nephew met and overthrew the forces of the Earl of Arran. The bishop afterwards saved Beaton from being slain by the victors, who seized him at the altar of the Blackfriars' Church. Gavin Douglas probably entertained a feeling of gratitude to this dignitary, notwithstanding all his duplicity; for Beaton had ordained him at Glasgow, and borne all the expenses of the ceremony out of his own revenues.

The Earl of Angus was now re-established in power, but it was only for a short time. Albany returned next year, and called him and all his retainers to an account for their management of affairs. The earl, with his nephew and others, was obliged to retire to England. The Bishop of Dunkeld experienced the most courteous attention at the court of Henry VIII., who, with all his faults, was certainly a patron of literature. We are informed by Holingshead that Douglas received a pension from the English monarch. In London he contracted a friendship with Polydore Virgil, a learned Italian, who was then engaged in composing a history of England. It is supposed that the bishop assisted him with a little memoir on the origin of the Scottish nation. Here, however, our poet was suddenly cut off by the plague, in 1521 or 1522, and was buried in the Savoy Church, where he had an epitaph inscribed on the adjacent tomb of Bishop Halsay. It is painful to think that, in consequence of the intestine divisions of his country, this illustrious and most virtuous person died a denounced traitor in a foreign land.

The only other poem of any extent by Gavin Douglas, is one entitled *King Hart*, which was probably written in the latter part of his life, and contains what Dr. Irving styles "a most ingenious adumbration of the progress of human life." It was first printed in Pinkerton's collection of *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 1786.

DOUGLAS, SIR JAMES, one of the most remarkable men of the heroic age to which he belonged, and the founder of one of the most illustrious houses in Scotland, was the eldest son of William Douglas, a baron or magnate of Scotland, who died in England about the year 1302.

The ancestry of this family has been but imperfectly traced by most genealogists; but it now seems to be established that the original founder came into this country from Flanders, about the year 1147; and, in reward of certain services, not explained, which he performed to the abbot of Kelso, received from that prelate a grant of lands on the Water of Douglas, in Lanarkshire. In this assignation, a record of which is yet extant, he is styled Theobaldus Flammaticus, or Theobald the Fleming. William, the son and heir of Theobald, assumed the surname of Douglas, from his estate. Archibald de Douglas, his eldest son, succeeded in the family estate on Douglas Water. Bricius, a younger son of William, became Bishop of Moray in 1203; and his four brothers, Alexander, Henry, Hugh, and Freskin, settled in Moray under his patronage, and from these the Douglasses in Moray claim their descent. Archibald died between the years 1238 and 1240, leaving behind him two sons. William, the elder, inherited the estate of his father; Andrew, the younger, became the ancestor of the Douglasses of Dalkeith, afterwards created Earls of Morton. William acquired additional lands to the family inheritance; and, by this means, becoming a tenant in chief of the crown, was considered as ranking among the barons, or, as they were then called,

¹ This is alleged by Dr. Henry.—*History of Great Britain*.

magnates of Scotland. He died about the year 1276, leaving two sons, Hugh and William. Hugh fought at the battle of Largs in 1263, and died about 1288, without issue. William, his only brother, and father to Sir James, the subject of the present article, succeeded to the family honours, which he did not long enjoy; for, having espoused the popular side in the factions which soon after divided the kingdom, he was, upon the successful usurpation of Edward I., deprived of his estates, and died a prisoner in England, about the year 1302.

The young Douglas had not attained to manhood when the captivity of his father left him unprotected, and in this condition he retired into France, and lived in Paris for three years. In this capital, remarkable even in that age for the gaiety of its inhabitants, the young Scotsman for a time forgot his misfortunes, and gave way to the current follies by which he was surrounded. The intelligence of his father's death, however, was sufficient to break him off from such courses, and incite him to a more honourable and befitting life. Having returned without delay to Scotland, he seems first to have presented himself to Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, by whom he was received with great kindness, and promoted to the post of page in his household. Barbour, the poet, dwells fondly upon this period in the life of Douglas, whom he describes as cheerful, courteous, dutiful, and of a generous disposition, inasmuch that he was esteemed and beloved by all; yet was he not so fair, adds the same discreet writer, that we should much admire his beauty. He was of a somewhat gray or swarthy complexion, and had black hair, circumstances from which, especially among the English, he came to be known by the name of the Black Douglas. His bones were large, but well set; his shoulders broad, and his whole person to be remarked as rather spare or lean, though muscular. He was mild and pleasant in company, or among his friends, and lisped somewhat in his speech, a circumstance which is said not at all to have misbecome him, besides that it brought him nearer to the beau-ideal of Hector, to whom Barbour justly compares him.

Douglas was living in this manner when Edward, having for the last time overrun Scotland, called together an assembly of the barons at Stirling. The Bishop of St. Andrews attended the summons, and taking along with him the young squire whom he had so generously protected, resolved, if possible, to interest the monarch in his fortunes. Taking hold of a suitable opportunity, the prelate presented Douglas to the king, as a youth who claimed to be admitted to his service, and entreated that his majesty would look favourably upon him, and restore him to the inheritance which, from no fault of his, he had lost. "What lands does he claim?" inquired Edward. The good bishop had purposely kept the answer to this question to the end, well knowing the vindictive temper of the English king, and his particular dislike to the memory of the former Douglas; but he soon saw that the haughty conqueror was neither to be prepossessed nor conciliated. Edward no sooner understood the birth of the suitor, than, turning angrily to the bishop, "The father," said he, "was always my enemy; and I have already bestowed his lands upon more loyal followers than his sons can ever prove." This rebuff must have left a deep impression on the mind of the young Douglas; and it was not long before an occasion offered to display his hostility against the English king.

While he yet resided at the bishop's palace, intelligence of the murder of Comyn, and the revolt of Bruce, spread over the kingdom. Lamberton, who

secretly favoured the insurrection, not only made no difficulty of allowing the young Douglas to join the party, but even assisted him with money for the purpose. The bishop, it is also said, directed him to seize upon his own horse for his use, as if by violence, from the groom; and, accordingly, that servant having been knocked down, Douglas, unattended, rode off to join the standard of his future king and master. He fell in with the party of Bruce at a place called Errickstane, on their progress from Lochmaben towards Glasgow; where, making himself known to Robert, he offered his services, hoping that, under the auspices of his rightful sovereign, he might recover possession of his own inheritance. Bruce, well pleased with his spirit and bearing, and interested in his welfare as the son of the gallant Sir William Douglas, received him with much favour, giving him, at the same time, a command in his small army. This was the commencement of the friendship between Bruce and Douglas, than which none more sincere and perfect ever existed between sovereign and subject.

It would, of course, be here unnecessary to follow Sir James Douglas, as we shall afterwards name him, through the same path described in the life of his heroic master; as in that, all which it imports the reader to know has been already detailed. Of the battle of Methven, therefore, in which the young knight first signalized his valour; that of Dalry, in which Robert was defeated by the Lord of Lorn, and Sir James wounded; the retreat into Rachrin; the descent upon Arran, and afterwards on the coast of Carrick; in all of which enterprises the zeal, courage, and usefulness of Douglas were manifested, we shall in this place take no other notice, than by referring to the life of Bruce himself. Leaving these more general and important movements, we shall follow the course of our narrative in others more exclusively referable to the life and fortunes of Douglas.

While Robert the Bruce was engaged in rousing the men of Carrick to his cause, Douglas was permitted to repair to Douglassdale, for the purpose of drawing over the attached vassals of his family to the same interest, as well as of avenging some of the particular wrongs himself and family had sustained from the English. Disguised, therefore, and accompanied by only two yeomen, Sir James, towards the close of an evening in the month of March, 1307, reached the alienated inheritance of his house, then owned by the Lord Clifford, who had posted within the castle of Douglas a strong garrison of English soldiers. Having revealed himself to one Thomas Dickson, formerly his father's vassal, and a person of considerable influence among the tenantry, Sir James and his two followers were joyfully welcomed, and concealed within his house. By this faithful dependant Douglas was soon made acquainted with the numbers of those in the neighbourhood who would be willing to join him; and the more important of these being brought secretly, and by one or two at a time, before him, he received their pledges to assist him to the utmost of their power. Having thus secured the assistance of a small but resolute band, Sir James determined to execute a project he had planned for the surprisal of the castle. The garrison, entirely ignorant of these machinations, and otherwise far from vigilant, offered many opportunities which might be taken advantage of. The day of Palm Sunday, however, was fixed upon by Douglas, as being then near at hand, and as furnishing besides a plausible pretext for the gathering together of his adherents. The garrison, it was expected, would on that festival attend divine service in the neighbouring church of St. Bride. The fol-

lowers of Douglas, having arms concealed, were some of them to enter the building along with the soldiers, while the others remained without to prevent their escape. Douglas himself, disguised in an old tattered mantle, having a flail in his hand, was to give the signal of onset, by shouting the war-cry of his family. When the day arrived, the whole garrison, consisting of thirty men, went in solemn procession to the church, leaving only the porter and the cook within the castle. The eager followers of the knight did not wait for the signal of attack; for, no sooner had the unfortunate Englishmen entered the chapel, than one or two raising the cry of "*A Douglas! a Douglas!*" which was instantly echoed and returned from all quarters, they fell with the utmost fury upon the entrapped garrison. These defended themselves bravely till two-thirds of their number lay either dead or mortally wounded. Being refused quarter, those who yet continued to fight were speedily overpowered and made prisoners, so that none escaped. Meanwhile, five or six men were detached to secure possession of the castle gate, which they easily effected: and being soon after followed by Douglas and his partisans, the victors had now only to deliberate as to how they should use their conquest. Considering the great power and numbers of the English in that district, and the impossibility of retaining the castle should it be besieged, they resolved to destroy it. This measure was stained by an act of singular barbarity, which, however consistent with the rude and revengeful spirit of the age, remains the sole stigma which even his worst enemies could ever affix to the memory of Sir James Douglas. Having plundered and stripped the castle of every article of value, the great mass of provisions was heaped together within an apartment of the building; over this pile were stored the puncheons of wine, ale, and other liquors, which the cellar contained; and, lastly, the prisoners who had been taken in the church, having been despatched, their dead bodies were thrown over all; thus, in a spirit of savage jocularly, converting the whole into a loathsome collection, then, and long after, popularly described by the name of the *Douglas' Larder*. These savage preparations gone through, the castle was set on fire, and burned to the ground.

No sooner was Clifford advertised of the fate of his garrison, than, causing the castle to be rebuilt more strongly than ever, he left a new garrison in it under the command of one Thirlwall, and returned himself into England. Douglas, while these operations proceeded, lurked in the neighbourhood, intending, on the first safe opportunity, to rejoin the king's standard. No sooner, however, had the Lord Clifford departed, than he resolved, a second time, to attempt the surprisal of his castle, under its new governor. The garrison, having a fresh remembrance of the late disaster, were not to be taken at unawares, and some expedient was needed to abate their extreme vigilance. This Douglas effected, by directing some of his men, at different times, to drive off portions of the cattle belonging to the castle, but who, as soon as the garrison issued out to the rescue, were instructed to betake themselves to flight. The governor and his men having been sufficiently irritated by the attempts of these pretended plunderers, Sir James resolved, without further delay, upon the execution of his project. Having formed an ambush of his followers at a place called Sandilands, at no great distance from the castle, he, at an early hour in the morning, detached a few of his men, who drove off some cattle from the immediate vicinity of the walls, towards the place where the ambuscade lay concealed. Thirlwall was

no sooner apprised of the fact, than, indignant at the boldness of the affront, he ordered a large portion of the garrison to arm and give chase to the spoilers, himself accompanying them so hastily, that he did not take time even to put on his helmet. The pursuers had scarcely passed the place of ambush, when Douglas and his followers started from their covert, and the party found their retreat cut off. They were ill prepared for the fierce assault which was instantly made upon them; the greater part fled, and a few succeeded in regaining their stronghold; but Thirlwall and many of his bravest soldiers were slain. The fugitives were pursued to the castle gates; but, having secured the entrance and manned the walls, Sir James found it impossible to dislodge them. Collecting, therefore, all who were willing to join the royal cause, he repaired to the army of Bruce, then encamped at Cumnock in Ayrshire. The skill which Douglas displayed in these two exploits seems to have infected the English with an almost superstitious dread of his resources; so that, if we may believe the writers of that age, few could be found adventurous enough to undertake the keeping of "the perilous castle of Douglas," for by that name it now came to be distinguished.

When King Robert, shortly after his victory over the English at Loudonhill, marched into the north of Scotland, Sir James Douglas remained behind, for the purpose of reducing the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh to obedience. His first adventure, however, was the taking a second time of his own castle of Douglas, then commanded by Sir John de Wilton, an English knight, who held this charge, as his two predecessors had done, under the Lord Clifford. Sir James and a body of armed men gained the neighbourhood undiscovered, and planted themselves in ambuscade, as near as possible to the gate of the castle. Fourteen of his best men disguised as peasants wearing smock-frocks, and having sacks filled with grass laid across their horses, were to pass within view of the castle, as if they had been countrymen carrying corn for sale to Lanark fair. The stratagem had the desired effect; for the garrison, being then scarce of provisions, the greater part, with the governor at their head, issued out in great haste to overtake and plunder the supposed peasants. These, finding themselves pursued, feigned a flight, till, ascertaining that the unwary Englishmen had passed the ambush, they suddenly threw down their sacks, stripped off the frocks which concealed their armour, mounted their horses, and with a loud battle-cry turned on the assailants. Douglas and his ambuscade no sooner heard their shout, which was the concerted signal of onset, than starting into view in the rear of the English party, these found themselves at once unexpectedly attacked from two opposite quarters. In this desperate encounter, their retreat to the castle being effectually cut off, Wilton and his whole party are reported to have been slain. When this successful exploit was ended, Sir James gained possession of the castle, probably by negotiation, as he allowed the garrison to depart unmolested into England, furnishing them, at the same time, with money to defray their charges. Barbour relates, that upon the person of the slain knight there was found a letter from his mistress, informing him that he might well consider himself worthy of her love, should he bravely defend for a year the adventurous castle of Douglas. Sir James razed the fortress to the ground, that it might on no future occasion afford protection to the English.

Leaving the scene where he had thus, for the third time, triumphed, Douglas proceeded to the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, both of which he in a short

time reduced to the king's authority. While employed upon this service, he chanced one day, towards night-fall, to come in sight of a solitary house on the Water of Line, towards which he directed his course, with the intention of there resting himself and his followers till morning. Approaching the place with some caution, he could distinguish, from the voices within, that it was pre-occupied; and from the oaths which mingled in the conversation, he had no doubt as to the character of the guests it contained, military men being then, almost exclusively, addicted to swearing.¹ Having beset the house and forced an entrance, his conjecture proved well founded; for, after a sharp contest with the inmates, he was fortunate enough to secure the persons of Alexander Stuart, Lord Bonkle, and Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew; who were at that time not only attached to the English interest, but engaged in raising forces to check the progress of Douglas in the south of Scotland. The important consequences of this action, by which Bruce gained as wise and faithful a counsellor as he ever possessed, and Douglas a rival, though a generous one, deserves a particular notice. Immediately upon this adventure, Douglas, carrying along with him his two prisoners, rejoined the king's forces in the north; where, under his gallant sovereign, he assisted in the victory gained over the Lord of Lorn, by which the Highlands were reduced to submission.

Without following those events in which Douglas either participated, or bore a principal part, we come to the relation of one more exclusively his own. The castle of Roxburgh, a fortress of great importance on the borders of Scotland, had long been in the hands of the English king, by whom it was strongly garrisoned, and committed to the charge of Gillem de Fiennes, a knight of Burgundy. Douglas and his followers, to the number of about sixty men, then lurked in the adjoining forest of Jedburgh, where they did not remain long inactive. A person of the name of Simon of the Leadhouse was employed by the Douglas to construct rope-ladders for scaling the walls of the castle, and the night of Shrove Tuesday, then near at hand, was fixed upon as the most proper for putting the project in execution; "for then," says Fordun, "all the men, from dread of the Lent season, which was to begin next day, indulged in wine and licentiousness." When the appointed night arrived, Douglas and his followers approached the castle, wearing black frocks or shirts over their armour, that they might be concealed from the observation of the sentinels. On getting near the walls they crept onwards on their hands and knees; and a sentinel having observed their indistinct crawling forms, remarked to his companion that farmer such a one (naming a husbandman who lived in the neighbourhood) surely made good cheer that night, seeing that he took so little care of his cattle. "He may make merry to-night, comrade," the other replied, "but if the Black Douglas come at them he will fare the worse another time." Sir James and his followers had approached so close to the castle as distinctly to overhear this discourse, and also to mark with certainty the departure of the men. The wall was no sooner free of their presence than Simon of the Leadhouse, fixing one of the ladders, was the

first to mount. This was perceived by one of the garrison so soon as he reached the top of the wall; but giving the startled soldier no time to raise an alarm, Simon suddenly despatched him with his dagger. Simon had then to sustain the attack of another antagonist, whom also he laid dead at his feet; and Sir James and his men, having surmounted the wall, the loud shout of "*A Douglas! a Douglas!*" and the rush of the enemy into the hall, where the garrison yet maintained their revels, gave the first intimation that the fortress was taken. Unarmed, bewildered, and most of them intoxicated, they could make little resistance, and in this state many of them were slaughtered. The governor and a few others escaped into the keep or great tower, which they defended till the following day; but having sustained a severe arrow-wound in the face, Gillem de Fiennes surrendered, on condition that he and his remaining followers should be allowed to depart into England. This event, which fell out in March, 1313, greatly increased the terror of the Douglas' name in the north of England; while in an equal degree it infused spirit and confidence into the hearts of the Scots. Barbour attributes the successful capture of Edinburgh Castle by Randolph, an exploit of greater peril, and, on that account only, of superior gallantry to the preceding, to the noble emulation with which the one general regarded the deeds of the other.

The next occasion wherein Douglas signaled himself was on the field of Bannockburn; in which memorable battle he had the signal honour of commanding the centre division of the Scottish van. When the fortune of that great day was decided by the complete overthrow of the English, Sir James, at the head of sixty horsemen, pursued closely on the track of the fleeing monarch for upwards of forty miles, and only desisted from the inability of his horses to proceed further. In the same year King Robert, desirous of profiting by the wide-spread dismay of the English, despatched his brother Edward and Sir James Douglas, by the eastern marches, into England, where they ravaged and assessed at will the whole northern counties of that kingdom.

When Bruce passed over with an army into Ireland, in the month of May, 1316, to reinforce his brother Edward's arms in that country, he committed to Sir James Douglas the charge of the middle borders during his absence. The Earl of Arundel appears at the same time to have commanded on the eastern and middle marches of England, lying opposite to the district under the charge of Douglas. The earl, encouraged by the absence of the Scottish king, and still more by information which led him to believe that Sir James Douglas was then unprepared, resolved to take this wily enemy at advantage. For this purpose he collected, with secrecy and despatch, an army of 10,000 men. Douglas, who had just completed the erection of his castle or manor-house of Lintalee, near Jedburgh, in which he proposed giving a great feast to his military followers and vassals, was not prepared to encounter such a force; but, from the intelligence of his spies in the enemy's camp, he was not altogether to be taken by surprise. Aware of the route by which the English would advance, he collected in all haste a considerable body of archers, and about fifty men-at-arms, and with these took post in an extensive thicket of Jedburgh Forest. The passage or opening through the wood at this place—wide and convenient at the southern extremity, by which the English were to enter—narrowed as it approached the ambush, till in breadth it did not exceed a quoit's pitch, or about twenty yards. Placing the archers in a hollow piece of ground on one side of the pass,

¹ We have the authority of Barbour for the above curious fact. His words are these:

"And as he come with his menyze [forces]

Ner hand the hous, sa lyszny he,

And hard ane say tharin, '*the dewill!*'

And be that he persawit [perceived] weill

That thai war strang men, that thar

That nycht tharin herberyit war."

Barbour's *Bruce*, b. ix. l. 684.

Douglas effectually secured them from the attack of the enemy's cavalry by an entrenchment of felled trees, and by knitting together the branches of the young birch-trees with which the thicket abounded. He himself took post, with his small body of men-at-arms, on the other side of the pass, and there patiently awaited the enemy. These preparations having been made with great secrecy, the English unsuspectingly entered the narrow part of the defile: they seem even to have neglected the ordinary rules for preserving the proper array of their ranks, these becoming gradually compressed and confused as the body advanced. In this manner, unable to form, and from the pressure in the rear equally unable to retreat, the van of the army offered an unresisting mark to the concealed archers; who, opening upon them with a volley of arrows in front and flank, first made them aware of their danger. Douglas, at the same moment bursting from his ambush, and raising his terrible war-cry, furiously assailed the surprised and disordered English, a great many of whom were slain. Sir James himself encountered in this warm onset a brave foreign knight, named Thomas de Richemont, whom he slew by a thrust with his dagger; taking from him, by way of trophy, a furred cap which it was his custom to wear over his helmet. The English having at length made good their retreat into the open country, Douglas was too wary to follow them. Indeed, he had service of a still more immediate nature yet to perform. Learning that a body of about 300 English, under the command of a person named Ellies, had, by a different route, penetrated to Lintalee, Sir James hastened thither. This party, finding the house deserted, had taken possession of it, as also of the good things provided for the feast, nothing doubting of the complete victory which Arundel would achieve over Douglas and his few followers. In this state of security, having neglected to set watches, they were unexpectedly assailed by their dreaded enemy, and put to the sword, with the exception of a very few who escaped. The fugitives having gained the camp of Arundel, that commander was so daunted by this new disaster, that he retreated back into his own country and disbanded his forces.

Among the other encounters on the borders at this time we must not omit one, in which the characteristic valour of the good Sir James unquestionably gained him the victory. Sir Edmund de Cailand, a knight of Gascony, whom King Edward had appointed governor of Berwick, desirous of signaling himself in the service of that monarch, had collected a considerable force, with which he ravaged nearly the whole district of Teviot. As he was returning to Berwick loaded with spoil, the Douglas, who had intimation of his movements, determined to intercept him. For this purpose he hastily collected a small body of troops; but, on approaching the party of Cailand, he found them so much superior, that he was obliged to pause. The Gascon knight instantly prepared for battle; and a severe conflict ensued, in which it seemed very doubtful whether the Scots should be able to withstand the numbers and bravery of their assailants. Douglas, fearful of the issue, pressed forward with incredible energy, and, encountering Sir Edmund de Cailand, slew him with his own hand. The English, discouraged by the loss of their leader, and no longer able to withstand the ardour with which this gallant deed of Sir James had inspired his men, soon fell into confusion, and were put to flight with considerable slaughter. The booty, which, previously to the engagement, had been sent on towards Berwick, was wholly recovered by the Scots.

Following upon this success, and in some measure connected with it, an event occurred singularly illustrative of the chivalric spirit of that age. Sir Ralph Neville, an English knight who then resided at Berwick, feeling his nation dishonoured by the praises which the fugitives in the late defeat bestowed upon the great prowess of Douglas, boasting declared that he would himself encounter that Scottish knight whenever his banner should be displayed in the neighbourhood of Berwick. When the challenge reached the ears of Douglas, he determined that this rival should not want the opportunity which he courted. Advancing into the plain around Berwick, Sir James there displayed his banner, calling upon Sir Ralph at the same time, by herald, to make good his bravado. The farther to irritate the English, he detached a party of his men, who set fire to some villages within sight of the garrison. Neville, at the head of a much more numerous force than that of the Scots, at length issued forth. The combat was well contested on both sides, till Douglas, encountering Neville hand to hand, soon proved to that brave but over-hardy knight that he had provoked his fate, for he fell under the stronger arm of his antagonist. This event decided the fortune of the field. The English were completely routed, and several persons of distinction made prisoners. Taking advantage of the consternation caused by this victory, Sir James wasted with fire and sword all the country on the north side of the river Tweed which still adhered to the English interest; and returning in triumph to the forest of Jedburgh, divided among his followers the rich booty he had acquired, reserving no part of it, as was his generous custom, to his own use.

In the year 1322 the Scots, commanded by Douglas, invaded the counties of Northumberland and Durham; but no record now remains of the circumstances attending this invasion. In the same year, as much by the terror of his name as by any stratagem, he saved the abbey of Melrose from the threatened attack of a greatly superior force of the English, who had advanced against it for the purposes of plunder. But the service by which, in that last and most disastrous campaign of Edward II. against the Scots, Sir James most distinguished himself, was, in the attempt which he made, assisted by Randolph, to force a passage to the English camp at Biland, in Yorkshire. In this desperate enterprise the military genius of Bruce came opportunely to his aid, and he proved successful. Douglas, by this action, may be said to have given a final blow to the nearly exhausted energies of the weak and misguided government of Edward, and to have thus assisted in rendering his deposition—which soon after followed—a matter of indifference, if not of satisfaction, to his subjects.

The same active hostility which had on so many occasions during the life of our great warrior proved detrimental to the two first Edwards, was yet to be exercised upon the third monarch of that name, the next of the race of English usurpers over Scotland. The truce which the necessities of his own kingdom had extorted from Edward II. after his defeat at Biland having been broken, as it would seem, not without the secret connivance or approbation of the Scottish king, Edward III., afterwards so famous in English history, but then a minor, collected an immense force, intending not only to revenge the infraction, but, by some decisive blow, to recover the national honour. The inexperience of the young monarch, however, ill seconded as that was by the counsels of the faction which then governed England, could prove no match when opposed to the designs

of a king so politic as Robert, and the enterprise and consummate talent of such generals as Randolph and Douglas.

The preparations of England, though conducted on a great and even extravagant scale, failed in the necessary despatch, allowing the Scottish army, which consisted of 20,000 light-armed cavalry, nearly a whole month to plunder and devastate at will, the northern districts of the kingdom. Robert, during his long wars with England, had admirably improved upon the severe experience which his first unfortunate campaigns had taught him; and so well had his system been inured into the very natures of his captains and soldiers, that he could not be more ready to dictate schemes of defence or aggression than his subjects to put them in execution. He was, besides, fortunate above measure in the choice of his generals, and particularly of those two, Randolph, Earl of Moray, and Sir James Douglas, to whose joint command the army on the present occasion was committed. Moray, though equally brave and courageous with his compeer, was naturally guided and restrained by prudential suggestions; while Douglas, almost entirely under the sway of a chivalrous spirit, often, by his very daring, proved successful where the other must have failed. One circumstance deserving of particular commendation must not be omitted. While in rank and reputation, and in the present instance, command, these two great men stood in a position singularly open to sentiments of envious rivalry, the whole course of their lives gives ample ground for believing that feelings of such a nature were utterly alien to the characters of both.

Of the ravages of the Scottish army in the north of England during the space above-mentioned we have no particulars recorded; but that they plundered all the villages and open towns in their route seems certain, prudently avoiding to dissipate their time and strength by assailing more difficult places. To atone somewhat for this deficiency in his narrative, Froissart, who on this period of Scottish history was unquestionably directed by authentic information, has left a curious sketch of the constitution and economy of the Scottish army of that day. "The people of that nation," says this author, "are brave and hardy, insomuch that, when they invade England, they will often march their troops a distance of thirty-six miles in a day and night. All are on horseback, except only the rabble of followers, who are a-foot. The knights and squires are well mounted on large coursers or war-horses, but the commons and country people have only small hackneys or ponies. They use no carriages to attend their army; and such is their abstinence and sobriety in war, that they content themselves for a long time with half-cooked flesh without bread, and with water unmixed with wine. When they have slain and skinned the cattle, which they always find in plenty, they make a kind of kettles of the raw hides with the hair on, which they suspend on four stakes over fires, with the hair side outmost; and in these they boil part of the flesh in water, roasting the remainder by means of wooden spits disposed around the same fires. Besides, they make for themselves a species of shoes or brogues of the same raw hides with the hair still on them. Each person carries attached to his saddle a large flat plate of iron, and has a bag of meal fixed on horseback behind him. When, by eating flesh cooked as before described, and without salt, they find their stomachs weakened and uneasy, they mix up some of the meal with water into a paste; and having heated the flat iron plate on the fire, they knead out the paste into thin cakes, which they bake

or fire on these heated plates. These cakes they eat to strengthen their stomachs." Such an army would undoubtedly possess all the requisites adapted for desultory and predatory warfare; while, like the modern guerillas, the secrecy and celerity of their movements would enable them with ease to elude any formidable encounters with troops otherwise constituted than themselves.

The English army, upon which so much preparation had been expended, was at length, accompanied by the king in person, enabled to take the field. It consisted, according to Froissart, of 8000 knights and squires, armed in steel, and excellently mounted; 15,000 men-at-arms, also mounted, but upon horses of an inferior description; the same number of infantry, or, as that author has termed them, sergeants on foot; and a body of archers 24,000 strong. This great force on its progress northward soon became aware of the vicinity of their destructive enemy by the sight of the smoking villages and towns which marked their course in every direction; but having for several days vainly attempted, by following these indications, to come up with the Scots, or even to gain correct intelligence regarding their movements, they resolved, by taking post on the banks of the river Tyne, to intercept them on their return into Scotland. In this the English army were not more fortunate; and having, from the difficulty of their route, been constrained to leave their camp baggage behind them, they suffered the utmost hardships from the want of provisions and the inclemency of the weather. When several days had been passed in this harassing duty, the king was induced to proclaim a high reward to whosoever should first give intelligence of where the Scottish army were to be found. Thomas Rokesby, an esquire, having among others set out upon this service, was the first to bring back certain accounts that the Scots lay encamped upon the side of a hill about five miles distant. This person had approached so near their position as to be taken prisoner by the outposts; but he had no sooner recounted his business to Randolph and Douglas than he was honourably dismissed, with orders to inform the English king that they were desirous to engage him in battle whensoever he thought proper.

On the following day the English, marching in order of battle, came in sight of the Scottish army, whom they found drawn up on foot, in three divisions, on the slope of a hill; having the river Wear—a rapid and nearly impassable stream—in front, and their flanks protected by rocks and precipices, presenting insurmountable difficulties to an approach. Edward attempted to draw them from their fastness by challenging the Scottish leaders to an honourable engagement on the plain—a practice not unusual in that age; but he soon found that the experienced generals with whom he had to deal were not to be seduced by artifice or bravado. "On our road hither," said they, "we have burned and spoiled the country, and *here* we shall abide while to us it seems good. If the King of England is offended, let him come over and chastise us." The two armies remained in this manner, fronting each other, for three days; the army of Edward much incommoded by the nature of their situation and the continual alarms of their hostile neighbours, who, throughout the night, says Froissart, kept sounding their horns "as if all the great devils in hell had been there." Unable to force the Scots to a battle, the English commanders had no alternative left them than, by blockading their present situation, to compel the enemy by famine to quit their impregnable position, and fight at a disadvantage. The fourth morning, however, proved the futility of such a scheme; for the Scots having

discovered a place of still greater strength about two miles distant, had secretly withdrawn thither in the night. They were soon followed by the English, who took post on an opposite hill, the river Wear still interposing itself between the two armies.

The army of Edward, baffled as they had been by the wariness and dexterity of their enemy, would seem, in their new position, to have relaxed somewhat in their accustomed vigilance; a circumstance that suggested to the enterprising spirit of Douglas the possibility of executing a truly hazardous enterprise. Taking with him a body of 200 chosen horsemen, he at midnight forded the river at a considerable distance from both armies, and by an unfrequented path gained the rear of the English camp undiscovered. On approaching the outposts Douglas artfully assumed the manner of an English officer going his rounds, calling out as he advanced, "Ha! St. George, you keep no ward here," and by this stratagem penetrated, without suspicion, to the very centre of the encampment, where the king lay. When they had got thus far the party, no longer concealing who they were, shouted aloud, "A Douglas! a Douglas! English thieves, you shall all die!" and furiously attacking the unarmed and panic-struck host, overthrew all who came in their way. Douglas, forcing an entrance to the royal pavilion, would have carried off the young king but for the brave and devoted stand made by his domestics, by which he was enabled to escape. Many of the household, and among others the king's own chaplain, zealously sacrificed their lives to their loyalty on this occasion. Disappointed of his prize, Sir James now sounded a retreat, and charging with his men directly through the camp of the English, safely regained his own; having sustained the loss of only a very few of his followers, while that of the enemy is said to have exceeded 300 men.

On the day following this night attack, a prisoner having been brought into the English camp, and strictly interrogated, acknowledged that general orders had been issued to the Scots to hold themselves in readiness to march that evening, under the banner of Douglas. Interpreting this information by the fears which their recent surprisal had inspired, the English concluded that the enemy had formed the plan of a second attack; and in this persuasion drew up their whole army in order of battle, and so continued all night resting upon their arms. Early in the morning two Scottish trumpeters having been seized by the patrols, reported that the Scottish army had decamped before midnight, and were already advanced many miles on their march homeward. The English could not, for some time, give credit to this strange and unwelcome intelligence; but, suspecting some stratagem, continued in order of battle, till by their scouts they were fully certified of its truth. The Scottish leaders, finding that their provisions were nearly exhausted, had prudently resolved upon a retreat; and in the evening, having lighted numerous fires, as was usual, drew off from their encampment shortly after nightfall. To effect their purpose the army had to pass over a morass, which lay in their rear, of nearly two miles in extent, till then supposed impracticable by cavalry. This passage the Scots accomplished by means of a number of hurdles, made of wands or boughs of trees wattled together, employing these as bridges over the water-runs and softer places of the bog; and so deliberately had their measures been executed that, when the whole body had passed, these were carefully removed, that they might afford no assistance to the enemy should they pursue them by the same track. Edward is said to have wept bitterly when

informed of the escape of the Scottish army; and his generals, well aware how unavailing any pursuit after them must prove, next day broke up the encampment, and retired towards Durham.

This was the last signal service which Douglas rendered to his country; and an honourable peace having been soon afterwards concluded between the two kingdoms, seemed at last to promise a quiet and pacific termination to a life which had hitherto known no art but that of war, and no enjoyment but that of victory. However, a different, and to him possibly a more enviable, fate awaited the heroic Douglas. Bruce dying not long after he had witnessed the freedom of his country established, made it his last request that Sir James, as his oldest and most esteemed companion-in-arms, should carry his heart to the Holy Land, and deposit it in the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, to the end that his soul might be unburdened of the weight of a vow which he felt himself unable to fulfil.

Douglas, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue of knights and esquires, set sail from Scotland, in execution of this last charge of his deceased master. He first touched in his voyage at Sluys in Flanders, where, having learned that Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon, was then at waged war with Osmyn, the Moorish King of Granada, he seems to have been tempted, by the desire of fighting against the infidels, to direct his course into Spain, with intention from thence to combat the Saracens in his progress to Jerusalem. Having landed in King Alphonso's country, that sovereign received him with great distinction; and not the less that he expected shortly to engage in battle with his Moorish enemies. Barbour relates, that while at this court a knight of great renown, whose face was all over disfigured by the scars of wounds which he had received in battle, expressed his surprise that a knight of so great fame as Douglas should have received no similar marks in his many combats. "I thank Heaven," answered Sir James mildly, "that I had always hands to protect my face." And those who were by, adds the author, praised the answer much, for there was much understanding in it.

Douglas and his brave company, having joined themselves to Alphonso's army, came in view of the Saracens near to Tebas, a castle on the frontiers of Andalusia, towards the kingdom of Granada. Osmyn, the Moorish king, had ordered a body of 3000 cavalry to make a feigned attack on the Spaniards, while, with the great body of his army, he designed, by a circuitous route, unexpectedly to fall upon the rear of King Alphonso's camp. That king, however, kept the main force of his army in the rear, while he opposed a sufficient body of troops to resist the attack which should be made in front. From this fortunate disposition the Christian king gained the day over his infidel adversaries. Osmyn was discomfited with much slaughter, and Alphonso, improving his advantage, gained full possession of the enemy's camp. While the battle was thus brought to a successful issue in one quarter, Douglas and his brave companions, who fought in the van, proved themselves no less fortunate. The Moors, not long able to withstand their furious encounter, betook themselves to flight. Douglas, unacquainted with the mode of warfare pursued among that people, followed hard, until, finding himself almost deserted by his followers, he turned his horse, with the intention of rejoining the main body. Just then, however, observing a knight of his own company to be surrounded by a body of Moors who had suddenly rallied, "Alas!" said he, "yonder worthy knight shall perish but for present help;" and with the few

who now attended him, amounting to no more than ten men, he turned hastily, to attempt his rescue. He soon found himself hard pressed by the numbers who thronged upon him. Taking from his neck the silver casket which contained the heart of Bruce, he threw it among the thickest of the enemy, saying, "Now pass thou onward before us, as thou wert wont, and I will follow thee or die." Douglas, and almost the whole of the brave men who fought by his side, were here slain. His body and the casket containing the embalmed heart of Bruce were found together upon the field; and were, by his surviving companions, conveyed with great care and reverence into Scotland. The remains of Douglas were deposited in the family vault at St. Bride's Chapel, and the heart of Bruce solemnly interred by Moray, the regent, under the high altar in Melrose Abbey.

So perished, almost in the prime of life, the gallant, and, as his grateful countrymen long affectionately termed him, "the good Sir James Douglas," having survived little more than one year the demise of his royal master. His death was soon after followed by that of Randolph; with whom might be said to close the race of illustrious men who had rendered the epoch of Scotland's renovation and independence so remarkable.

DOUGLAS, JAMES, EARL OF DOUGLAS. This distinguished warrior, the close of whose life was so brilliant and romantic, was the second who bore the title of the earldom. From his earliest years he had been trained to warfare, in which his deeds were so remarkable that he was intrusted with high command, while the utmost confidence was reposed in his valour and leadership. This was especially the case in his final expedition, which was crowned by the victory of Otterburn.

At this period Robert II., grandson by his mother of Robert Bruce, was seated upon the throne of Scotland. His youth had been spent in war, in which he showed activity and courage; but after his accession to the crown he relapsed into a peaceful state, that was supposed by his impatient nobles to be merely the result of indolence. With this character he had already ruled eighteen years, while the war of independence against England still continued to rage; but notwithstanding his inertness, the valour of the Scottish nobility, and especially the Douglasses, had succeeded in repelling every English inroad. At length, in 1388, a favourable opportunity seemed to have arrived of carrying an invasion into England. The Black Prince, the great terror of France and prop of the English crown, was dead. Richard II., the King of England, now only twenty-one years old, was ruling with all the folly and arrogance of boyhood; his council was rent with divisions and feuds, the nobility were arrayed against him, while the commons, lately awakened into a sense of their rights by the Wat Tyler insurrection, were equally hostile to the king who misruled, and to the chiefs who impoverished and oppressed them. This state of things presented an opportunity for retaliation and plunder which the Scots could not resist, and they resolved to change their defensive into an aggressive warfare. A council was held for this purpose at Edinburgh; and although Robert II. was opposed to the dangerous measure, his wishes were disregarded. A military muster of the kingdom was ordered to meet at Yetholm, and on the day appointed an army was assembled, composed of the chief force of Scotland. Forty thousand spearmen, including a band of Scottish archers, and twelve hundred men-at-arms, were mustered upon the field of meeting—a greater force

than that which had sufficed to achieve the victory of Bannockburn. The Earl of Fife, the king's second son, to whom the leading of this expedition had been committed, was neither a brave soldier nor a skilful general, but he had craft and policy enough to pass for both, while his chief captains were men inured to war, and well acquainted with the northern borders of England. The great question now at issue was the manner in which the invasion should be conducted, and the part of the English border that could be best assailed; and this was soon settled by a fortunate incident. The English wardens, alarmed at this formidable muster, had sent a squire, disguised as a Scottish man-at-arms, to ascertain its nature and purposes, in which he was fully successful; but, on returning, he found that his horse, which he had tied to a tree in a neighbouring forest, had been stolen by some border freebooter. Encumbered by his armour, and suspected to be other than he seemed, from thus travelling on foot in such an array, he was soon pounced upon by the light-heeled outposts, and brought before the Scottish lords, to whom he made a full confession of all the plans and preparations of his masters. Judging it unsafe to hazard a pitched battle against so large an army, they had resolved to remain quiet until the Scots had crossed the marches, after which they would break in upon Scotland at some undefended point, and work their will in a counter-invasion. This intelligence decided the Scottish lords upon a plan that should at once have the invasion of England and the defence of their own country for its object. Their army was to be divided, and England invaded both by the eastern and western marches, so that the enemy should find sufficient occupation in their own country. In pursuance of this plan, the Earl of Fife, with the bulk of the army, marched through Liddesdale and Galloway, intending to advance upon Carlisle, while the other inroad was to break into Northumberland. As this last was designed for the lightest part of the campaign, not more than 300 knights and men-at-arms, and about 2000 foot, were allotted to the service; but they were placed under the command of James, Earl of Douglas, who, though young, was already accounted one of the most practised and skilful leaders of the country. He was accompanied by George and John Dunbar, Earls of March and Moray, and several of the most distinguished Scottish knights, who were proud to serve under such a commander.

All being in readiness, the Earl of Douglas commenced the campaign by entering Northumberland. He crossed the Tyne, and by swift and secret marches approached Durham, having given orders to his army not to commence plundering until they had passed that city. It was then only that the English were aware of an enemy in the midst of them, by conflagration and havoc among their richest districts, while the course of the Scots, as they shifted hither and thither by rapid marches, could only be traced by burning villages and a dun atmosphere of smoke. The English, in the meantime, kept within their walls, imagining that this small body was the advanced guard of the main army, instead of an unsupported band of daring assailants. This was especially the case in Newcastle, where Henry Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, famed in English history under the name of Hotspur; Sir Ralph, his brother, whose valour was scarcely inferior to his own, with many gallant knights and border barons, and a numerous host of military retainers, instead of sallying out, held themselves in readiness for a siege. At length, having wasted the country for miles, and enriched themselves with

plunder, the Scots prepared to retreat as rapidly as they had advanced, and had marched as far as Newcastle on their return, when Douglas and his brave companions in arms resolved to halt two days before its ramparts, and dare the defenders to come forth and do their worst. This defiance, which breathed the full spirit of chivalry, was not likely to reach the Hotspur's ears in vain; the gates and Sally-ports of Newcastle were thrown open, and numerous bands of the English rushed out, headed by their far-famed leader, while the skirmishes that extended over the two days were both frequent and desperate. At length, in one of these encounters, Douglas and Hotspur met front to front, and between these two, each reckoned the bravest of his country, a hand-to-hand combat ensued, such as the wars of Scotland and England had seldom witnessed. In the furious close of the joust, Hotspur was unhorsed, and but for the rescue that interposed, would have been taken prisoner; while Douglas, seizing the lance of his fallen antagonist, with its silken embroidered pennon attached to it, waved it aloft in triumph, and exclaimed in the hearing of both armies, "I will bear this token of your prowess into Scotland, and set it on high on my castle of Dalkeith!" "That shalt thou never do," cried Percy in return; "you may be sure you shall not pass the bounds of this country till you be met with in such wise, that you shall make no vaunting thereof." "Well, sir," replied the Douglas, "come then this night to my encampment, and there seek for your pennon." Thus ended their ominous conference.

After a challenge so given and received, a conflict was inevitable, and Douglas, in continuing his retreat, marched in order of battle, and ready for any sudden onslaught of the enemy. At length the Scots reached the castle and village of Otterburn, about twenty-eight miles from Newcastle, on the second day of their march, and would have continued their progress into Scotland unmolested, but for the earnest entreaties of Earl Douglas, who besought them to stay a few days there, to give Hotspur an opportunity of redeeming his pennon. To this they consented, and chose their ground with considerable military skill, having their encampment defended in front and on one side by a marsh, and on the other by a hill. They had not long to wait. Burning with eagerness to recover his lost pennon and retrieve his tarnished honour, and learning at length that the small force under the Earl of Douglas was unsupported by the army, Hotspur left Newcastle after dinner, and commenced a rapid march in pursuit of the Scots. By waiting a little longer for the Bishop of Durham, who was hastening to his assistance, his army might have been doubled, and his success insured; but as it was, he greatly outnumbered his opponents, as he was followed by 8000 foot and 600 lances. In the evening he reached the encampment of the Scots, who, after a day of weary siege against the castle of Otterburn, had betaken themselves to rest, but were roused by the cry of "A Percy! a Percy!" that announced the coming foe. They instantly sprung to their feet, and betook themselves to their weapons. But without giving further time, the English commenced with an impetuous onset upon the front of the Scottish army, drawn up behind the marsh; through which, wearied with a hasty pursuit, they were obliged to flounder as they best could. And now it was that the admirable generalship of Douglas, in selecting and fortifying his encampment, was fully apparent. The front ranks thus assailed, and who bore the first brunt of the battle, were not regular soldiers, but sutlers and camp-followers,

placed in charge of the plundered horses and cattle, and whose position was strongly fortified with the carriages and waggons that were laden with English spoil. Although only armed with knives and clubs, these men, sheltered by their strong defences, made such a stubborn resistance as kept the enemy for a time at bay, and still further confirmed them in the delusion that the whole Scottish force was now in action.

Not a moment of the precious interval thus afforded was lost by the Earl of Douglas. At the first alarm he started from supper, where he and his knights sat in their gowns and doublets, and armed in such haste that his armour was unclasped in many places. The regular troops were encamped upon firm ground behind the marsh; and these he suddenly drew up, and silently marched round the small wooded hill that flanked their position, so that when the English had forced the barrier of waggons, and believed that all was now their own, they were astounded at the apparition of the whole Scottish army advancing upon them from an unexpected quarter, with the honoured Douglas banner of the crowned heart floating over its head. They had thus been wasting their valour upon the scum of the invaders, and the real battle was still to be fought and won! Furious with disappointment, Hotspur drew up his men in new order for the coming onset. Even yet he might be the victor, for his soldiers not only outnumbered the enemy by three to one, but were equal in discipline, and superior in military equipments. It seemed inevitable that the banner of the crowned heart must be thrown down and trodden in the dust unless the skilful head and mighty arm of its lord could maintain its honours against such fearful odds. The combatants closed by the light of an autumnal moon, that shone with an uncertain glimmer upon their mail, and half revealed their movements, as they shifted to and fro in the struggle of life and death. Thus they continued hour after hour, while neither party thought of yielding, although the ground was slippery with blood, and covered with the dead and dying—each closed in deadly grapple with his antagonist, that he might make his stroke more sure in the dim changeful moonlight. At length there appeared a wavering among the Scots; they reeled, and began to give back before the weight of superior numbers, when Douglas, finding that he must set his life upon a cast, prepared himself for a final personal effort. He ordered his banner to be advanced, and brandishing in both hands a heavy battle-axe, such as few men could wield, he shouted his war-cry of "A Douglas!" and rushed into the thickest of the press. At every stroke an enemy went down, and a lane was cleared before his onset; but his ardour carried him so far in advance, that he soon found himself unsupported, and three spears bore him to the earth, each inflicting a mortal wound. Some time elapsed before his gallant companions could overtake his onward career. At length the Earl of March, with his brother of Moray, who had entered battle with such haste that he had fought all night without his helmet, and Sir James Lindsay, one of the most stalwart of Scottish knights, cleared their way to the spot, where they found their brave commander dying, while none was beside him but William Lundie, his chaplain, a soldier priest, who had followed his steps through the whole conflict, and now stood ready, lance in hand, beside his master, to defend him in his last moments. Lindsay was the first to recognize the dying Douglas, and stooping down he asked him how he fared. "But indifferently," replied the earl; "but blessed be God, most of my ancestors have died on fields of battle, and not



Portrait of a man in 17th-century attire, holding a sword.

on beds of down. There is a prophecy in our house, that a dead Douglas shall win a field, and I think that this night it will be accomplished. Conceal my death, raise my banner, shout my war-cry, and revenge my fall." With these words he expired.

In obedience to the dying injunctions of Douglas; his companions concealed the body among the tall fern that grew beside it, raised aloft his standard, that was reeling amidst the conflict, and shouted the Douglas war-cry, as if he was still at their head; while the English, who knew that some mighty champion had lately fallen, but were ignorant that it was the Scottish leader, gave back in turn at the sound of his dreaded name. The Scots, who also believed that he was still alive, seconded the fresh onset of their leaders, and advanced with such renewed courage, that the English were at last routed, driven from the field, and dispersed, after their bravest had fallen, or been taken prisoners. Among the last was Hotspur himself, who had fought through the whole affray with his wonted prowess; Sir Ralph, his brother, who was grievously wounded; the senechal of York, the captain of Berwick, and several English knights and gentlemen, who were esteemed the choice of their border chivalry.

Such was the battle of Otterburn, fought in the month of August, and in the year 1388. The loss of the English attests the pertinacity of the engagement, for they had 1800 killed, about 1000 wounded, and as many taken prisoners. Such a victory also evinces, more than the most laboured eulogium, the high military skill of the Earl of Douglas, so that, had he lived, his renown might have worthily taken a place by the side of the hero of Bannockburn. But he died while still young, and achieved the victory even when dead by the terror of his name—a different fate from that of his gallant rival, Henry Percy, who was first a traitor to Richard II., his natural sovereign, and afterwards to Henry IV., a usurper whom he had mainly contributed to elevate to the throne, and who finally died a proclaimed rebel on the field of Shrewsbury, amidst disaster and defeat. On the day after the engagement the Bishop of Durham, whose movements had been anticipated by the impetuosity of Hotspur, arrived upon the field at the head of 10,000 horse and a large array of foot—an army sufficient, as it seemed, to trample down the victors at a single charge. But the spirit of Douglas was still among his followers, so that, under the command of Moray, they drew up in their former position, and showed themselves as ready for a second combat as they had been for the first; and the bishop, daunted by their bold appearance, drew off his forces, and retired without a blow. The Scots then resumed their route homeward unmolested; but instead of a joyful triumphal march, as it might well have been after such a victory, it was rather a sad and slow funeral procession, in the centre of which was a car that conveyed the body of their hero to the burial-place of his illustrious ancestors. It is not often thus that a soldier's love and sympathy so overwhelm a soldier's pride in the full flush of his success. The funeral was performed with pompous military honours in the abbey of Melrose, while the epitaph of the departed was indelibly engraven in the hearts of his countrymen and the page of Scottish history.

DOUGLAS, JAMES, fourth Earl of Morton, and Regent of Scotland, was the second son of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich (younger brother of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, and a grandson of the fifth, or great earl, styled *Bell-the-cat*). The matrimonial connection of the sixth Earl of Angus with Margaret of England, the widow of James IV.,

brought the whole of this great family into an intimate alliance with Henry VIII., that princess' brother.

During the reign of James V. as an adult sovereign most of them lived in banishment in England; and it was only after his death, in 1542, that they reappeared in the country. Whether the Earl of Morton spent his early years at the English court is not known; but it is related by at least one historical writer that he travelled during his youth in Italy. Immediately after the return of the family from banishment, he is found mingling deeply in those intrigues which Angus and others carried on for the purpose of promoting the progress of the reformed religion, along with the match between Henry's son and the infant Queen Mary. He seems to have followed in the wake of his father, Sir George, who was a prime agent of King Henry; and who, in April, 1543, engaged with others to deliver up the lowland part of Scotland to the English monarch. Previous to this period the future regent had been married to Elizabeth Douglas, third daughter of James, third Earl of Morton, who was induced to bequeath his title and all his estates to this fortunate son-in-law, conjointly with his wife.¹ In virtue of this grant, the subject of our memoir was invested with the title of Master of Morton. It is somewhat remarkable, that on the very day when the English ambassador informed his prince of the traitorous engagement of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, his son, the Master of Morton, had a royal charter confirming the above splendid grant. This must have been obtained from the fears of the governor, Arran, against whom all the Douglasses were working. In November following the master is found holding out the donjon or principal tower of his father-in-law's castle of Dalkeith against Arran; but, being destitute of victuals and artillery, he was obliged to give it up, on the condition of retiring with all his effects untouched. Nothing more is learned of this remarkable personage till 1553, when he succeeded his father-in-law as Earl of Morton. Although one of the original lords of the congregation in 1557, he did not for some time take an active or decided part against the queen-regent. He had received large favours from this lady, and, possessing all that gratitude which consists in a lively anticipation of favours to come, he feared, by casting off her cause, which he supposed would be the triumphant one, to compromise his prospect of those future advantages. This caused Sir Ralph Sadler, the English envoy, to describe him as "a simple and fearful man;" words which are certainly, in their modern sense at least, inapplicable to him. Morton was, however, a commissioner for the settlement of affairs at Upsettlington, May 31st, 1559. After the return of Queen Mary, in 1561, he was sworn a privy-councillor, and on the 7th of January, 1563, was appointed lord high-chancellor of Scotland. By the advice of his father the Earl of Lennox, Darnley consulted Morton and the Earl of Crawford, in preference to any other of the nobility, respecting the taking away the life of Rizzio, when his jealousy had been inflamed by the presumption of that unfortunate adventurer; and Morton became a principal actor in the tragical catastrophe that ensued. It was the opinion of these noblemen that Rizzio should be impeached before the parliament, and brought publicly to justice, as an incendiary who had sown distrust and jealousy among the nobility, and had also endeavoured to subvert the ancient laws and constitu-

¹ The mother of the regent's wife was Katherine Stewart, a natural daughter of King James IV.

tion of the kingdom. This there certainly would have been little difficulty in accomplishing, but it did not suit the impatient temper of Darnley, whose revenge could not be satiated without in some degree implicating the queen; and he had determined that her favourite should suffer in her almost immediate presence. He accordingly carried a number of the conspirators from his own chamber, which was below the queen's, by a narrow staircase, of which he alone had the privilege, into hers, when she had just sat down to supper, in company with the Countess of Argyle and her unfortunate secretary, the object of their hatred, whom they instantly dragged from his seat, and, ere they were well out of the queen's presence, whose table they had overturned, and whose clothes the unhappy man had almost torn while he clung to her and implored her protection, despatched him with innumerable wounds. In the meantime Morton, chancellor of the kingdom, and the protector of its laws, kept watch in the outer gallery, and his vassals paraded in the open court, preventing all egress from or ingress to the palace. The effect of this barbarous murder was an entire change of policy on the part of the court. The Protestant lords, the principal of whom had been in exile, returned to Edinburgh that same night, and all Papists were, by a proclamation issued by the king, commanded to leave the city next day. The queen, though she was enraged in the highest degree, concealed her feelings till she had completely overcome the foolish Darnley, whom she persuaded in the course of a few days to flee with her to Dunbar, to abandon the noblemen to whom he had bound himself by the most solemn written obligations, and to issue a proclamation denying all participation in the murder of Rizzio, and requiring the lieges to assemble instantly for the protection of the queen and the prosecution of the murderers. In consequence of this the queen, with her now doubly degraded husband, returned in a few days to the capital, at the head of a formidable army; and though the exiled noblemen who had newly returned maintained their ground, Morton and his associates were under the necessity of making their escape out of the kingdom. Through the interest of the Earl of Bothwell he was pardoned shortly after; and it was attempted at the same time to engage him in the plot that was already formed for murdering Darnley. In this, however, he positively refused to concur; but, practically acquainted with the childish weakness of that unfortunate young man, he dared not to inform him of the design, nor did he take any measures to prevent its being executed, which occasioned him eventually the loss of his own life. After the death of the king, and Mary's subsequent marriage to Bothwell, Morton was one of the most efficient leaders in the confederacy that was formed for her degradation, and for erecting a Protestant regency under her infant son. He was the same year restored to the office of high-chancellor for life. He was also constituted high-admiral for Scotland, and sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, which had become vacant by the forfeiture of Bothwell. He, along with the Earl of Home, took the oaths for King James VI. at his coronation, on August 29th, 1567, to the effect that he would observe the laws and maintain the religion then publicly taught, so far as it was in his power. The Scottish treasury was at this time so low, that when it was determined to fit out a small fleet to apprehend and bring to justice the notorious Bothwell, who to all his other enormities had now added that of being a pirate, in which capacity he was infesting the northern islands, it was found to be impracticable, till Morton generously came forward

and supplied the necessary sum from his private purse.

During the regency of the Earl of Moray, Morton was an active and able assistant to him on all occasions. He was one of the principal commanders at the battle of Langside, and to his courage and good conduct it was in no small degree owing that the results of that memorable day were of such a favourable complexion. He was also one of the commissioners in the famous conferences at York. On the murder of the regent in the year 1570, Morton became the head of the Protestant or king's party, though Matthew, Earl of Lennox, was created regent, chiefly through his interest and that of Queen Elizabeth. Never was any country that had made the smallest progress in civilization, in a more deplorable condition than Scotland at this period. At the time of the regent's murder the whole, or nearly the whole, faction of the Hamiltons were collected at Edinburgh, evidently that they might be able to improve that event for advancing their views; and the very night after the murder, Ker of Fernihurst, accompanied by some of the Scotts, entered England, which they wasted with fire and sword, in a manner more barbarous than even any of their own most barbarous precedents. The reason of this was, that they did not in this instance so much desire plunder, the usual incentive to these savage inroads, as to provoke the English government to declare war, which they vainly supposed would advance the interests of their faction. Elizabeth, however, was well acquainted with the state of Scotland, and aware that strong external pressure might unite the discordant parties, and make them for a time lose sight of those individual objects which every paltry chieftain was so eagerly pursuing, sent her ambassador Randolph to assure the Scottish council that her affection towards Scotland was not at all abated, and, as in former times of great confusion she had not been backward to assist them, she would not be so now. As for the robberies and the murders that had so lately been committed upon her people, being aware that they were authorized by no public authority, she would never think of punishing the many for the errors of the few. These marauders, however, she insisted should be restrained; and, if they felt themselves incompetent, by reason of their public commotions, to do this, she offered to join her forces to theirs for that purpose. He also added, in name of his sovereign, many advices which were regarded by the council as wholesome, equitable, and pious; but, as they had as yet elected no chief magistrate, he was requested to wait for an answer till the beginning of May, on the first day of which the parliament was summoned to meet. The interim was busily, as might easily have been foreseen, employed, by the faction of the queen, in preparing either to prevent the parliament from being assembled, or to embroil its proceedings if it did. Glasgow, therefore, being convenient for the Hamiltons, was first fixed on as the general rendezvous of the party, whence they wrote to Morton and the party of the king to meet them either at Falkirk or Linlithgow. This not being agreed to, the queen's faction removed themselves to Linlithgow, and afterwards, thinking to persuade the citizens to join them, into Edinburgh. Foiled in this, though Kirkcaldy, the governor of the castle, had declared for them, as also in their aim to assemble the parliament before the appointed time, they, before that time approached, withdrew to Linlithgow, whence they issued an edict, commanding all the lieges to obey only the commissioners of the queen, and summoning a parliament to meet in that place on the 3d of August. Previously to their leav-

ing Edinburgh, the faction despatched two special messengers into England, one to meet with the Earl of Sussex, who was on his march with an army to punish the Scotts and the Kers, with their adherents, who had so barbarously, a few months before, carried fire and sword into England—praying for a truce, till they should be able to inform the queen, Elizabeth, by letter, of the state of their affairs. The other carried the said letter, which contained the most exaggerated statements of their own strength, and not obscurely threatened war against the English nation. It also contained a request that Elizabeth, as arbitress of the affairs of Scotland, should annul the decrees of the two former years, that the whole business should be gone over anew, and settled by the common consent of all. Trusting to the ignorance of the English, they ventured to append to this document, not only all the names of the party, but many of those of the other, and the whole of those that stood neuter. Sussex, having full authority, opened both these despatches, and, perfectly aware of the fraud, sent back the messengers with contempt. He also transmitted copies of the letters to the adherents of the king, that they might know what was going on among their enemies; in consequence of which they sent an embassy to Elizabeth to treat about repressing the common enemy, and to show their respect for her, proposing, in the choice of a regent, to be guided by her wishes.

Sussex, in the meantime, entered Teviotdale, and laid waste without mercy the whole possessions belonging to the Scotts and the Kers, and generally all those belonging to the partisans of Mary. Under pretence of being revenged on the Johnstons, Lord Scrope entered Annandale in the same manner, and committed similar depredations. They even carried their ravages into Clydesdale, where they burned and destroyed the town and castle of Hamilton, and carried off a large booty from the different estates in that quarter belonging to the Hamiltons; after which they returned to Berwick. The messenger who had been by the Protestant lords sent to Elizabeth, in the meantime returned with an answer that contained the strongest expressions of astonishment at the length of time that had elapsed from the death of the regent, before they had thought it meet to make her acquainted with the state of their affairs, and, in consequence of the delay, she declared that she could scarcely determine in what manner she should conduct herself with regard to them. The truth was that she had been again parleying with Mary, who had promised to cause her party in Scotland deliver up the Earl of Westmoreland and some other fugitives, subjects of Elizabeth, who had taken refuge among them; in consequence of which, Sussex had been recalled, and, to save appearances with both, she was now necessitated to propose another conference, with a view to the clearing of Mary's character and restoring her to the exercise of sovereign authority. Both parties were in the meantime to abstain from hostilities of every kind, and whatever innovations they had attempted by their public proclamations, they were to annul by the same means.

Nothing could have been contrived more discouraging to the king's friends, or more detrimental to the interests of Scotland, than such a determination as this; but they had no choice left. They behaved either to be assisted by the Queen of England, or run the hazard of a dangerous civil war with their own party, considerably diminished by the dilatory manner in which they had already acted, and the chance of the opposite party being assisted by a strong auxiliary force from France, which had been often promised, and as often boasted of, gene-

rally among the more uninformed classes, who had little knowledge of the internal strength of France, or of the political balance that might externally sway her councils, and prevent her government from acting according to either their promises or their wishes. But they were not altogether blind to the difficulties in which, by the subtlety of her policy, Elizabeth was involved; and they chose a middle course, trusting to the chapter of accidents for an issue more successful than they could fully or clearly foresee. Sensible how much they had lost by the delay in appointing some person to the regency, they proceeded to create Matthew, Earl of Lennox, regent, till the middle of July, by which time they calculated upon ascertaining the pleasure of Elizabeth, of whose friendship they did not yet despair.

The Earl of Lennox was not by any means a man of commanding talent, but he was a man of kindly affections, and a lover of his country; and with the assistance of his council, set himself in good earnest to correct the disorders into which it had fallen, when, about the beginning of July, letters arrived from Elizabeth, filled with expressions of high regard both for the king and kingdom of Scotland, and promising them both her best assistance; and though she wished them to avoid the nomination of a regent, as in itself invidious, yet if her opinion were asked, she knew no person who ought to be preferred to the king's grandfather to that office, because none could be thought upon who would be more faithful to his pupil while a minor, nor had any one a preferable right. On the reception of this grateful communication, Lennox was immediately declared regent, and having taken the usual oath for preserving the religion, the laws, and liberties of his country, he issued a proclamation, commanding all who were capable of bearing arms to appear at Linlithgow on the 2d of August. His purpose by this was to prevent the assembling of the party meeting, which, under the name of a parliament, was called in name of the queen, for the 2d day of September, he himself having summoned, in name of the king, a parliament to meet on the 10th of October. He was accordingly attended on the day appointed by 5000 at Linlithgow, where the party of the queen did not think it advisable to appear. Hearing, however, that Huntly had issued orders for a large army to be assembled at Brechin, the garrison of which had begun to infest the highways, and to rob all travellers, he sent against that place the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, with what forces they could collect at Perth and Dundee. The subject of this memoir followed them with 800 horse, and was at Brechin only a day behind them. The regent himself having despatched the men of Lennox and Renfrew to protect their own country, in case Argyle should attack them, followed in three days, and was waited upon by the nobility and gentry, with their followers, to the number of 7000 men. Huntly had now fled to the north. The garrison of Brechin made a show of defending themselves, but were soon brought to submit at discretion. Thirty of them who had been old offenders, were hanged on the spot, and the remainder dismissed.

The regent returned to Edinburgh in time to attend the meeting of parliament, which harmoniously confirmed his authority. On this account the queen's party had again recourse to the French and the Spaniards, with more earnestness than ever, entreating them to send the promised assistance for the restoring of the queen and the ancient religion, the latter depending, they said, upon the former. Another parliament being appointed for the 25th of January, 1510, the queen's party, through the Queen of England, procured a renewal of the truce till the

matters in dispute should be debated before her. The parliament on this account was prorogued from the 25th of January till the beginning of May; and on the 5th of February the Earl of Morton, Robert Pitcairn, abbot of Dunfermline, and James Magill, were despatched to London to hold the conference. For this second conference before the agents of Elizabeth we must refer our readers to the life of Mary Queen of Scots. We cannot for a moment suppose that Elizabeth had any serious intentions, at any period of her captivity, to restore Queen Mary, and they were probably less so now than ever. The proposals she made at this time, indeed, were so degrading to both parties as to be rejected by both with equal cordiality. There had been in this whole business a great deal of shuffling. Mary had undertaken for her partisans that they would deliver up to Elizabeth the fugitives that had made their escape from justice, or in other words, from the punishment which they had made themselves liable to on her account; but instead of being delivered up to Elizabeth they were safely conveyed into Flanders. Mary had also engaged that her partisans should abstain from courting any foreign aid; but an agent from the pope, who had vainly attempted to conciliate Elizabeth, issued a bull of excommunication against her, declared her an usurper as well as a heretic, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance to her; yet with inexplicable pertinacity, Elizabeth seemed to divide her regards between the parties, by which means she kept alive and increased their mutual hatred, and was a principal instrument of rendering the whole country a scene of devastation and misery.

While this fruitless negotiation was going on, the truce was but indifferently observed by either party. Kirkcaldy and Maitland having possession of the castle of Edinburgh, and being free from the fear of any immediate danger, were constantly employed in training soldiers, taking military possession of the most advantageous posts in the city, seizing the provisions brought into Leith, and by every means making preparations for standing a siege till the promised and ardently expected assistance should arrive from abroad. The Hamiltons oftener than once attempted the life of the regent, and they also seized upon the town of Paisley, but Lennox, marching in person against them, speedily recovered it. He also marched to Ayr against the Earl of Cassilis, who gave his brother to the regent as a hostage, and appointed a day when he would come to Stirling and ratify his agreement. The Earl of Eglinton and Lord Boyd at the same time made their submission to the regent, and were taken into favour. The castle of Dumbarton too, which had all along been held for the queen, fell at this time, by a piece of singular good fortune, into the hands of the regent. In the castle were taken prisoners Monsieur Verac, ambassador from the King of France, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and John Fleming of Boghall. The archbishop was shortly after hanged at Stirling, as being concerned in the plots for murdering Darnley and the Regent Moray. In the meantime Morton and the other commissioners that had accompanied him, returned from London, having come to no conclusion. Morton gave a particular account of all that had passed between the commissioners to the nobles assembled at Stirling, who entirely approved of the conduct of the commissioners; but the further consideration of the embassy was postponed to the first of May, when the parliament was summoned to assemble. Both parties were now fully on the alert: the one to hold, and the other to prevent, the meeting on the day appointed. Morton, after the nobles had approved of his conduct, returned

to his house at Dalkeith, attended by 100 foot-soldiers and a few horse, as a guard, in case he should be attacked by the townsmen, or to repress their incursions till a sufficient force could be collected. Morton, as desired by the regent, having sent a detachment of a few horsemen and about seventy foot to Leith, to publish a proclamation forbidding any person to supply the faction of the queen with provisions, arms, or warlike stores, under pain of being treated as rebels, they were attacked in their way back to Dalkeith, and a smart skirmish ensued, in which the townsmen were driven back into the city, though with no great loss on either side. This was the beginning of a civil war that raged with unusual bitterness till it was terminated by the intervention of Elizabeth. The regent not being prepared to besiege the town, wished to abstain from violence; but, determined to hold the approaching parliament in the Canongate, within the liberties of the city, at a place called St. John's Cross, he erected two fortifications, one in Leith Wynd, and the other at the Dove Craig, whence his soldiers fired into the town during the whole time of the sitting of the parliament, slaying great numbers of the soldiers and citizens. This parliament forfeited Maitland the secretary, and two of his brothers, with several others of the party, and was held amid an almost constant discharge of cannon from the castle; yet no one was hurt. On its rising, the regent and Morton retired to Leith, when the party of the queen burned down the houses without the walls that had been occupied by them; and as they withdrew towards Stirling, they sent out their horsemen after them to Corstorphine. Before they reached that place, however, the regent was gone; but they attacked the Earl of Morton, who slowly withdrew towards Dalkeith. As Morton afterwards laydall all that carried provisions into the town, a party was sent out, supposed to be sufficiently strong to burn Dalkeith. The earl, however, gave them battle, and repulsed them to the marches of the Borough Muir. The garrison, seeing from the castle the discomfiture of their friends, sent out a reinforcement, which turned the tide of victory; and but for the carelessness of one of the party, who dropped his match into a barrel of powder, the whole of Morton's party might have fallen victims to their temerity in pursuing the enemy so far. This accident, whereby the horse that carried the powder and many of the soldiers were severely scorched, put an end to the affray. Elizabeth all this while had professed a kind of neutrality between the parties. Now, however, she sent Sir William Drury to Kirkcaldy, the captain of the castle, to know of him whether he held the castle in the queen's name or in the name of the king and regent; assuring him that if he held it in the name of the queen, Elizabeth would be his extreme enemy, but if otherwise that she would be his friend. The captain declared that he owned no authority in Scotland but that of Queen Mary. The regent, when Drury told him this, sent him back to demand the house to be rendered to him, in the king's name; on which he and all that were along with him should be pardoned all by-past offences, restored to their rents and possessions, and should have liberty to depart with all their effects. This offer, the captain, trusting the "carnal wit and policy of Lethington," was so wicked and so foolish as to refuse, and the war was continued with singular barbarity. The small party in the castle, in order to give the colour of law to their procedure, added the absurdity of holding a parliament, in which they read a letter from the king's mother, declaring her resignation null, and requesting that she might be restored, which was at once complied with; only

they wanted the power to take her out of the hands of Elizabeth. In order to conciliate the multitude, they declared that no alteration should be made in the Presbyterian religion, only those preachers who should refuse to pray for the queen were forbidden to exercise their functions. These mock forms, from which no doubt a man of so much cunning as Lethington expected happy results, tended only to render the party ridiculous, without producing them a single partisan. The regent, all whose motions were directed by Morton, was indefatigable, and by an order of the estates, the country was to send him a certain number of men, who were to serve for three months, one part of the country relieving the other by turns. To narrate the various skirmishes of the contending parties, as they tended so little to any decisive result, though the subject of this memoir had a principal hand in them all, would be an unprofitable as well as an unpleasant task. We shall therefore pass over the greater part of them; but the following we cannot omit.

Morton, being weary and worn out with constant watching, and besides afflicted with sickness, retired with the regent to Stirling, where the whole party, along with the English ambassador, thought themselves in perfect security. The men of the castle, in order to make a flourish before Sir William Drury, came forth with their whole forces, as if to give their opponents an open challenge to face them if they dared to be so bold. Morton, who was certainly a brave man, being told of this circumstance, rose from his bed, put on his armour, and led forth his men as far as Restalrig, where he put them in battle array, facing the queen's adherents, who had drawn up at the Quarrel Holes, having along with them two field-pieces. Drury rode between the armies and entreated them to return home, and not spoil all hopes of accommodation by fresh bloodshed. To this he at length brought them to agree, only they wanted to know who should leave the ground first. Drury endeavoured to satisfy both by standing between the armies, and giving a signal which both should obey at the same time. Morton was willing to obey the signal; but his enemies threatened that if he did not retire of his own accord, they would drive him from the field with disgrace. This was enough for a man of his proud spirit. He was loath to offend the English; but he conceived that he had abundantly testified his moderation, and he therefore rushed like a whirlwind upon his foes, who, panic-struck, fled in a moment towards the nearest gate, which not being wide enough to receive at once the flying cloud, many were trodden down and taken prisoners; only one small party, who rallied in an adjoining churchyard, but who again fled at the first charge, made any resistance. So complete was the panic, and so disorderly the flight, that, leaving the gates unguarded, every man fled full speed towards the castle; and had not the regent's soldiers, too intent upon plunder, neglected the opportunity, the city might have been taken. Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, was slain, with upwards of fifty soldiers, and there were taken prisoners the Lord Home, Captain Cullen, a relation of Huntly's, and upwards of seventy soldiers, with some horsemen, and the two field-pieces. On the side of the regent there were slain Captain Wymis and one single soldier. This adventure befell on Saturday the 26th of June, and, for its fatal issue, was long called by the people of Edinburgh the BLACK SATURDAY. The faction of the queen held another parliament in the month of August, still more ridiculous than the preceding; but in the month of September, Kirkcaldy, the governor of the castle, projected an expedition of the most decisive character,

and which, had it succeeded, must have put an end to the war. This was no less than an attempt to surprise Stirling, where the regent and all the nobles in amity with him were assembled to hold a parliament, and it was hoped they should all be either killed or taken prisoners at the same moment. The leaders who were chosen to execute the project were the Earl of Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, the laird of Buccleuch, and the laird of Wormeston; they were allowed 300 foot and 200 horsemen; and that the foot might reach their destination unfatigued, they pressed the day before every horse that came into the market, upon which, and behind the horsemen, they were all mounted. In this manner they left Edinburgh on the evening of the 3d of September, 1571. Taking an opposite direction till they were fairly quit of the town, they marched straight for Stirling, where they arrived at three o'clock in the morning, and reached the market-place without so much as a dog barking at their coming. They had for their guide George Bell, a native of Stirling, who knew every individual lodging and stable within it, and his first care was to point them all out, that men might be stationed at them, to force up doors and bring forth the prisoners out of the lodgings, and horses from the stables. The footmen were placed in the streets by bands, with orders to shoot every person belonging to the town, without distinction, who might come in their way. The stables were instantly cleared (for the greater part of the invaders belonged to the borders, and were excellently well acquainted with carrying off prizes in the dark), and the finest horses of the nobility were collected at the east port. The prisoners too had been mostly seized, and were already in the streets, ready to be led away, for they were not to be put to death till they were all assembled outside the town wall. Morton, however, happened to be in a strong house, and with his servants made such a desperate resistance that the enemy could only obtain entrance by setting it on fire. After a number of his servants had been killed, he made his escape through the flames, and surrendered himself prisoner to his relation the laird of Buccleuch. The regent too was secured, and the retreat sounded, but the merchants' shops had attracted the borderers, and they could not on the instant be recalled from their ordinary vocation till Erskine of Marr, who commanded the castle, issued out with a body of musqueteers, which he placed in an unfinished house that commanded the market-place, and which, from its being empty, the marauders had neglected to occupy. From this commanding station he annoyed them so grievously that they fled in confusion, and in the narrow lane leading to the gate trode down one another, so that, had there been any tolerable number to join in the pursuit, not one of them could have escaped. The inhabitants of the town, however, were fast assembling, and the invaders were under the necessity of quitting their prisoners or of being instantly cut to pieces. Those who had taken Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, and James, Earl of Morton, were fain, for the saving of their lives, to deliver themselves up to their prisoners; and Captain Calder, seeing the day lost, shot the regent, who was in the hands of Spence of Wormeston. Wormeston had already received two wounds in defending his prisoner, and now he was slain outright. Two of these who had struck at the regent and wounded him, after being taken, not being able to escape to their friends, were seized and hanged. The pursuit was however prevented by the thieves of Teviotdale having in the beginning of the affair carried off all the horses, so that those who once got

clear of the gate had no difficulty in escaping. There were in Stirling at this time with the regent, Morton, Argyle, Cassilis, Glencairn, Eglinton, Montrose, Buchan, Ruthven, Glamis, Sempill, Ochiltree, Cathcart, and Methven, all of whom, had the plot succeeded, would have been either killed or made prisoners. The regent died the same night, and Marr succeeded him in his office, though it was supposed that Morton was the choice of the Queen of England. The parliament was continued by the new regent, and a great number of the queen's faction were forfeited. The parliament was no sooner concluded than the regent hastened to besiege Edinburgh, for which great preparations had been made by the Regent Lennox, lately deceased. Scotsmen in those days had but little skill in attacking fortified places, and though the regent erected batteries in different situations, their efforts were inconsiderable. The siege of course was abandoned, and the former kind of ceaseless hostility renewed. Maitland and Kirkcaldy, in company, now had recourse to Elizabeth to settle their disputes; but they expected their property and their offices restored, and for security that Kirkcaldy should retain the command of the castle. Elizabeth offered to protect them and to treat with the regent on their behalf; but, laying aside disguise, she informed them that Mary had been so ill advised, and had adopted measures so dangerous to her, that while she lived she should neither have liberty nor rule.

It was about this time that John, Lord Maxwell, was married to a sister of Archibald, Earl of Angus. Morton, for the entertainment of a number of gentlemen and ladies on the occasion, had store of wines, venison, &c., provided, which being brought from Perth on the way towards Dalkeith, was taken by a party of horsemen from the castle, which so enraged Morton, that he sent a number of armed men into Fife, who destroyed all the corn on the lands of the governor of the castle, and burned his house; and the governor the same night succeeded in burning the whole town of Dalkeith. The same detestable wickedness was, by both parties, committed in various other places shortly after. In March, 1572, all the mills in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh were broken down, that the inhabitants might be cut off from their supply of meal; and by placing soldiers in Corstorphine, Redhall, Merchiston, Craigmillar, and other defensible places in the neighbourhood of the town, it came to be closely blockaded. Whoever was found carrying any necessary to the town was brought down to Leith, where he was either hanged or drowned, or at the very least burned in the cheek. So inveterate, indeed, had the parties now become, that prisoners taken in the field of open war were instantly hanged on both sides. This blind brutality was carried on without intermission for nearly two months. The town of Edinburgh was now reduced to the greatest straits, and nothing but the deepest infatuation could have prevented the governor of the castle from surrendering, especially as Elizabeth, by her ambassador, was willing to treat with the regent on his behalf. A truce was, however, effected by the mediation of the French and English ambassadors; the town was made patent to the governor, and the banished clergy were all allowed to return; but still no terms of mutual agreement could be devised, and the Regent Marr, broken in spirit for the wickedness and folly of his countrymen, died, as has been generally supposed, of a broken heart, on the 24th of October, 1572. Morton had now a fair field for his ambition, and on the 24th of November he was elected regent, in the room of the Earl of Marr.

During the government of the three former regents Morton had been a principal actor in all matters of importance, and there did not appear to be any positive change in his principles and views now that he was at liberty to act for himself. He still proffered peace upon the conditions that had been held out by his predecessor; but Grange, who commanded the castle, having risen in his demands, and Maitland being a man of whom he was jealous, he fell upon the plan of treating with the party separately, and by this means ruining, or at least disabling, the whole. In this he was assisted, perhaps unwittingly, by the English ambassador Killigrew, who, now that a partisan of England was at the head of the government, laboured to bring about a reconciliation between all parties. Under his auspices a correspondence was accordingly entered into with the two most powerful leaders of the party, Chatelherault and Huntly, by whom a renewal of the truce was gladly accepted. Kirkcaldy, who refused to be included in the prolongation of the truce, fired some cannon at six o'clock in the morning after it had expired, against a place which had been turned into a fish-market, whereby one man was slain and several wounded. The ambassador seeing this, immediately moved home, and Sir James Balfour, who had been all the time of the dispute an inmate of the castle, hastened to make his submission to the regent, and demand a pardon, which was cheerfully granted, with restoration at once to all his possessions. Perhaps rather offended than mollified by this kindness on the part of the regent towards his friend, the governor proclaimed from the walls of the castle his intention to destroy the town, commanding, at the same time, all the queen's true subjects to leave the place, that they might not be involved in that ruin which was intended only for her enemies. Within two days after, a strong wind blowing from the west, he sallied out in the evening and set fire to the houses at the foot of the rock, which burned eastward as far as the Magdalen Chapel. At the same time he sent his cannon-shot along the path taken by the conflagration, so that no one dared to approach to put it out. This useless cruelty made him alike odious to his friends and his enemies, and they "sa cryit out with maledictions that he was saif frae na mannis cursing." The estates, notwithstanding all this, met in the end of January, when they passed several acts against Papists and despisers of the king's authority. This meeting of the estates had no sooner broken up than a meeting was held at Perth with the leading noblemen who had first been of the queen's faction, when a treaty was entered into by which a general amnesty was granted to all who should profess and support the Protestant religion, and submit themselves to the authority of the regent. The only persons excepted from this amnesty were the murderers of the king and the Regents Moray and Lennox, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador in France, and the Bishop of Ross, her ambassador in England, both of whom were under a sentence of outlawry. Liberty was also reserved for Kirkcaldy and his associates to take the benefit of this amnesty if they did it within a given time. The English ambassador, anxious for the fate of a brave man, waited in the castle to show the governor the treaty, and to advise his acceding to it, but Maitland had so possessed him with the idea of assistance from abroad, that he was deaf to all advice. Morton, indeed, had not the means of reducing the castle himself; but he made immediate application to Elizabeth for a supply of cannon and of soldiers who could work them, which application she received most graciously, and Sir William Drury, with a body of troops and a train of artillery, left

Berwick upon that service in the month of April, 1573. Before the march of the troops, however, a special treaty was concluded whereby the terms upon which the aid was granted were particularly specified, and hostages were granted for the fulfilment of these terms. No time was lost in commencing the siege, and notwithstanding the skill and bravery of the governor, the place was speedily reduced. The fall of part of the chief tower choked up the well, which afforded them at best but a scanty supply; and the Spur, though a place of great strength, was stormed with the loss of only eight men killed and twenty-three wounded. The garrison on this beat a parley, and sent for one of the English captains, to whom they expressed their desire of conversing with the general and the ambassador. The regent giving his consent, Kirkcaldy, according to the prediction of John Knox, along with Sir Robert Melville, was let down over the wall, the gate being choked up with rubbish. Requiring conditions which could not be granted, Kirkcaldy was returned to the castle, but he found it impossible to stand another assault. They had no water but what they caught as it fell from heaven, and the garrison was discontented. Thinking on the terms that had been offered, and so often and foolishly rejected, and ascribing the obstinacy of the resistance to Maitland, the men threatened that if further attempts to preserve the place were made, they would hang him over the wall. Nothing of course was left but to capitulate at discretion; but this they did with the English general, in preference to the regent. The garrison had to be brought from the castle under an escort, so odious was it to the people; and Kirkcaldy and Maitland, for the same reason, had to be lodged with the English general. Maitland took himself off by poison; and Kirkcaldy and his brother James, along with two other persons, were hanged at the cross of Edinburgh upon the 3d day of August, 1573. Kirkcaldy had been an early friend and an intrepid defender of the Reformation; but his old age, in consequence perhaps of the companionships he had formed, was unworthy of his youth, and his end was most miserable. This was the last stroke to the interests of Mary in Scotland.

The regent's first care was to repair the castle, the keeping of which he committed to his brother, George Douglas of Parkhead, he himself going in person to repress the disorders that had so long prevailed among the borderers, and had been so often complained of by the English government. Along with Sir John Forrester, the English warden for the middle march, he adjusted the existing differences, and concerted measures to prevent their recurrence. From the chiefs of the different districts he exacted hostages for their good behaviour; and he appointed Sir James Home of Cowdenknows, Sir John Carmichael, one of his principal ministers, and Lord Maxwell, as wardens for the eastern, the middle, and the western marches. Having settled the borders, Morton next applied himself to correct the disorders in the country in general, and to the regular distribution of justice; and in this, says the author of the history of James VI., "he wished to punish the transgressor rather by his gudes than by death." "He had also another purpose," says the same author, "to heap up a great treasure whatsoever way it might be obtained. For the first he prospered in effect very well; and as to the uther, he had greater luck than any three kings had before him in sa short a space. For not only he collectit all the king's rents to his awin profit, but also contrallit the yung king's family in sik sort, as they war content of sik a small pension as he pleased to appoint. Secondly,

when any benefices of the kirk vaikit, he kepted the profit of their rents sa lang in his awin hand, till he was urgit be the kirk to mak donation tharof, and that was not given but profit for all that. And becaus the wairds and marriages war also incidental matters of the crown, and fell frequently in thais dayis, as commonly they do, he obtainit als great profit of ilk ane of them as they war of avail, and as to the gudes of those wha war ony way disobedient to the lawis, and that the same fell in the king's hand, the parties offenders escapit not but payment in the highest degree. And to this effect he had certain interpreters and componitors wha componit with all parties, according to his ain direction; and he sa appointed with them for the payment, that it should either be made in fyne gold or fyne silver." The above, we doubt not, is a pretty fair general statement of Morton's ordinary modes of procedure. He also sentenced to whipping and imprisonment those who dared to eat flesh in Lent; but the sentences were uniformly remitted upon paying fines. His exactions upon the church perhaps were not the most aggravated of his doings, but they certainly brought him a larger share of odium than any other. The thirds of benefices had been appropriated for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy; but from the avarice of the nobility, who had seized upon the revenues of the church, even these thirds could not be collected with either certainty or regularity. During the late troubles they had in many places been entirely lost sight of; to remedy this defect, Morton proposed to vest them in the crown, under promise to make the stipend of every minister local, and payable in the parish where he served. If upon trial this arrangement should be found ineligible, he engaged to replace them in their former situation. No sooner, however, did he obtain possession of the thirds, than he appointed one man to serve perhaps four churches, in which he was to preach alternately, with the stipend of one parish only; by which means he pocketed two-thirds, with the exception of the trifle given to three illiterate persons who read prayers in the absence of the minister. The allowance to superintendents was stopped at the same time; and when application was made at court, they were told the office was no longer necessary, bishops being placed in the diocese, to whom of right the ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonged. The ministers complained, and desired to be put on their former footing; but they were told that the thirds belonged to the king, and the management of them behoved of course to belong to the regent and council, and not to the church. The Assembly of 1574, in order to counteract the effects of their own simplicity, decreed that though a minister should be appointed to more churches than one, he should take the charge of that alone where he resided, and bestow upon the others only what he could spare without interfering with the duty he owed to his particular charge.

In the summer of 1575, an affray on the borders had well nigh involved Morton in a contest with Elizabeth. Sir John Carmichael, one of the Scottish wardens, had delivered up some outlaws to Sir John Forrester, the English warden, and now made application to that officer to have a notorious thief delivered up to him; Forrester showed a disposition to evade the demand, and some of the Scottish attendants uttered their dislike in terms ruder than suited the polite ears of Englishmen. Sir John Forrester then said, that Sir John Carmichael was not an equal to him; and his followers, without ceremony, let fly a shower of arrows that killed one Scotsman, and wounded many others. Inferior in numbers, the Scots were fain to flee for

their lives; but meeting some of their countrymen from Jedburgh, they turned back; and dispersing the Englishmen, chased them within their own borders, and slew by the way George Heron, keeper of Tinedale and Reddisdale, with twenty-four common men. Forrester himself they took prisoner, along with Francis Russell, son to the Earl of Bedford, Cudbert Collingwood, and several others, whom they sent to the regent at Dalkeith; who, heartily sorry for the affray, received them with kindness, entertained them hospitably for a few days, and dismissed them courteously. Elizabeth, informed of the circumstance, demanded by her ambassador, Killigrew, immediate satisfaction. Morton had no alternative but to repair to the border, near Berwick, where he was met by the Earl of Huntingdon, and after a conference of some days it was agreed that Sir John Carmichael should be sent prisoner into England. Elizabeth finding on inquiry that her own warden had been the offender, and pleased with the submissive conduct of Morton, ordered Carmichael in a few weeks to be honourably dismissed, and gratified him with a handsome present.

Morton, having a greedy eye to the temporalities of the church, had from the beginning been unfriendly to her liberties, and by his encroachments had awakened a spirit of opposition that gathered strength every year, till the whole fabric of Episcopacy was overturned. This embroiled him with the General Assembly every year, and had no small effect in hastening his downfall; but in the bounds we have prescribed to our narrative we cannot introduce the subject in such a way as to be intelligible, and must therefore pass it over.

In the end of 1575 the regent coined a new piece of gold of the weight of one ounce, and ordained it to pass current for twenty pounds. In the following year a feud fell out betwixt Athole and Argyle, which the regent hoped to have turned to his own account by imposing a fine upon each of them; but they being aware of his plan, composed their own differences, and kept out of his clutches. An attempt which Morton had before this made upon Semple of Beltrees and Adam Whitford of Milntown, had given all men an evil opinion of his disposition, and made them wish for the subversion of his power. Semple had married Mary Livingston, one of Queen Mary's maids of honour, and had received along with her, in a present from his royal mistress, the lands of Beltrees, which Morton now proposed to resume as crown lands, which, it was alleged, were unalienable. Semple, on hearing of this design, was reported to have exclaimed, that if he lost his lands he should lose his head also; on which Morton had him apprehended and put to the torture, under which, as most men will do, he confessed whatever they thought fit to charge him with, and was condemned to be executed, but was pardoned upon the scaffold. His uncle, Adam Whitford, was also tortured respecting the same plot; but though they mangled his body most cruelly, he utterly denied that he knew of any such thing. The firm denial of the uncle gained of course entire credit, while the confession of the nephew was ridiculed as the effect of weakness and fear. Irritated with the reproaches which were now pretty liberally heaped upon him, Morton conceived the idea of heightening his reputation by demitting, or offering to demit, his office into the hands of the king, who was now in his twelfth year. He accordingly, on the 12th day of September, 1577, proposed his resignation to his majesty, who, by the advice of Athole and Argyle, accepted it: and it was shortly after declared to the people of Edinburgh by the lyon king-at-arms, assisted by

twelve heralds, and accompanied by a round from the castle guns. Morton, taken at his word, seems to have retired to Lochleven in a kind of pet, but speedily contrived to regain that power by force which he had apparently laid down of his free-will. Having possessed himself of the castle and garrison of Stirling, he dexterously contrived to engross the same or at least equal power to what he possessed as regent; nor had he learned to temper it with greater moderation. He brought the parliament that had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh to Stirling; and he carried everything in it his own way. He also narrowly escaped kindling another civil war; yet he still meditated the ruin of the Hamiltons, and the enriching of himself and his faction by their estates. The Earl of Arran had been for a number of years insane, and confined in the castle of Draffan. But his brother, Lord John Hamilton, acted as the administrator of his estates, and Claud was commendator of Paisley; both the brothers had been excepted from the amnesty granted at Perth, as being concerned in the murder of the king and the Regent Moray, and Morton had now formed a scheme to involve them in a criminal sentence on that account, and to seize upon their estates. Informed of the plot, the brothers got happily out of the way, but their castles were seized; and because that of Hamilton had not been given up at the first summons, the garrison were marched to Stirling as felons, and the commander hanged for his fidelity. Still, however, Arran, being insane, was guiltless, but he was made answerable for his servants, and because they had not yielded to the summons of the king, he was convicted of treason, and his estates forfeited. In the same spirit of justice and humanity Morton apprehended a schoolmaster of the name of Turnbull, and a notary of the name of Scott, who had written in conjunction a satire upon some parts of his character and conduct, brought them to Stirling, where they were convicted of slandering "one of the king's councillors, and hanged for their pains." The violent dealing of the wicked almost invariably returns upon their own heads, and so in a short time did that of Morton; for while he was still meditating mischief, he was most unexpectedly accused by the king's new favourite, Captain Stewart, of being an accomplice in the murder of the king's father. He was instantly committed to the castle of Edinburgh, thence carried to Dumbarton, and thence back to Edinburgh, where he was brought to trial on the 1st of June, 1581. Previously to his removal from Dumbarton, the estate and title of the Earl of Arran, which he had so iniquitously caused to be forfeited, were bestowed upon Captain Stewart, his accuser; who, at the same time that he was invested with the estate and title, received a commission to bring up the ex-regent from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, which he did at the head of one thousand men. When the commission was shown to Morton, struck with the title, he inquired who he was, not having heard of his exaltation. Being told, he exclaimed, "Then I know what I have to expect." The jury that sat upon his trial was composed of his avowed enemies, and though he challenged the Earl of Argyle and Lord Seton as prejudiced against him, they were allowed to sit on his assize. Of the nature of the proof adduced against him we know nothing, as our historians have not mentioned it, and the records of the court respecting it have either been destroyed or lost. He was, however, pronounced guilty of concealing, and guilty art and part in the king's murder. "Art and part," he exclaimed twice, with considerable agitation, and striking the ground

violently with a small walking-stick, "God knows it is not so." He heard, however, the sentence with perfect composure. In the interval between his trial and execution, he felt, he said, a serenity of mind to which he had long been a stranger. Resigning himself to his fate, he supped cheerfully, and slept calmly for a considerable part of the night. He was next morning visited by several of the ministers, and an interesting account of the conference which John Dury and Walter Balcanquhal had with him has been preserved. Respecting the crime for which he was condemned, he confessed, that after his return from England, whither he had fled for the slaughter of Rizzio, he met Bothwell at Whittingham, who informed him of the conspiracy against the king, and solicited him to become an accomplice, as the queen anxiously wished his death. He at first refused to have anything to do with it, but after repeated conferences, in which he was always urged with the queen's pleasure, he required a warrant under her hand, authorizing the deed, which never having received, he never consented to have any share in the transaction. On being reminded that his own confessions justified his sentence, he answered, that according to the strict letter of the law he was liable to punishment, but it was impossible for him to have revealed the plot; for to whom could he have done so? "To the queen? she was the author of it. To the king's father? he was sic a bairn that there was nothing told him but he would tell to her again; and the two most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, Bothwell and Huntly, were the perpetrators. I foreknew, indeed, and concealed it," added he, "but it was because I durst not reveal it to any creature for my life. But as to being art and part in the commission of the crime, I call God to witness that I am entirely innocent." He was executed by an instrument called the maiden, which he himself had introduced into Scotland, on the 3d of June, 1581. On the scaffold he was calm, his voice and his countenance continuing unaltered; and after some little time spent in devotion, he suffered death with the intrepidity that became a Douglas. His head was placed on the public jail, and his body, after lying till sunset on the scaffold, covered with a beggarly cloak, was carried by common porters to the usual burying-place of criminals. "Never was there seen," says Spottiswoode, "a more notable example of fortune's mutability than in the Earl of Morton. He who a few years before had been revered by all men, and feared as a king, was now at his end forsaken by all, and made the very scorn of fortune, to teach men how little stability there is in honour, wealth, friendship, and the rest of these worldly things that men do so much admire. In one thing he was nevertheless most happy, that he died truly penitent, with that courage and resignation which became a truly great man and a good Christian, and in the full assurance of a blessed immortality."

DOUGLAS, JAMES, M.D., a skilful anatomist and surgeon, and accomplished physician, was born in Scotland in the year 1675. Having completed his preliminary education, he proceeded to London, and there applied himself diligently to the studies of anatomy and surgery. Medical science was at that period but little advanced, nor were the facilities of acquiring a proficiency in any branch of it by any means considerable. Dr. Douglas laboured with assiduity to overcome the difficulties against which he had to contend;—he studied carefully the works of the ancients, which were at that time little known to his contemporaries, and sought to supply what in

them appeared defective, by closely studying nature. The toils of patient industry seldom go unrewarded; and he was soon enabled so far to advance the progress of anatomy and surgery, as to entitle himself to a conspicuous place in the history of medicine. His *Descriptio Comparativa Musculorum Corporis Humani et Quadrupedis* was published in London in 1707. The quadruped he chose for his analogy was the dog; and he thus appears to have proceeded in imitation of Galen, who left on record an account of the muscles of the ape and in man. "As for the comparative part of this treatise, or the interlacing the descriptions of the human muscles with those of the canine, that," says Dr. Douglas, "needs no apology. The many useful discoveries known from the dissection of quadrupeds, the knowledge of the true structure of divers parts of the body, of the course of the blood and the chyle, and of the use and proper action of the parts, that are chiefly owing to this sort of dissection; these, I say, give a very warrantable plea for insisting upon it, though it may be censured by the vulgar." His descriptions of the muscles, their origin and insertion, and their various uses, are extremely accurate; and to them many recent authors on myology, of no mean authority, have been not a little indebted. It soon obtained considerable notice on the Continent, where, in 1738, an edition appeared in Latin, by John Frederic Schreiber. His anatomical *chef d'œuvre*, however, was the description he gave of the peritonæum, the complicated course and reflexions of which he pointed out with admirable accuracy. His account, entitled *A Description of the Peritonæum, and of that Part of the Membrana Cellularis which lies on its Outside*, appeared in London in the year 1730. Nicholas Massa and others of the older anatomists had contended that the peritonæum was a uniform and continuous membrane, but it remained for Dr. Douglas to demonstrate the fact; in which, after repeated dissections, he satisfactorily succeeded. Ocular inspection can alone teach the folds and processes of this membrane; but his description is perhaps the best and most complete that can even yet be consulted. Besides his researches in anatomy, Dr. Douglas laboured to advance the then rude state of surgery. He studied particularly the difficult and painful operation of lithotomy, and introduced to the notice of the profession the methods recommended by Jacques, Rau, and Mery. In the year 1726 he published *A History of the Lateral Operation for Stone*, which was republished with an appendix in 1733, and embraced a comparison of the methods used by different lithotomists, more especially of that which was practised by Cheselden. Dr. Douglas taught for many years both anatomy and surgery; and his fame having extended, he was appointed physician to the king, who afterwards awarded him a pension of five hundred guineas per annum. It may be worth noticing that, while practising in London, he seems to have obtained considerable credit for having detected the imposition of a woman named Maria Tofts, who had for some time imposed successfully on the public. This impostor pretended that from time to time she underwent an accouchement, during which she gave birth—not to any human being—but to rabbits; and this strange deception she practised successfully on many well-educated persons. Dr. Douglas detected the fraud, and explained the mode by which it was enacted, in an advertisement which he published in *Manningham's Journal*. During the period that Dr. Douglas lectured on anatomy, he was waited upon by Mr. (afterwards the celebrated Dr.) William Hunter, who solicited his advice in the direction of his studies. Pleased

with his address, and knowing his industry and talents, Dr. Douglas appointed him his assistant, and invited him to reside under his roof—an invitation which Mr. William Hunter could not accept until he had consulted Dr. Cullen, with whom he had previously arranged to enter, when he had finished his education, into partnership, for the purpose of conducting the surgical part of his practice; but his friend Dr. Cullen, seeing how important to him would be his situation under Dr. Douglas, relinquished cheerfully his former agreement; and young Hunter was left at liberty to accept the situation he desired. He thus became the assistant of, and found a kind benefactor in, Dr. Douglas; who must have been amply rewarded, had he lived to see the high fame to which his pupil attained. Thus often it happens that the patron and preceptor of an obscure and humble boy, fosters talents which afterwards rise and shine with even greater brilliancy than his own. Dr. Douglas not only attended to the practical duties of his profession, but excelled in what may be termed its literary department. He was an erudite scholar, and published a work entitled *Bibliographia Anatomica Specimen, seu Catalogus pene Omnium Auctorum qui ab Hippocrate ad Harveyum Rem Anatomicam ex professo vel obiter scriptis illustrarunt*. This work appeared in London in the year 1715, and was republished in Leyden in 1734, which edition was enriched by several important additions from the pen of Albinus. Portal, in his history of anatomy and surgery, thus eulogizes this valuable work:—"C'est le tableau le plus fidèle, et le plus succinct de l'anatomie ancienne. Douglas fait en peu de mots l'histoire de chaque anatomiste, indique leurs éditions, et donne une légère notice de leurs ouvrages; sa liste des écrivains est très étendue. . . . cet ouvrage est une des meilleurs modèles qu'on puisse suivre pour donner l'histoire d'une science, et j'avoue que je m'en suis beaucoup servi."¹ Haller, when in London, visited Dr. Douglas, and informs us that he was highly pleased with his anatomical preparations; particularly with those which exhibited the motions of the joints, and the internal structure of the bones. A tribute of admiration from such a man as the illustrious Haller cannot be too highly appreciated;—he observes that he found him "a learned and skilful person; modest, candid, and obliging, and a very diligent dissector." Besides devoting his attention to those departments of his profession in the exercise of which he was most particularly engaged, Dr. Douglas seems to have pursued botany, not only as a recreation, but as a graver study. In the year 1725 he published *Lilium Sarmienae*, or a description of the Guernsey lily. His work, descriptive of this beautiful flower, appeared in folio, illustrated by a plate, and is an admirable monograph. He also analyzed with peculiar care the coffee-seed, and published a work entitled *Arbor Yemensis*, a description and history of the coffee-tree, which may still be consulted as containing a great deal of curious and valuable information. We also find in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, that he contributed to that work a description of the flower and seed-vessel of the *Crocus autumnalis sativus*, and an essay on the different kinds of ipecacuanha. In addition to these labours, more or less connected with his immediate professional avocations, we find that he collected, at a great expense, all the editions of Horace which had been published from 1476 to 1739. Dr. Harwood,

in his view of Greek and Roman classics, observes that "this one author multiplied, must thus have formed a very considerable library." An accurate catalogue of these is prefixed to Watson's *Horace*.²

In addition to the works we have mentioned, Dr. Douglas projected a splendid design of one on the bones, and another on hernia, which, notwithstanding the great advancement of medical science since his time, we regret that he did not live to complete. He died in the year 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and when we consider the period in which he lived, and the essential services he rendered towards the advancement of medical science, the homage of the highest respect is due to his memory.

DOUGLAS, JOHN, the brother of the eminent physician whose biography we have already given, attained to considerable eminence as a surgeon, in which capacity he officiated to the Westminster Infirmary. His name is principally distinguished, among those of other medical men, for his celebrity as a lithotomist, and for having written a treatise insisting on the utility of bark in mortification. His work on the high operation for the stone obtained for him considerable reputation, and will give the medical reader an accurate notion of the state of the surgical art at the period in which he lived. He also practised midwifery, and criticized with no inconsiderable asperity the works of Chamberlain and Chapman. He appears, indeed, to have been the author of several controversial works, which have deservedly drifted into obscurity. Among others we may notice one, entitled *Remarks on a Late Pomposus Work*, a severe and very unjust criticism on Cheselden's admirable *Osteology*. He wrote some useful treatises on the employment of purgatives in syphilis; but by far his most important was *An Account of Mortifications, and of the surprising Effect of Bark in putting a stop to their Progress*. This remedy had already been tried successfully in gout by Sydenham; in typhus by Ramazzini and Lanzoni; by Monro, Wall, and Huxham, in malignant variola; and after Rushworth had tried it in the gangrene following intermittent fevers, it was introduced by Douglas, and afterwards by Shipton, Grindall, Werlhof, and Heister, in ordinary cases of gangrene.³ This same Scottish family, we may add, gave birth to Robert Douglas, who published a treatise on the generation of animal heat; but the rude state of physiology, and of animal chemistry, at that period, rendered abortive all speculation on this difficult but still interesting subject of investigation.

DOUGLAS, JOHN, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury, was born at Pittenweem, Fifeshire, in the year 1721. His father was Mr. John Douglas, a respectable merchant of that town, a son of a younger brother of the ancient family of Tilliquilly. Young Douglas commenced his education at the schools of Dunbar, whence, in the year 1736, he was removed, and entered commoner of St. Mary's College, Oxford. In the year 1738 he was elected exhibitor on Bishop Warner's foundation, in Baliol College; and in 1741 he took his bachelor's degree. In order to acquire a facility in speaking the French language, he went abroad, and remained for some time at Montreal in Picardy, and afterwards at Ghent in Flanders. Having returned to college in 1743, he was ordained deacon, and in the following year he was appointed chaplain to the third foot-guards, and joined the regiment in Flanders, where it was then serving with

¹ *Histoire de l'Anatomie et de la Chirurgie*, par M. Portal, lecteur du roi et professeur de médecine au Collège royale de France, à Paris, 1770, tom. iv. p. 403.

² See also Haller, *Bib. Anat. et Chirurg.*

³ Spreyell, *Histoire de la Médecine*, tom. v. f. 442.

the allied army. During the period of his service abroad, Dr. Douglas occupied himself chiefly in the study of modern languages; but at the same time he took a lively interest in the operations of the army, and at the battle of Fontenoy was employed in carrying orders from General Campbell to a detachment of English troops. He returned to England along with that body of troops, which was ordered home on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745; and having gone back to college, he was elected one of the exhibitioners on Mr. Snell's foundation. In the year 1747 he was ordained priest, and became curate of Tilehurst, near Reading, and afterwards of Dunstew, in Oxfordshire. On the recommendation of Sir Charles Stuart and Lady Allen, he was selected by the Earl of Bath to accompany his only son Lord Pulteney, as tutor, in his travels on the Continent. Dr. Douglas has left a MS. account of this tour, which relates chiefly to the governments and political relations of the countries through which they passed. In the year 1749 he returned home; and although Lord Pulteney was prematurely cut off, yet the fidelity with which Dr. Douglas had discharged his duty to his pupil, procured him the lasting friendship and valuable patronage of the Earl of Bath; by whom he was presented to the free chapel of Eaton-Constantine, and the donative of Uppington, in Shropshire. In the following year (1750) he published his first literary work, *The Vindication of Milton from the charge of Plagiarism*, brought against him by the impostor Lauder. In the same year he was presented by the Earl of Bath to the vicarage of High Ercal, in Shropshire, when he vacated Eaton-Constantine. Dr. Douglas resided only occasionally on his livings. At the desire of the Earl of Bath he took a house in town, near Bath-House, where he passed the winter months, and in summer he generally accompanied Lord Bath to the fashionable watering-places, or in his visits among the nobility and gentry. In the year 1752 he married Miss Dorothy Pershouse, who died within three months after her nuptials. In 1754 he published *The Criterion of Miracles*. In 1755 he wrote a pamphlet against the Hutchinsonians, Methodists, and other religious sects, which he published under the title of *An Apology for the Clergy*, and soon after he published an ironical defence of these sectarians, entitled *The Destruction of the French foretold by Ezekiel*. For many years Dr. Douglas seems to have engaged in writing political pamphlets, an occupation most unbecoming a clergyman. In the year 1761 he was appointed one of his majesty's chaplains, and in 1762, through the interest of the Earl of Bath, he was made canon of Windsor. In 1762 he superintended the publication of *Henry the Earl of Clarendon's Diary and Letters*, and wrote the preface which is prefixed to that work. In June of that year he accompanied the Earl of Bath to Spa, where he became acquainted with the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who received him with marked attention, and afterwards honoured him with his correspondence. Of this correspondence (although it is known that Dr. Douglas kept a copy of all his own letters, and although it was valuable from its presenting a detailed account of the state of parties at the time), no trace can now be discovered. In the year 1764 the Earl of Bath died, and left his library to Dr. Douglas; but as General Pulteney wished to preserve it in the family, it was redeemed for £1000. On the death of General Pulteney, however, it was again left to Dr. Douglas, when it was a second time redeemed for the same sum. In 1764 he exchanged his livings in Shropshire for that of St. Austin and St. Faith in Watling Street, London.

In April, 1765, Dr. Douglas married Miss Elizabeth Brooke, the daughter of Henry Brudenell Brooke. In the year 1773 he assisted Sir John Dalrymple in the arrangement of his MSS. In 1776 he was removed from the chapter of Windsor to that of St. Paul's. At the request of Lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, he prepared for publication the journal of Captain Cooke's voyages. In the year 1777 he assisted Lord Hardwick in arranging and publishing his *Miscellaneous Papers*. In the following year he was elected member of the Royal and the Antiquarian Societies. In 1781, at the request of Lord Sandwich, he prepared for publication Captain Cooke's third and last voyage, to which he supplied the introduction and notes. In the same year he was chosen president of Zion College, and preached the customary Latin sermon. In 1786 he was elected one of the vice-presidents of the Antiquarian Society, and in the month of March of the following year he was elected one of the trustees of the British Museum. In September, 1787, he was made Bishop of Carlisle. In 1788 he succeeded to the deanery of Windsor, for which he vacated his residentiaryship of St. Paul's, and in 1791 he was translated to the see of Salisbury. And having reached the eighty-third year of his age, he died on the 18th of May, 1807. He was buried in one of the vaults of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and his funeral was attended by the Duke of Sussex.

Mr. Douglas had the honour to be a member of the club instituted by Dr. Johnson, and is frequently mentioned in Boswell's life of the lexicographer; he is also twice mentioned by Goldsmith in the *Retaliation*. We are told by his son that his father was an indefatigable reader and writer, and that he was scarcely ever to be seen without a book or a pen; but the most extraordinary feature in the career of this reverend prelate is his uniform good fortune, which makes the history of his life little more than the chronicle of the honours and preferments which were heaped upon him.¹

DOUGLAS, ROBERT, an eminent clergyman, is said to have been a grandson of Mary Queen of Scots, through a child born by her to George Douglas, younger, of Lochleven, while she suffered confinement in that castle. Although this was only a popular rumour, nothing else has come to our knowledge respecting his parentage and early history. It

¹ The following is a list of Bishop Douglas' works: *Vindication of Milton from the Charge of Plagiarism*, adduced by Lauder, 1750. "A Letter on the Criterion of Miracles, 1754, principally intended as an antidote against the writings of Hume, Voltaire, and the philosophers." *An Apology for the Clergy against the Hutchinsonians, Methodists, &c.* *The Destruction of the French foretold by Ezekiel*, 1759. This was an ironical defence of those he had attacked in the preceding pamphlet. *An Attack on certain Positions contained in Bower's History of the Popes, &c.*, 1756. *A Serious Defence of the Administration, 1756*—being an attack on the cabinet of that day for introducing foreign troops. *Bower and Tillemont compared*, 1757. *A Full Confutation of Bower's Three Defences. The Complete and Final Detection of Bower. The conduct of the late Noble Commander (Lord George Sackville, afterwards Lord George Germain) candidly considered*, 1759. This was the defence of a very unpopular character. *A Letter to two Great Men on the Appearance of Peace*, 1759. *A Preface to the Translation of Hooker's Negotiations*, 1760. *The Sentiments of a Frenchman on the Preliminaries of Peace*, 1762. *The Introduction and Notes to Captain Cooke's Third Voyage. The Anniversary Sermon on the Martyrdom of King Charles, preached before the House of Lords*, 1768. *The Anniversary Sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 1793. Besides these, Bishop Douglas wrote several political papers in the *Public Advertiser* in 1765, 66, 70, 71. He also superintended the publication of Lord Clarendon's *Letters and Diary*, and assisted Lord Hardwick and Sir John Dalrymple in arranging their MSS. for publication, and he drew up Mr. Hearne's narrative, and finished the introduction.

would appear that he accompanied, in the capacity of chaplain, one of the brigades of auxiliaries sent over from Scotland, by connivance of Charles I., to aid the Protestant cause under Gustavus Adolphus, in the celebrated Thirty Years' war. Wodrow, in his *Analecta*, under date 1712, puts down some anecdotes of this part of Douglas' life, which, he says, his informant derived from old ministers that had been acquainted with him.

"He was a considerable time in Gustavus Adolphus' army, and was in great reputation with him. He was very unwilling to part with Mr. Douglas, and when he would needs leave the army, Gustavus said of him that he scarce ever knew a person of his qualifications for wisdom. Said he, 'Mr. Douglas might have been counsellor to any prince in Europe; for prudence and knowledge, he might be moderator to a general assembly; and even for military skill,' said he, 'I could very freely trust my army to his conduct.' And they said that in one of Gustavus' engagements, he was standing at some distance on a rising ground; and when both wings were engaged, he observed some mismanagement in the left wing, that was like to prove fatal, and he either went or sent to acquaint the commanding officer; and it was prevented, and the day gained."

Mr. Wodrow further mentions that Douglas, while in the army, having no other book than the Bible to read, committed nearly the whole of that sacred volume to memory, which was of immense service to him in his future ministrations in Scotland. In 1641 Douglas was one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and probably of considerable distinction. On the 25th of July that year he preached before the parliament—an honour to which he was frequently preferred throughout the whole course of the civil war. According to Wodrow, he was "a great state preacher, one of the greatest we ever had in Scotland; for he feared no man to declare the mind of God to him." He was a man of such authority and boldness, that Mr. Tullidaff, himself an eminent preacher, declared he never could stand in the presence of Douglas without a feeling of awe. Nevertheless, says Wodrow, "he was very accessible and easy to be conversed with. Unless a man were for God, he had no value for him, let him be never so great or noble." Mr. Douglas was moderator of the General Assembly which met in 1649, and was in general a leading member of the standing committee of that body, in company with Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Blair, and others. In August, 1650, he was one of the commissioners sent by the clergy to Dunfermline, to request Charles II. to subscribe a declaration of his sentiments for the satisfaction of the public mind. As this document threw much blame upon his late father, Charles refused to subscribe it, and the commissioners returned without satisfaction, which laid the foundation of a division in the Scottish church. Douglas became the leading individual of the party which inclined to treat Charles leniently, and which obtained the name of the *Resolutioners*. In virtue of this lofty character he officiated at the coronation of King Charles at Scone, January 1, 1651: his sermon on that occasion was published at the time, and has since been reprinted. It contains ample evidence of his qualifications as a "state preacher," that is, a preacher who commented on state affairs in the course of his sermons—a fashion which rendered the *pulpit* of the seventeenth century equivalent to the *press* of the present day. When the royal cause was suppressed in Scotland by Cromwell, Douglas, among other members of the church commission, was sent prisoner to London, whence he was soon after released. At the de-

parture of General Monk from Scotland, in 1659, Mr. Douglas joined with several other distinguished resolutions in sending Mr. James Sharp along with that commander, as an agent to attend to the interests of the Scottish church in whatever turn affairs might take. Sharp, as is well known, betrayed his constituents, and got himself appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews under the new system. While conducting matters to this end, he maintained a correspondence with Mr. Douglas, for the use of his constituents in general; and this correspondence is introduced, almost at full length, into Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*. It is said that Mr. Douglas was offered high episcopal preferment, if he would have acceded to the new church-system, but that he indignantly refused. Wodrow in his diary gives the following anecdote: "When Mr. Sharp was beginning to appear in his true colours, a little before he went up to court and was consecrate, he happened to be with Mr. Douglas, and in conversation he termed Mr. Douglas 'brother.' He checked him and said, 'Brother! no more brother, James: if my conscience had been of the make of yours, I could have been bishop of St. Andrews sooner than you.'" At another place, Wodrow mentions that, "when a great person was pressing him (Mr. Douglas) to be primate of Scotland, he, to put him off effectually, answered, 'I will never be Archbishop of St. Andrews, unless the chancellor of Scotland also, as some were before me;' which made the great man speak no more to him about that affair." This great man was probably the Earl of Glencairn, who had himself been appointed chancellor. Kirkton, another church historian, says that when Mr. Douglas became fully aware of Sharp's intention to accept the primacy, he said to him in parting, "James, I see you will engage. I perceive you are clear, you will be made Archbishop of St. Andrews. Take it, and the curse of God with it." So saying, he clapped him on the shoulder, and shut the door upon him. In a paper which this divine afterwards wrote respecting the new introduction of Prelacy, he made the quaint but true remark, that the little finger of the present bishops was bigger than the loins of their predecessors. After this period Mr. Douglas appears to have resigned his charge as a minister of Edinburgh, and nothing more is learned respecting him till 1669, when the privy-council admitted him as an indulged clergyman to the parish of Pencaitland in East Lothian. The period of his death is unknown; nor is there any certain information respecting his family, except that he had a son, Alexander, who was minister of Logie, and a correspondent of Mr. Wodrow.

DOUGLAS, WILLIAM. William Douglas, Knight of Liddesdale, otherwise well known in Scottish history by the title of the "Flower of Chivalry," is reputed, on the authority of John de Fordun, to have been a natural son of Sir James Douglas, the companion in arms of Robert Bruce, and as such he is generally designated by our Scottish historians. Others, however, make him out to have been lawful son of Sir James Douglas of Loudon. It is in vain to inquire into the date of birth or the early life of the distinguished personages of this period, as the first notice we generally receive of them is in some historic action, when they had attained the age of manhood. Sir William became possessor of the lands of Liddesdale, through marriage with Margaret Graham, daughter of Sir John Graham, Lord of Abercorn. His first military exploit was the surprise and discomfiture of John Baliol at Annan, after the

battle of Dupplin. On this occasion the Knight of Liddesdale marched under the banner of Andrew Murray, Earl of Bothwell; and so successful was the small band of Scottish patriots, that the adherents of the usurper were completely routed by a sudden night attack, Baliol himself escaping with difficulty, and more than half-naked, upon an unsaddled and unbridled horse, into England. In the following year (1333) Sir William was not so fortunate. Having been appointed warden of the west marches, in consequence of his able conduct in the surprise at Annan, his district was soon invaded by the English, under Sir Anthony de Lucy; and in a battle which ensued near Lochmaben, towards the end of March, Douglas was taken prisoner, and carried to Edward III., by whose command he was put in irons, and imprisoned for two years. During this interval the battle of Halidon Hill occurred, in which the Scots were defeated with great slaughter, and their country again subdued. But in 1335 the Knight of Liddesdale was set free, on payment of a heavy ransom; and on returning to Scotland, he was one of the nobles who sat in the parliament held at Dairsie, near Cupar-Fife, in the same year. He had not long been at liberty when a full opportunity occurred of vindicating the liberties of his country, and the rightful sovereignty of his young king, now a minor, and living in France. Count Guy of Namur having crossed the sea to aid the English, invaded Scotland with a considerable body of his foreign men-at-arms, and advanced as far as Edinburgh, the castle of which was at that time dismantled. A furious conflict commenced, between these new invaders and the Scots on the Boroughmuir, in which the latter were on the point of being worsted, when the Knight of Liddesdale opportunely came down from the Pentlands with a reinforcement, and defeated the enemy, who retired for shelter to the ruins of the castle, where they slew their horses and made a rampart of their dead bodies. But hunger and thirst at last compelled these brave foreigners to capitulate, and they were generously allowed to return to England unmolested, on condition of serving no longer in a Scottish invasion.

This successful skirmish was followed by several others, in which the Knight of Liddesdale took an important share. He then passed over into Fife, and took in succession the castles of St. Andrews, Falkland, and Leuchars, that held out for the English. After this he returned to Lothian, and betook himself to his favourite haunts of the Pentlands, thence to sally out against the English as occasion offered. The chief object of his solicitude was Edinburgh Castle, which he was eager to wrest from the enemy. On one of these occasions, learning that the English soldiers in the town had become confident and careless, he at night suddenly rushed down upon them from his fastnesses, and slew 400 of their number, while they were stupefied with sleep and drunkenness. It was to a warfare in detail of this description that the Scots invariably betook themselves when the enemy were in too great force to be encountered in a general action; and it was by such skirmishes that they generally recovered their national freedom, even when their cause seemed at the worst. After this, by a series of daring enterprises, William Douglas recovered Teviotdale, Annandale, Nithsdale, and Clydesdale from the English. These successes so raised his reputation, that Henry, Earl of Derby, who was appointed to the command of the English troops in Scotland, was eager to try his valour in single combat with the bold insurgent. They accordingly encountered on horseback at Berwick, but at the first career Douglas was so severely wounded in the hand

by accident with his own lance that the combat had to be stayed. Soon after the Knight of Liddesdale, in an encounter with Sir Thomas Barclay, was worsted, with the loss of all his followers except three, himself escaping with difficulty through the darkness of the night. But this mischance he soon retrieved by a series of skirmishes, in which, with greatly inferior numbers, he routed the English, and shook their possession of Scotland. But his most remarkable exploit of this nature was a desperate encounter, or rather series of encounters, which he had in the course of one day with Sir Laurence Abernethy, a leader of the party of Baliol. On this occasion Sir William Douglas was four times defeated; but with unconquerable pertinacity he still returned to the charge, and in the fifth was completely victorious. It was by these exploits, and especially the last, that he worthily won the title of the "Flower of Chivalry." After this he was sent by the High-steward, now governor of Scotland, to France, to communicate the state of affairs to his young sovereign, David, and obtain assistance from the French king. In this mission he was so successful, that he soon returned with a squadron of five French ships of war, that sailed up the Tay to aid the steward, at this time employed in the siege of Perth, which was held by the English. Sir William joined the besiegers, but was wounded in the leg by a javelin discharged from a springald, and unfitted for a time for further action. So opportune, however, was his arrival with the reinforcement, that the Scots, who were about to abandon the siege, resumed it with fresh vigour, and Perth was soon after taken.

The cause of Baliol was now at so low an ebb, and the country so cleared of the enemy, that little remained in their possession except the castle of Edinburgh, from which the Knight of Liddesdale was eager to expel them. But the garrison were so numerous, and the defences so strong, that an open siege was hopeless, and he therefore had recourse to stratagem. He prevailed upon a merchant sea-captain of Dundee, named Walter Curry, to bring his ship round to the Forth, and pretend to be an Englishman pursued by the Scots, and desirous of the protection of the castle, offering at the same time to supply the garrison with provisions. The stratagem succeeded. The commander of the castle bespoke a cargo of victuals on the following morning, and Douglas, who was lurking in the neighbourhood, at the head of 200 followers, at this intelligence disguised himself and twelve of his men with the gray frocks of the mariners thrown over their armour, and joined the convoy of Curry. The gates were opened, and the drawbridge lowered, to give entrance to the waggons and their pretended drivers; but as soon as they came under the gateway, they stabbed the warder, and blew a horn to summon the rest of their party to the spot. Before these could arrive, the cry of treason rang through the castle, and brought the governor and his soldiers upon the daring assailants, who would soon have been overpowered, but for their gallant defence in the narrow gateway, while they had taken the precaution so to arrange the waggons that the portcullis could not be lowered. In the meantime, the followers of Douglas rushed up the castle-hill, and entered the conflict, which they maintained with such vigour, that the whole garrison were put to the sword, except Limosin, the governor, and six squires, who escaped. After this important acquisition, the Knight of Liddesdale placed the castle under the command of Archibald Douglas, one of his relatives.

Scotland was thus completely freed from the enemy, and the people were impatient for the return

of their king from France, to which country he had been sent in boyhood, during the ascendancy of the Baliol faction. Accordingly, David II., now in his eighteenth year, landed at Innerberrie on the 4th of June, 1341, and was received with rapture by his subjects, who recognized in him the pledge of their national freedom, as well as the son of their "good King Robert." But this feeling was soon damped by the difficulties of the young sovereign's position, as well as the indiscretions of his government. As for the Knight of Liddesdale, he, like his compatriots, had so long been accustomed to independent military command during the interregnum, that he was unwilling to submit to royal authority when it opposed his own personal interests; and of this he soon gave a fatal proof, in the foul murder of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsie, as brave a leader and a better man than himself, because the latter was appointed keeper of Roxburgh Castle, and sheriff of Teviotdale, offices which Douglas thought should have been conferred upon himself, as he had recovered these places from the enemy with much toil and hazard. The particulars of this revolting atrocity are too well known, both from history and popular tradition, to require a further account. It is enough to state that after such a deed—as cowardly as it was cruel, even according to the principles of chivalry itself—the Knight of Liddesdale continued to be entitled, as well as esteemed, the "Flower of Chivalry;" and that David II., so far from being able to punish the murderer, was obliged to invest him with the office for the sake of which the crime had been committed.

After this action, and during the short interval of peace that continued between England and Scotland, the character of Sir William Douglas, hitherto so distinguished for patriotism, appears to have become very questionable. This has been ascertained from the fact, that Edward III. was already tampering with him to forsake the Scottish and join the English interests, and for this purpose had appointed Henry de Percy, Maurice de Berkeley, and Thomas de Lacy "his commissioners," as their missive fully expressed it, "with full powers to treat of, and conclude a treaty with William Douglas, to receive him into our faith, peace, and amity, and to secure him in a reward." Such a negotiation could scarcely have been thought of, unless Douglas even already had been exhibiting symptoms of most unpatriotic wavering. He held several meetings, not only with these commissioners, but also with Baliol himself, and appears to have fully acceded to their proposals, and agreed to accept the wages of the English king. But whether the promised advantages were too uncertain, or the risk of such a change of principle too great, the treaty was abruptly broken off; and Douglas, as if to quell all suspicion, made a furious inroad, at the head of a large force, across the English border, although the truce between the two countries still continued; burned Carlisle and Penrith; and after a skirmish with the English, in which the Bishop of Carlisle was unhorsed, he retreated hastily into Scotland. By this act the truce was at an end, and David II., believing the opportunity to be favourable for a great English invasion, as Edward III. with the flower of his army was now in France, assembled a numerous army, with which he advanced to the English border, and took the castle of Liddel after a six days' siege. It was now that the Knight of Liddesdale counselled a retreat. His experience had taught him the strength of the English northern counties, and the warlike character of their barons, and perhaps he had seen enough of the military character of David to question his fitness for such a

difficult enterprise. But his advice was received both by king and nobles with indignation and scorn. "Must we only fight for *your* gain?" they fiercely replied; "you have filled your own coffers with English gold, and secured your own lands by our valour, and now you would restrain us from our share in the plunder?" They added, that England was now emptied of its best defenders, so that nothing stood between them and a march even to London itself, but cowardly priests and base hinds and mechanics. Thus, even already, the moral influence of William Douglas was gone, the patriotic character of his past achievements went for nothing, and he was obliged to follow in a career where he had no leading voice, and for which he could anticipate nothing but disaster and defeat.

The Scottish army continued its inroad of merciless desolation and plunder until it came near Durham, when it encamped at a place which Fordun calls Beau-repair, but is now well known by the name of Bear-park. It was as ill chosen as any locality could have been for such a purpose; for the Scottish troops, that depended so much upon unity of action for success, were divided into irregular unconnected masses by the hedges and ditches with which the ground was intersected, so that they resembled sheep inclosed within detached hurdles, ready for selection and slaughter; while the ground surrounding their encampment was so undulating that an enemy could approach them before they were aware. And that enemy, without their knowing it, was now within six miles of their encampment. The English barons had bestirred themselves so effectually that they were at the head of a numerous force, and ready to meet the invaders on equal terms. On the morning of the day on which the battle occurred, the Knight of Liddesdale, still fearing the worst, rode out at the head of a strong body of cavalry, to ascertain the whereabouts of the English, and procure forage and provisions; but he had not rode far when he unexpectedly found himself in front of their whole army. He was instantly assailed by overwhelming multitudes, and, after a fierce resistance, compelled to flee, with the loss of 500 men-at-arms; while the first intelligence which the Scots received of the enemy's approach was from the return of Douglas on the spur, with the few survivors, who leaped the inclosures, and their pursuers, who drew bridle, and waited the coming of their main body. Into the particulars of the fatal conflict that followed, commonly called the battle of Durham, which was fought on the 17th of October, 1346, it is not our purpose at present to enter: it was to the Scots a mournful but fitting conclusion to an attempt rashly undertaken, and wise counsels scornfully rejected. Fifteen thousand of their soldiers fell; their king, and the chief of their knights and nobles, were taken prisoners; and among the latter was Sir William Douglas, who, along with the Earl of Moray, had commanded the right wing. He was again to become the inmate of an English prison! The capture of such an enemy, also, was reckoned so important, that Robert de Bertram, the soldier who took him prisoner, obtained a pension of 200 merks to him and his heirs, until the king, now absent in France, should provide him in lands of equal value.

The history of a prisoner is commonly a blank; but to this the captivity of Douglas forms an exception. He was still able to nurse his feuds and wreak his resentments, and of this Sir David Berkeley soon had fatal experience. This man, who had assassinated Sir John Douglas, brother of the Knight of Liddesdale, was himself assassinated by Sir John St. Michael, purchased, as was alleged, to commit this

deed by Sir William himself. This occurred in 1350, after the latter had been in prison nearly four years. In the meantime, Edward III., being in want of money for the prosecution of his French wars, endeavoured to recruit his empty coffers by the ransom of the prisoners taken at the battle of Durham, so that many of the Scottish nobles were enabled to return to their homes; but from this favour the Knight of Liddesdale was excepted. The King of England knew his high military renown and influence in Scotland; and it is probable that upon these qualities, combined with the knight's unscrupulous moral character, he depended greatly for the furtherance of a scheme which he had now at heart. This was the possession of Scotland, not, however, by conquest, which had been already tried in vain, or through the vice-royalty of Baliol, who was now thrown aside as a worthless instrument, but through the voluntary consent and cession of King David himself. David was a childless man; he was weary of his captivity, and ready to purchase liberty on any terms; and the High-steward of Scotland, who had been appointed his successor by the Scottish parliament, failing heirs of his own body, had shown little anxiety for the liberation of his captive sovereign. On these several accounts David was easily induced to enter into the purposes of the English king. The Knight of Liddesdale was also persuaded to purchase his liberty upon similar terms; and thus Scotland had for its betrayers its own king and the bravest of its champions. The conditions into which Douglas entered with Edward III. in this singular treaty were the following:—He bound himself and his heirs to serve the King of England in all wars whatever, except against his own nation; with the proviso annexed, that he might renounce, if he pleased, the benefit of this exception: that he should furnish ten men-at-arms and ten light horsemen, for three months, at his own charges: that, should the French or other foreigners join the Scots, or the Scots join the French or other foreigners, in invading England, he should do his utmost to annoy all the invaders "except the Scots:" that he should not openly, or in secret, give counsel or aid against the King of England or his heirs, in behalf of his own nation or of any others: that the English should do no hurt to his lands or his people, and his people do no hurt to the English, except in self-defence: that he should permit the English at all times to pass through his lands without molestation: that he should renounce all claim to the castle of Liddel: and that should the English, or the men of the estates of the Knight of Liddesdale, injure each other, by firing houses or stackyards, plundering, or committing any such offences, the treaty should not thereby be annulled; but that the parties now contracting should forthwith cause the damage to be mutually liquidated and repaired. To these strange terms Douglas was to subscribe by oath for their exact fulfilment, on pain of being held a disloyal and perjured man and a false liar (what else did such a treaty make him?); and that he should give his daughter and his nearest male heir as hostages, to remain in the custody of the King of England for two years. In return for all this he was to be released from captivity, and to have a grant of the territory of Liddesdale, Hermitage Castle, and certain lands in the interior of Annandale.

Sir William, having obtained his liberty at such a shameful price, returned to Scotland, and attempted to put his treasonable designs in execution. But during his absence another William Douglas had taken his place in influence and estimation. This was the nephew of the good Sir James, also his own god-son, who, having been bred to arms in the wars

in France, had returned to Scotland, and assumed his place as the head of the Douglasses, a position which his valour was well fitted to maintain, for he quickly drove the English from Douglassdale, Ettrick Forest, and Teviotdale. To him the Knight of Liddesdale applied, in the hope of winning him over to the cause of Edward; but this nobleman not only rejected the base proposal, but, being made thus aware of the treachery on foot, assembled his vassals, broke into Galloway, and compelled the barons of that wild district to renounce the cause of England, and return to their rightful allegiance. Soon after, Annandale, which the treacherous knight had designed to make the head-quarters of his perfidious movements, was overrun and occupied by the High-steward and his son. Thus Sir William was foiled at every point, and that chiefly through the agency of his own god-son, whom he therefore hated with a deadly hatred. These failures were soon closed by a deadly termination. One day, while the Knight of Liddesdale was hunting in the depths of Ettrick Forest, he was set upon and slain at a place called Galford, by a band of armed men employed for that purpose by Lord William himself. The causes of such a deed—which in the estimation of the church was nothing less than spiritual parricide, on account of the religious relationship of the parties—can scarcely be found in the contending interests of the rivals, and the mutual injuries that had passed between them; and therefore it was alleged that the "Flower of Chivalry," whose morals were those of too many knights of the period, had seduced the affections of Lord William's wife, and was thus requited for his crime. Such was the report of the time, and Fordun has quoted the following verse from an ancient ballad upon the subject:—

"The Countess of Douglas out of her bower she came,
And loudly there did she call,
'Tis for the Lord of Liddesdale
That I let the tears down fall."

The body, on being found, was carried to Linden Kirk, a chapel in Ettrick Forest, and afterwards interred in Melrose Abbey. But by his murder of Ramsay, as well as his subsequent treason, Sir William Douglas had obliterated the recollection of his great and gallant deeds, so that he died unregretted, and was soon forgot.

DOUGLAS, SIR WILLIAM, was the illegitimate son of Sir Archibald, Lord of Galloway, commonly called the Black Douglas; but in those days the bend sinister upon the shield of one who was otherwise a good knight and true, was not attended with the opprobrium that branded it in earlier or later periods. Of all the heroes of the illustrious house from which he sprung, Sir William appears to have been the most amiable; while in deeds of arms, although his career was cut short at an early period, he equalled the greatest of his name. His personal advantages, in an age when these were of highest account, corresponded with his reputation; for he was not only of a beautiful countenance, but a tall, commanding form; while his strength was such that few could cope with him on equal terms. His manners also were so gentle and engaging, that he was as much the delight of his friends as he was the terror of his enemies.¹ He was a young warrior, in

¹ John de Fordun thus sums up his qualities, both corporeal and mental:—"Hic homo niger colore, non multum carnosus, sed ossosus: forma giganteus, erectus et procerus, strenuus et affabilis, dulcis et amabilis, liberalis et latus, fidus et factus." The fidelity of this description may be relied upon, from the fact that De Fordun speaks of Sir William as one of his contemporaries.

short, whom Homer would have selected as his hero, or early Greece have exalted into a demigod. As his career was to be so brief, it was early commenced; for we find, that while still very young, he was distinguished not only by his personal feats of valour, but his abilities as a leader, so that in his many skirmishes with the English he was generally successful, even when the latter were greatly superior in numbers. Nor were the charms of romance wanting to complete his history. Robert II., his sovereign, had a beautiful daughter called Egidia, who was sought in marriage not only by the noblest of her father's court, but by the King of France, who, in the true fashion of chivalry, had fallen in love with her from the descriptions of his knights that had visited Scotland as auxiliaries, and who privately sent a painter thither, that he might obtain her picture. But to the highest nobility, and even to royalty itself, Egidia preferred the landless and illegitimate, but brave, good, and attractive Sir William Douglas, who had no inheritance but his sword. It was wonderful that in such a case the course of true love should have run smooth: but so it did. Robert II. approved of her affection, and gave her hand to the young knight, with the fair lordship of Nithsdale for her dowry.

Sir William was not permitted to rest long in peace with a beautiful princess for his bride; for the pirates of the Irish upon the coast of Galloway, in the neighbourhood of his new possession, summoned him to arms. Resolved to chastise the pirates upon their own territory, and in their own strongholds, he mustered a force of 500 lances and their military attendants, crossed the Irish Sea, and made a descent upon the coast in the neighbourhood of the town of Carlingford. Being unable to procure boats for the landing of his small army simultaneously, he advanced with a part of it, and made a bold assault upon the outworks of the town. Struck with terror, the inhabitants, even though their ramparts were still unscaled, made proposals for a treaty of surrender; and to obtain sufficient time to draw up the terms, they promised a large sum of money. Sir William Douglas received their envoys with courtesy, and trusting to their good faith in keeping the armistice, he sent out 200 of his soldiers, under the command of Robert Stuart, laird of Durriesdeer, to bring provisions to his ships. But it was a hollow truce on the part of the men of Carlingford, for they sent by night a messenger to Dundalk, where the English were in greatest force, representing the small number of the Scots, and the ease with which they might be overpowered. Five hundred English horse rode out of Dundalk at the welcome tidings, and came down unexpectedly upon the Scots, while the men of Carlingford sallied from their gates in great numbers, to aid in trampling down their enemies, who in the faith of the truce were employed in lading their vessels. But Douglas instantly drew up his small band into an impenetrable phalanx; their long spears threw off the attacks of the cavalry; and notwithstanding their immense superiority, the enemy were completely routed, and driven off the field. For this breach of treaty the town of Carlingford was burned to the ground, and fifteen merchant ships, laden with goods, that lay at anchor in the harbour, were seized by the Scots. On returning homeward, Douglas landed on the Isle of Man, which he ravaged; and after this his little armament, enriched with spoil, anchored safely in Loch Ryan, in Galloway.

As soon as he had stepped on shore, Sir William heard, for the first time, of the extensive inroad that had commenced upon the English border in 1388,

which ended in the victory of Otterburn; and eager for fresh honour, instead of returning home, he rode to the Scottish encampment, accompanied by a band of his bravest followers. In the division of the army, that was made for the purpose of a double invasion, Sir William was retained with that part of it which was destined for the invasion of England by the way of Carlisle, and thus he had not the good fortune to accompany James, Earl of Douglas, in his daring inroad upon Durham. After the battle of Otterburn, an interval of peace between England and Scotland succeeded, of which Sir William was soon weary; and, impatient for military action, he turned his attention to the Continent, where he found a congenial sphere of occupation. Of late years, the mingled heroism and devotion of the crusading spirit, which had lost its footing in Syria, endeavoured to find occupation in the extirpation or conversion of the idolaters of Europe; and the Teutonic knights, the successors of the gallant Templars, had already become renowned and powerful by their victories in Prussia and Lithuania, whose inhabitants were still benighted pagans. Sir William resolved to become a soldier in what he doubtless considered a holy war, and enlist under the banner of the Teutonic order. He accordingly set sail, and landed at Dantzic, which was now the head-quarters and capital of these military monks. It appears, from the history of the period, that the order at present was filled with bold adventurers from every quarter of Europe; but, among these, the deeds of the young Lord of Nithsdale were soon so pre-eminent, that he was appointed to the important charge of admiral of the fleet—an office that placed him in rank and importance nearest to the grand-master of the order. Two hundred and forty ships, such as war-ships then were, sailed under his command—an important fact, which Fordun is careful to specify. But even already the career of Sir William was about to terminate, and that too by an event which made it matter of regret that he had not fallen in his own country upon some well-fought field. Among the adventurers from England who had come to the aid of the Teutonic knights, was a certain Lord Clifford, whose national jealousy had taken such umbrage at the honours conferred upon the illustrious Scot, that he first insulted, and then challenged him to single combat. The day and place were appointed with the usual formalities; and as such a conflict must be at *outrance*, Sir William repaired to France to procure good armour against the approaching trial. His adversary then took advantage of this absence to calumniate him as a coward who had deserted the appointment; but hearing this rumour Sir William hastily returned to Dantzic, and presented himself before the set day. It was now Clifford's turn to tremble. He dreaded an encounter with such a redoubted antagonist; and to avoid it he hired a band of assassins, by whom Sir William was basely murdered. This event must have happened somewhere about the year 1390-91. In this way Sir William Douglas, like a gigantic shadow, appears, passes, and vanishes, and fills but a brief page of that history which he might have so greatly amplified and so brightly adorned. At his death he left but one child, a daughter, by the Princess Egidia, who, on attaining maturity, was married to William, Earl of Orkney.

DOUGLAS, WILLIAM. This excellent miniature painter was born in Fifeshire, April 14, 1780, and was a lineal descendant of the Douglasses of Glenbervie. His education was carefully conducted, and he was an accomplished scholar both in the ancient and modern languages. From childhood,

however, his principal inclination was for drawing; and while a boy at school, he would often leave his playfellows to their sport, that he might watch the effect of light and shade upon the landscape, or study the perspective of the furrows in a newly ploughed field. These early lessons in art, dictated by nature herself, and studied with enthusiastic affection, were afterwards of great service to the artist both in his landscapes and portraits. When a more formal education to his profession was necessary, he became a pupil of Mr. Robert Scott of Edinburgh, and was fellow-apprentice of Mr. John Burnet, the distinguished engraver, of whom mention has been made in this work.¹

Having adopted miniature painting as his profession, William Douglas soon exhibited such excellence in that department as to establish for himself a high and lasting reputation. His productions were not only distinguished by genius, fancy, taste, and delicacy, but by that higher quality of combination which indicated that he was no mere copyist, but an artist of true original power; and they speedily found their way into some of the finest collections both of England and Scotland. Many of the nobility and gentry of both kingdoms patronized him, among whom may especially be mentioned the Buccleuch family; and in July, 1817, he was appointed miniature painter for Scotland to the lamented Princess Charlotte, and her husband Prince Leopold, afterwards King of the Belgians. Correspondent also with his professional excellence was his general intellectual refinement, his varied knowledge, and reflective powers, which drew from George Combe, the distinguished phrenologist and ethical writer, the following encomium: "The author would take this opportunity of stating, that if he has been at all successful in depicting any of the bolder features of nature, this he in a great measure owes to the conversation of his respected friend, William Douglas, Esq., Edinburgh, who was no less a true poet than an eminent artist." It was a high eulogy from one not given to flatter, and upon a friend whose voice he should no longer hear.

In consequence of the numerous professional engagements which the celebrity of our miniature painter entailed upon him, he could not find time to contribute to the annual artistic exhibitions in Edinburgh; but his works were frequently to be seen upon the walls of the Royal Academy at Somerset House, where they were received with cordial welcome, and met with general admiration. In this tranquil character his life went onward, leaving little more to record except his social and domestic worth, by which he was equally endeared to his friends and his family. After a successful artistic career, William Douglas died at his house in Hart Street, Edinburgh, on the 30th of January, 1832, leaving a widow, a son, and two daughters.

DRUMMOND, GEORGE, provost of Edinburgh, was born on the 27th of June, 1687. He was the son of George Drummond of Newton—a branch of the noble family of Perth; and was educated at the schools of Edinburgh, where he early displayed superior abilities, particularly in the science of calculation, for which he had a natural predilection, and in which he acquired an almost unequalled proficiency. Nor was this attainment long of being called into use, and that on a very momentous occasion; for, when only eighteen years of age, he was requested by the committee of the Scottish parliament appointed to examine and settle the national accounts preparatory to the legislative union of the

two kingdoms, to afford his assistance; and it is generally believed that most of the calculations were made by him. So great was the satisfaction which he gave on that occasion to those at the head of the Scottish affairs, that on the establishment of the excise in 1707, he was appointed accountant-general, when he was just twenty years of age.

Mr. Drummond had early imbibed those political principles which seated the present royal family on the throne; hence he took an active part on the side of government in the rebellion of 1715. It was to him that the ministry owed their first intelligence of the Earl of Marr having reached Scotland to raise the standard of insurrection. He fought at the battle of Sheriff-muir, and was the first to apprise the magistrates of Edinburgh of Argyle's victory; which he did by a letter written on horseback, from the field of battle. On the 10th of February, 1715, Mr. Drummond had been promoted to a seat at the board of excise; and on the rebellion being extinguished, he returned to Edinburgh, to the active discharge of his duties. On the 27th April, 1717, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the board of customs. In the same year he was elected treasurer of the city, which office he held for two years. In 1722-23, he was dean of guild, and in 1725 he was raised to the dignity of lord-provost. In 1727 he was named one of the commissioners and trustees for improving the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, and on the 15th October, 1737, he was promoted to be one of the commissioners of excise.

No better proof can be given of the high estimation in which Mr. Drummond was held by government, than his rapid promotion; although the confidential correspondence which he maintained with Mr. Addison on the affairs of Scotland was still more honourable to him.

The wretched state of poverty and intestine disorder in which Scotland was left by her native princes, when they removed to England, and which was at first aggravated by the union of the kingdoms, called forth the exertions of many of our most patriotic countrymen; and foremost in that honourable band stood George Drummond. To him the city of Edinburgh in particular owes much. He was the projector of many of those improvements, which, commenced under his auspices, have advanced with unexampled rapidity; inasmuch that Edinburgh, already a worn-out little capital, has risen, almost within the recollection of persons now alive, to be one of the finest and most interesting cities in the world.

The first great undertaking which Mr. Drummond accomplished for the benefit of his native city was the erection of the Royal Infirmary. Previous to the establishment of this hospital, the physicians and surgeons of Edinburgh, assisted by other members of the community, had contributed £2000, with which they instituted an infirmary for the reception of the destitute sick. But Mr. Drummond, anxious to secure for the sick poor of the city and neighbourhood still more extensive aid, attempted to obtain legislative authority for incorporating the contributors as a body politic and corporate. More than ten years, however, elapsed before he brought the public to a just appreciation of his plan. At last he was successful, and an act having been procured, a charter, dated 25th August, 1736, was granted, constituting the contributors an incorporation, with power to erect the *Royal Infirmary*, and to purchase lands and make bye-laws. The foundation-stone of this building was laid 2d August, 1738. It cost nearly £13,000, which was raised by the united con-

¹ See life of James Burnet, p. 250.

tributions of the whole country; the nobility, gentry, and the public bodies all over the kingdom, making donations for this benevolent establishment; while even the farmers, carter, and timber-merchants united in giving their gratuitous assistance to rear the building.

The rebellion of 1745 again called Mr. Drummond into active service in the defence of his country and its institutions; and although his most strenuous exertions could not induce the volunteer and other bodies of troops in Edinburgh to attempt the defence of the city against the rebels, yet, accompanied by a few of the volunteer corps, he retired and joined the royal forces under Sir John Cope, and was present at the unfortunate battle of Prestonpans. After that defeat, he retired with the royal forces to Berwick, where he continued to collect and forward information to government of the movements of the rebel army.

The rebellion of 1745 having been totally quelled in the spring of 1746, Drummond, in the month of November following, was a second time elected provost of Edinburgh. In the year 1750 he was a third time provost, and in 1752 he was appointed one of the committee for the improvement of the city.

The desire of beautifying their native city, so conspicuous among the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and which has engaged the citizens of later times in such magnificent schemes of improvement, first displayed itself during the provostship of Mr. Drummond. Proposals were then published, signed by Provost Drummond, which were circulated through the kingdom, calling upon all Scotsmen to contribute to the improvement of the capital of their country. These proposals contained a plan for erecting an exchange upon the ruins on the north side of the High Street; for erecting buildings on the ruins in the Parliament Close; for the increased accommodation of the different courts of justice; and for offices for the convention of the royal burghs, the town-council, and the advocates' library. A petition to parliament was also proposed, praying for an extension of the royalty of the town, in contemplation of a plan for opening new streets to the south and north; for building bridges over the intermediate valleys to connect these districts with the old town; and for turning the North Loch into a canal, with terraced gardens on each side. In consequence chiefly of the strenuous exertions of Provost Drummond, the success which attended these projects was very considerable. On the 3d of September, 1753, he, as grand-master of the freemasons in Scotland, laid the foundation of the Royal Exchange, on which occasion there was a very splendid procession. In 1754 he was a fourth time chosen provost, chiefly that he might forward and superintend the improvements. In the year 1755 he was appointed one of the trustees on the forfeited estates, and elected a manager of the select society for the encouragement of arts and sciences in Scotland. In the year 1758 he again held the office of provost; and in October, 1763, during his sixth provostship, he laid the foundation-stone of the North Bridge.

Mr. Drummond, having seen his schemes for the improvement of the city accomplished to an extent beyond his most sanguine expectations, retired from public life on the expiration of his sixth provostship; and after enjoying good health until within a short time of his death, he died on the 4th of November, 1766, in the eightieth year of his age.

DRUMMOND, CAPTAIN THOMAS. Among the many distinguished engineers of whom Scotland has

been so prolific in the present age, the subject of this notice will always hold a conspicuous place. He was born in Edinburgh, in October, 1797, and was the second of three sons; and being deprived of his father while still in infancy, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, who discharged her duty in that respect so effectually that the captain ever afterwards spoke of her with affectionate gratitude, and attributed much of his professional success to her careful and efficient training. After having undergone the usual course of a classical education at the high-school of Edinburgh, he was entered at Woolwich as a cadet in 1813; and such was the persevering energy and diligence with which his home-training had inspired him, that he soon distanced his school-fellows, and passed through the successive steps of the military college with a rapidity altogether unusual in that institution. It was not in mathematics alone also that he excelled, but in every other department of science to which he turned his attention; for such was his intellectual tenacity and power of application, that he never relinquished a subject until he had completely mastered it. Of this he once afforded a striking proof while still in one of the junior academies of the college. Not being satisfied with a difficult demonstration in conic sections contained in Hutton's *Course of Mathematics*, which formed the text-book of the class, young Drummond sought and discovered a solution of a more simple character, and on a wholly original principle. Such was the merit of this bold innovation, that it replaced the solution of Hutton among the professors of Woolwich College, who were proud of their young pupil, and entertained the highest hopes of his future success as a military engineer. The same reflective independent spirit characterized his studies after he had left Woolwich to follow out the practical instruction of his profession. On one occasion his attention was directed to the various inventions by which the use of the old pontoon was to be superseded; and he contrived a model, which was reckoned a masterpiece of ingenuity. "It was," says his friend Captain Dawson, who describes it, "like a man-of-war's gig or galley, sharp at both ends, and cut transversely into sections for facility of transport, as well as to prevent it from sinking if injured in any one part; each section was perfect in itself, and they admitted of being bolted together, the partitions falling under the thwarts or seats. The dockyard men, to whom he showed it, said it would row better than any boat except a gig; and it was light, and capable of being transported from place to place on horseback."

After having spent some time in training, both at Plymouth and Chatham, during which he embraced every opportunity of improving his professional knowledge, not only by books and the conversation of intelligent officers and scientific scholars, but also by a visit to France, to study its army of occupation and witness a great military review, Drummond was stationed at Edinburgh, where his charge consisted in the superintendence and repair of public works. But this sphere was too limited for his active spirit; and, finding little prospect of advancement in his profession, he had serious thoughts of abandoning it for the bar, and had actually enrolled his name as a student at Lincoln's Inn, when fortunately, in the autumn of 1819, he met in Edinburgh with Colonel Colby, at that time engaged in the trigonometrical survey of the Highlands. Eager to have such an associate in his labours, the colonel soon induced the disappointed engineer to abandon all further thoughts of the study of law, and join him in the survey. As these new duties required Drummond to reside in London during the winter, he availed himself of the



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opportunity not only to improve himself in the higher departments of mathematics, but also to study the science of chemistry, which he did with his wonted energy and success. While attending, for this purpose, the lectures of Professors Faraday and Brande, his attention was called to the subject of the incandescence of lime; and conceiving that this might be made available for his own profession, he purchased, on his return from the lecture-room, a blow-pipe, charcoal, and other necessary apparatus, and commenced his course of experiments. These were prosecuted evening after evening, until he had attained the desired result. He found that the light derived from the prepared lime was more brilliant than that of the Argand lamp; and that it concentrated the rays more closely towards the focal point of the parabolic mirror, by which they were reflected in close parallel rays, instead of a few near the focus, as was the case with the Argands.

An opportunity was soon given to test this important discovery. In 1824, Colonel Colby was appointed to make a survey of Ireland, and took with him Lieutenant Drummond as his principal assistant. The misty atmosphere of Ireland made this survey a work of peculiar difficulty, as distant objects would often be imperceptibly seen under the old system of lighting; but the colonel was also aware of the improved lamp which Drummond had invented, and sanguine as to its results. His hopes were justified by a striking experiment. A station called Slieve Snaught, in Donegal, had long been looked for in vain from Davis' Mountain, near Belfast, about sixty-six miles distant, with the haze of Lough Neagh lying between. To overcome this difficulty, Drummond repaired to Slieve Snaught, accompanied by a small party, and taking with him one of his lamps. The night on which the experiment was made was dark but cloudless, and the mountain covered with snow, when the shivering surveyors left their cold encampment to make the decisive trial. The hour had been fixed, and an Argand lamp had been placed on an intermediate church tower, to telegraph the appearance of the light on Slieve Snaught to those on Davis' Mountain. The hour had passed and the sentry was about to leave his post, when the light suddenly burst out like a brilliant star from the top of the hitherto invisible peak, to the delight of the astonished spectators, who were watching with intense anxiety from the other station of survey. Another invention of almost equal importance with the Drummond's light was his heliostat, by which the difficulty arising from the rapid motion of the earth in its orbit round the sun, was obviated by the most simple means, and the work of survey made no longer dependent upon a complicated apparatus that required frequent shifting and removal; so that, while it could take observations at the distance of a hundred miles, a single soldier was sufficient to carry and plant the instrument upon the requisite spot.

The admirable scientific knowledge which Drummond possessed, and the valuable services he had rendered to the Irish survey, were not lost sight of, and demands soon occurred to call him into a higher sphere of duty. These were, the preparations necessary before the passing of the reform bill, by laying down the boundaries to the old and the new boroughs. This very difficult task he discharged so ably, and so much to the satisfaction of the public, as to silence the murmurs of the cavillers, who complained because a young lieutenant of engineers had been appointed to so important a charge. After it was finished he returned to his work of surveying; but in the midst of it was appointed private secretary to Lord Spencer, in which office he continued till the dis-

solution of the government, when he was rewarded with a pension of £300 per annum, obtained for him through the interest of Lord Brougham. In 1835 he was appointed under-secretary for Ireland, where he was placed at the head of the commission on railways; but his incessant labour in this department, along with his other duties of a political nature, are supposed to have accelerated his death, which occurred April 15, 1840. His memory will continue to be affectionately cherished, not only by the distinguished statesmen with whom he acted, but by society at large; while the scientific will regret that public duties should have latterly engrossed a mind so admirably fitted for the silent walks of invention and discovery.

DRUMMOND, WILLIAM, of Hawthornden, a celebrated poet and historian, was born on the 13th of December, 1585. His father, Sir John Drummond of Hawthornden, was gentleman usher to King James VI., a place which he had only enjoyed a few months before he died. His mother, Susanna Fowler, was daughter to Sir William Fowler, secretary to the queen, a lady much esteemed for her exemplary and virtuous life.

The family of our poet was among the most ancient and noble in Scotland. The first of the name who settled in this country came from Hungary as admiral of the fleet which conveyed over Margaret, queen to Malcolm Canmore, at the time when surnames were first known in Scotland. Walter de Drummond, a descendant of the original founder, was secretary, or, as it was termed, clerk-register, to the great Bruce, and was employed in various political negotiations with England by that prince. Annabella Drummond, queen of King Robert II. and mother of James I., was a daughter of the house of Stobhall, from which were descended the Earls of Perth. The Drummonds of Carnock at this early time became a branch of the house of Stobhall, and from this branch William Drummond of Hawthornden was immediately descended.

The poet was well aware, and indeed seems to have been not a little proud, of his illustrious descent. In the dedication of his history to John, Earl of Perth, whom he styles his "very good lord and chief," he takes occasion to expatiate at some length on the fame and honour of their common ancestors, and sums up his eulogium with the following words:—"But the greatest honour of all is (and no subject can have any greater), that the high and mighty prince Charles, King of Great Britain, and the most part of the crowned heads in Europe, are descended of your honourable and ancient family." His consanguinity, remote as that was, to James I., who was himself a kindred genius and a poet, was the circumstance, however, which Drummond dwelt most proudly upon; and to the feelings which this gave rise to we are to attribute his *History of the Five Jameses*. He indeed intimates himself that such was the case, in a manner at once noble and delicate:—"If we believe some schoolmen," says he, "that the souls of the departed have some dark knowledge of the actions done upon earth, which concern their good or evil; what solace then will this bring to James I., that after two hundred years, he hath one of his mother's name and race that hath renewed his fame and actions in the world?"

Of the early period of our author's life few particulars are known. The rudiments of his education he received at the high-school of Edinburgh, where, we are told, he displayed early signs of that worth and genius for which at a maturer age he became conspicuous. From thence in due time he

entered the university of the same city, where, after the usual course of study, he took his degree of Master of Arts. He was then well versed in the metaphysical learning of the period; but this was not his favourite study, nor was he ever after in his life addicted to it. His first passion, on leaving college, lay in the study of the classical authors of antiquity, and to this early attachment is to be attributed the singular purity and elegance of style to which he attained, and which set him on a level, in that particular, with the most classical of his English contemporaries.

His father intending him for the profession of the law, he was, at the age of twenty-one years, sent over into France to prosecute that study. At Bourges, therefore, he applied himself to the civil law, under some of the most eminent professors of the age, with diligence and applause; and it is probable, had a serious intention of devoting his after-life to that laborious profession. In the year 1610 his father, Sir John, died, and our author returned to his native country, after an absence from it of four years. To his other learning and accomplishments he had now added the requisites necessary to begin his course in an active professional life. That he was well fitted for this course of life is not left to mere conjecture. The learned President Lockhart is known to have declared of him, "that had he followed the practice of the law, he would have made the best figure of any lawyer in his time." The various political papers which he has left behind him, written, some of them, upon those difficult topics which agitated king and people during the disturbed period in which he lived, attest the same fact; as displaying, along with the eloquence which was peculiar to their author, the more forensic qualities of a perspicuous arrangement, and a judicious, clear, and masterly management of his argument.

It was to the surprise of those who knew him that our author turned aside from the course which, though laborious, lay so invitingly open; and preferred to the attainment of riches and honour the quiet obscurity of a country gentleman's life. He was naturally of a melancholy temperament; and it is probable that an over-delicate and refined turn of sentiment influenced him in his decision. His father's death at the same time leaving him in easy independency, he had no longer any obstruction to following the bent of his inclination. No poet in this state of mind, perhaps, ever enjoyed the possession of a retreat more favoured by nature than is that of Hawthornden—so well fitted to the realization of a poet's vision of earthly bliss. The place has been long known to every lover of the picturesque, and, associated as it has become with the poetry and life of its ancient and distinguished possessor, is now a classical spot. Upwards of a hundred years ago, it is pleasing to be made aware that this feeling was not new. The learned and critical Ruddiman, at no time given to be poetical, has yet described Hawthornden as being "a sweet and solitary seat, and very fit and proper for the Muses." It was here that our author passed many of the years of his early life, devoted in a great measure to literary and philosophical study, and the cultivation of poetry. We cannot now mark with any degree of precision the order of his compositions at this period. The first, and only collection published in his lifetime, containing the *Flowers of Sion*, with several other poems, and *A Cypress Grove*, appeared in Edinburgh in the year 1616; and to this publication, limited as it is, we must ascribe in great part the literary fame which the author himself enjoyed among his contemporaries.

Of the poems we shall speak afterwards; but the philosophical discourse which accompanies them it may be as well to notice in the present place. *A Cypress Grove* was written after the author's recovery from a severe illness; and the subject, suggested, we are told, by the train of his reflections on a bed of sickness, is *Death*. We have often admired the splendid passages of Jeremy Taylor on this sublimity of all earthly topics, and it is if anything but a more decided praise of these to say that Drummond at least rivalled them. The style is exalted, and classical as that of the distinguished churchman we have named; the conception, expression, and imagery scarcely inferior in sublimity and beauty. That laboured display of learning, a fault peculiar to the literary men of their day, attaches in a great measure to both. In this particular, however, Drummond has certainly been more than usually judicious. We could well wish to see this work of our author, in preference to all his others, more popularly known. It is decidedly of a higher cast than his other prose pieces; and the reading of it would tend, better than any comment, to make these others relished, and their spirit appreciated.

Not long after the publication of his volume, we find Drummond on terms of familiar correspondence with several of the great men of his day. Among them the principal were Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Sir Robert Kerr (afterwards Earl of Ancrum), Dr. Arthur Johnston, and Sir William Alexander (afterwards Earl of Stirling). For the last-mentioned of these our author seems to have entertained the most perfect esteem and friendship. Alexander was a courtier rather than a poet, though a man not the less capable of free and generous feelings. His correspondence with our author, which extends through many years, is of little interest, referring almost entirely to the transmission of poetical pieces, and to points of minor criticism. Michael Drayton, in an elogy on the English poets, takes occasion to speak of Drummond with much distinction. In the letters of this pleasing and once popular poet there is a frank openness of manner, which forms a refreshing contrast to the stiff form, and stiffer compliment, of the greater part of the "familiar epistles," as they are termed, which passed between the literary men of that period, not excepting many of those in the correspondence of the poet of Hawthornden. "My dear noble Drummond," says he, in one of them, "your letters were as welcome to me as if they had come from my mistress, which I think is one of the fairest and worthiest living. Little did you think how oft that noble friend of yours, Sir William Alexander, and I have remembered you, before we trafficked in friendship. Love me as much as you can, and so I will you: I can never hear of you too oft, and I will ever mention you with much respect of your deserved worth," &c. Only two of Drummond's letters in return to this excellent poet and agreeable friend have been preserved. We shall make a brief extract from one of them, as it seems to refer to the commencement of their friendship, and to be in answer to that we have first quoted of Drayton:—"I must love this year of my life (1618) more dearly than any that forewent it, because in it I was so happy as to be acquainted with such worth. Whatever were Mr. Davis' other designs, methinks some secret prudence directed him to those parts only: for this I will in love of you surpass as far your countrymen as you go beyond them in all true worth; and shall strive to be second to none, save your fair and worthy mistress." John Davis had, it would seem, in a visit to Scotland, become acquainted with Drummond, and on his return to

London did not fail to manifest the respect and admiration our poet had inspired him with. Drayton communicates as much to his friend in the following brief postscript to one of his letters:—"John Davis is in love with you." He could not have used fewer words.

Sir Robert Kerr was, like Sir William Alexander, a courtier and a poet, though, unlike him, he never came to be distinguished as an author. He is best known to posterity for his singular feat of killing in a duel the "giant," Charles Maxwell, who had provoked him to the combat. There is a letter from our poet to Sir Robert, on this occasion, in which philosophically, and with much kindness, he thus reprehends his friend's rashness and temerity:—"It was too much hazarded in a point of honour. Why should true valour have answered fierce barbarity; nobleness, arrogance; religion, impiety; innocence, malice;—the disparagement being so vast? And had ye then to venture to the hazard of a combat, the exemplar of virtue and the Muses' sanctuary? The lives of twenty such as his who hath fallen, in honour's balance would not counterpoise your one. Ye are too good for these times, in which, as in a time of plague, men must once be sick, and that deadly, ere they can be assured of any safety. Would I could persuade you in your sweet walks at home to take the prospect of court-shipwrecks."

Sir Robert Kerr was indeed a character for whom Drummond might well entertain a high respect. In the remarkable adventure above alluded to, and for which he became very famous, he was not only acquitted of all blame by his own friends, but even Lord Maxwell, the brother of the gentleman killed, generously protested that they should never quarrel with nor dislike him on that account.

The most remarkable incident which has descended to us, connected with the literary life of our poet, was the visit with which the well-known English dramatist Ben Jonson honoured him, in the winter of 1618-19. Upon this, therefore, we would desire to be somewhat particular, and the materials we have for being so are not so barren as those which refer to other passages. Ben Jonson was a man of much decision, or what, on some occasions, might no doubt be termed obstinacy of purpose; and to undertake a journey on foot of several hundred miles, into a strange country, and at an unfavourable season of the year, to visit a brother poet whose fame had reached his ears, was characteristic in every way of his constitutional resoluteness, and of that sort of practical sincerity which actuated his conduct indifferently either to friendship or enmity. There is much occasion to mark this humour throughout the whole substance of the conversations which passed between Drummond and his remarkable visitor. The curious document which contains these is in itself but a rough draught, written by Drummond when the matters contained in it were fresh in his recollection, and intended merely, it would seem, as a sort of memorandum for his own use. Several of the incidents of Ben Jonson's life, as they were communicated by him to Drummond, have been given. These we have not occasion to notice; but we cannot pass over, as equally out of place, some of the opinions entertained by that remarkable man of his literary contemporaries. They are for the most part sweeping censures, containing some truth, but oftener much illiberality; pointed, and on one or two occasions coarse—Jonson being at all times rather given to lose a friend than a jest. Spenser's stanzas, we are told, "pleased him not, nor his matter."—"Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children, and was no poet; that he had wrote the

Civil Wars, and yet hath not one battle in his whole book."—Michael Drayton, "if he had performed what he promised in his *Polyolbion* (to write the deeds of all the worthies), had been excellent."—"Sir John Harrington's *Ariosto*, of all translations was the worst. That when Sir John desired him to tell the truth of his epigrams, he answered him, that he loved not the truth, for they were narrations, not epigrams."—"Donne, for not being understood, would perish. He esteemed him the first poet in the world for some things; his verses of *Ohadine* he had by heart, and that passage of the *calm that dust and feathers did not stir, all was so quiet*." He told Donne that his "Anniversary was profane and full of blasphemies; that if it had been written on the Virgin Mary it had been tolerable." To which Donne answered, "that he described the *idea* of a woman, and not as she was."—"Owen was a poor pedantic schoolmaster, sweeping his living from the posteriors of little children, and has nothing good in him, his epigrams being bare narrations."—"Sir Walter Raleigh esteemed more fame than conscience: the best wits in England were employed in making his history. He himself had written a piece to him of the Punic war, which he altered and set in his book."—"Francis Beaumont was a good poet, as were Fletcher and Chapman, whom he loved."

"He fought several times with Marston. Marston wrote his father-in-law's preachings, and his father-in-law his comedies, &c." The most singular of all to the modern reader, is what follows regarding Shakspeare, who is introduced with fully as little respect as is shown to any of the others mentioned:—He said, "Shakspeare wanted art and sometimes sense; for in one of his plays he brought a number of men, saying they had suffered shipwreck in Bohemia, where is no sea near by one hundred miles." Shakspeare, it may be remarked, though two years dead at the time of this conversation, was then but little known out of London, the sphere of his original attraction. The first and well-known folio edition of his plays, which may be said to have first shown forth our great dramatist to the world, did not appear till 1623, several years after. Drummond merely refers to him as the author of *Venus and Adonis* and the *Rape of Lucrece*—pieces as little popularly known now as his plays were then.

It is to Ben Jonson's honour that, when he spared so little the absent poets of his country, he did not altogether pass over the poet of Hawthornden to his face. Our author's verses he allowed, were all good, especially his epitaph on Prince Henry; save that they smelled too much of the schools, and were not after the fancy of the times: for a child, said he, may write after the fashion of the Greek and Latin verses, in running;—yet, that he wished for pleasing the king, that piece of *Forth Feasting* had been his own."

We now come to a circumstance in the life of our poet which was destined, in its consequences, to interrupt the quiet course in which his existence had hitherto flowed, and to exercise over his mind and future happiness a deep and lasting influence. This was the attachment which he formed for a young and beautiful lady, daughter to Cunningham of Barnes, an ancient and honourable family. His affection was returned by his mistress; the marriage-day appointed, and preparations in progress for the happy solemnization, when the young lady was seized suddenly with a fever, of which she died. His grief on this event he has expressed in many of those sonnets, which have given to him the title of this country's Petrarch; and it has well been said, that with more passion and sincerity he celebrated his

dead mistress, than others use to praise their living ones.

The melancholy temperament of Drummond, we have before said, was one reason of his secluding himself from the world, and the ease and relief of mind which he sought, he had probably found in his mode of life; but the rude shock which he now received rendered solitude irksome and baneful to him. To divert the train of his reflections, he resolved once more to go abroad, and in time, distance, and novelty, lose recollection of the happiness which had deluded him in his own country. He spent eight years in prosecution of this design, during which he travelled through the whole of Germany, France, and Italy; Rome and Paris being the two places in which he principally resided. He was at pains in cultivating the society of learned foreigners; and bestowed some attention in forming a collection of the best ancient Greek and Latin authors, and the works of the esteemed modern writers of Spain, France, and Italy. He afterwards made a donation of many of these to the college of Edinburgh, and it formed, at the time, one of the most curious and valuable collections in that great library. The catalogue, printed in the year 1627, is furnished with a Latin preface from the pen of our author, upon "the advantage and honour of libraries."

After an absence of eight years, Drummond returned to his native country, which he found already breaking out into those political and religious dissensions which so unhappily marked, and so tragically completed, the reign of Charles I. It does not appear that he took any hand whatever in these differences till a much more advanced period of his life. It would seem rather that other and quieter designs possessed his mind, as he is said about this time to have composed his history, during a stay which he made in the house of his brother-in-law, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet. The *History of the Reigns of the Five Jameses*, as a piece of composition, is no mean acquirement to the literature of this country; and for purity of style and elegance of expression it was not surpassed by any Scottish author of the age. In an historical point of view, the spirit of the work varies materially from that of preceding authors, who had written on the same period, and especially from Buchanan, though in a different way. It is certainly as free from bias and prejudice as any of these can be said to be, and on some occasions better informed. The speeches invented for some of the leading characters, after the fashion of the great Roman historian and his imitators, are altogether excellent, and, properly discarded as they are from modern history, add much grace and beauty to the work. In short, as an old editor has expressed himself, "If we consider but the language, how florid and ornate it is, consider the order, and the prudent conduct of the story, we will rank the author in the number of the best writers, and compare him even with Thuanus himself." This work was not published till some years after Drummond's decease.

We have no reason to believe that at this time he had relinquished the cultivation of poetry, but can arrive at no certainty regarding the order of his compositions. Our author seems throughout his life, if we except the collection which he made of his early poems, to have entertained little concern or anxiety for the preservation of his literary labours. Many of his poems were only printed during his lifetime upon loose sheets; and it was not till 1650, six years after his death, that Sir John Scot caused them to be collected and published in one volume. An edition of this collection was published at London in 1659, with the following highly encomiastic title:

—"The most elegant and elaborate Poems of that great court wit, Mr. William Drummond, whose labours both in verse and prose, being heretofore so precious to Prince Henry and to King Charles, shall live and flourish in all ages, whiles there are men to read them, or art and judgment to approve them." Some there were of his pieces which remained in manuscript, till incorporated in the folio edition of his works in 1711. The most popular of those detached productions, printed in Drummond's lifetime, was a macaronic poem entitled *Polemo-Middinia, or the Battle of the Dunghill*. This was meant as a satire upon some of the author's contemporaries, and contains much humour in a style of composition which had not before been attempted in this country. It long retained its popularity in the city of Edinburgh, where it was almost yearly reprinted; and it was published at Oxford in 1691, with Latin notes and a preface by Bishop Gibson.

He had carefully studied the mathematics, and in the mechanical part of that science effected considerable improvements. These consisted principally in the restoring and perfecting some of the warlike machines of the ancients, and in the invention of several new instruments for sea and land service, in peace and war. The names of the machines in English, Greek, and Latin, and their descriptions and uses, may be found detailed in a patent granted to our author by King Charles I., in the year 1626, for the sole making, vending, and exporting of the same. This document has been published in the collection of Drummond's works, and is worthy of notice, as illustrating that useful science, though then a neglected object of pursuit, was not overlooked by our author in the midst of more intellectual studies. Perhaps we might even be warranted in saying, farther, that the attention which he thus bestowed on the existing wants and deficiencies of his country, indicated more clearly than any other fact, that his mind had progressed beyond the genius of the age in which his existence had been cast.

Drummond lived till his forty-fifth year a bachelor, a circumstance which may in great part be ascribed to the unfortunate issue of his first love. He had, however, accidentally become acquainted with Elizabeth Logan, grand-daughter to Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, in whom he either found, or fancied he had found, a resemblance to his first mistress; and this impression, so interesting to his feelings, revived once more in his bosom those tender affections which had so long lain dormant. He became united to this lady in the year 1630. By his marriage he had several children. William, the eldest son, lived till an advanced age, was knighted by Charles II., and came to be the only representative of the knights-baronets formerly of Carnock, of whom, in the beginning of this article, we have made mention. We learn little more of the private life of our author after this period; but that he lived retired at his house of Hawthornden, which he repaired; an inscription to this effect, bearing date 1638, is still extant upon the building.

Drummond has left behind him many political papers written between the years 1632 and 1646, in which, if he has not approved himself a judicious supporter of King Charles, and his contested rights and authority, he has only failed in a cause which could not then be supported, and which has never since been approved. "Irena, or a remonstrance for concord among his majesty's subjects," is the first of these political tracts; and the picture which it draws of civil strifes and disorders, and of men given to change, is set forth with much eloquence and persuasive force. Though the doctrine of obedience is

enforced throughout, it is neither dogmatically nor offensively insisted upon. This and other papers of a similar tendency, Drummond wrote in the years 1638-39, "but finding," as he informs us in one of his letters, "his majesty's authority so fearfully eclipsed, and the stream of rebellion swelled to that height, that honest men without danger dared hardly speak, less publish their conceptions in write, the papers were suppressed."

We shall only notice one other of these compositions, on account of some passages contained in it, which have been adduced as evidence of the political foresight and sagacity of the writer. It is entitled "An address to the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, &c., who have leagued themselves for the defence of religion and the liberties of Scotland," and is dated 2d May, 1639, ten years previous to the trial and execution of the king, to which, and to events following, it has prophetic reference:—"During these miseries," says he, "of which the troublers of the state shall make their profit, there will arise (perhaps) one, who will name himself PROTECTOR of the liberty of the kingdom: he shall surcharge the people with greater miseries than ever before they did suffer: he shall be protector of the church, himself being without soul or conscience, without letters or great knowledge; under the shadow of piety and zeal shall commit a thousand impieties; and in *end shall essay to make himself king*; and under pretext of reformation, bring in all confusion." "*Then shall the poor people suffer for all their follies*: then shall they see, to their own charges, what it is to pull the sceptre from their sovereign, the sword from the lawful magistrate, whom God hath set over them, and that it is a fearful matter for subjects to degenerate their king. This progress is no new divining, being approved by the histories of all times." The general truth of this vaticination is amazing.

It was a saying of Drummond, "That it was good to admire great hills, but to live in the plains;" and, as in the earlier part of life he had resisted the temptations of courtly or professional celebrity, which birth and talent put alike in his way, so afterwards he as carefully eschewed the more easily attained, though more perilous, distinctions of political faction. His heart lay more towards private than public virtues; and his political writings, it is probable, were intended by their author as much for the instruction and satisfaction of a few intimate friends, as to serve (which they never did) the more important ends for which they were ostensibly written. He was a cavalier, and his principles, early prejudices, and inclinations led him to espouse the royal cause; but his patriotism and good sense informed him correctly how far his support should be extended. His prudential forbearance was indeed sometimes put to the test; but though reputed a malignant, and more than once summoned before the circular tables at Edinburgh for satirical verses, discourses, and conversations, it does not appear that he ever seriously compromised his safety or property. Being obliged to furnish men to the parliamentary army, it so happened that, his estate lying in three different shires, he had not occasion to send one entire man from any of the parts of it. Upon his quota, therefore, of fractions, as they might be called, he composed the following lines addressed to his majesty:—

"Of all these forces raised against the king,
'Tis my strange hap not one whole man to bring:
From diverse parishes, yet diverse men,
But all in halves and quarters: great king, then,
In halves and quarters if they come 'gainst thee,
In halves and quarters send them back to me."

The year 1649, in its commencement, witnessed the tragical end of Charles I., that first great and

ominous eclipse of the Stuart dynasty. On the 4th December of the same year, Drummond died, wanting only nine days to the completion of his sixty-fourth year. His body had long been weakened by disease induced by sedentary and studious habits, and the shock which the king's fate gave him is said to have affected his remaining health and spirits. His body was interred in the family aisle in Lasswade Church, in the neighbourhood of the house of Hawthornden.

In respect of his virtues and accomplishments, Drummond is entitled to rank high among his contemporaries, not in Scotland only, but in the most civilized nations of that day in Europe. Endowed with parts naturally excellent, and fitted for almost every species of improvement, his philosophic temperament and habits, and peculiar incidents of his life, tended to develop these in a manner advantageous as it was original. His early education imbued his mind deeply with the genius and classical taste of ancient Greece and Rome, perfection in which studies then formed the almost exclusive standard of literary excellence. A long residence in the more polished countries of the Continent familiarized his mind with those great works of modern enlightenment, the knowledge of which had as yet made but obscure progress in Britain. He not only read the works of Italian, French, and Spanish authors, but spoke these different languages with ease and fluency. He occasionally visited London, and was upon familiar terms, as we have seen, with the men of genius of his own and the sister kingdom. He added to his other high and varied acquirements, accomplishments of a lighter kind, well fitted to enhance these others in general society, and to add grace to a character whose worth, dignity, and intelligence have alone gone down to posterity. "He was not much taken up (his old biographer informs us) with the ordinary amusements of dancing, singing, playing, &c., *though he had as much of them as a well-bred gentleman should have*; and when his spirits were too much bended by severe studies, he unbended them by playing on his lute." One of his sonnets may be considered as an apostrophe, and it is one of singular beauty, to this his favourite instrument: it adds to the effect of the address to know, that it was not vainly spoken.

Of the private life and manners of the poet of Hawthornden, we only know enough to make us regret the imperfection of his biography. Though he passed the greater part of his life as a retired country gentleman, his existence never could be, at any time, obscure or insignificant. He was related to many persons of distinguished rank and intimate with others. Congeniality, however, of mind and pursuits alone led him to cultivate the society of men of exalted station; and, such is the nature of human excellence and dignity, the poet and man of literature, in this case, conferred lustre upon the peer and the favourite of a court. He was not a courtier, and he was, as he has himself expressed it, even "careless and negligent about fame and reputation." His philosophy was practical, not assumed; and we cannot fail to be impressed with its pure and noble spirit in the tenor of his life, no less than in the tone of many of his writings.

We have already alluded to several of Drummond's productions—his *Cypress Grove*, his *History*, and his *Irena*—and must now briefly refer to those on which his fame as a poet is founded. They consist principally of sonnets of an amatory and religious cast; a poem of some length, entitled *The River of Forth Feasting*; and *Tears on the Death of Mæliades*, anagrammatically Miles a Deo, the name assumed in

challenges of martial sport by Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of King James VI. This last piece was written so early as 1612. As a panegyric it is turgid and overcharged; but it has been referred to by more than one critic as displaying much beauty of versification.

The sonnet, about this time introduced into our literature, must be supposed to owe somewhat of the favour it received to the elegant and discriminating taste of Drummond. He had a perfect knowledge of Italian poetry, and professed much admiration for that of Petrarch, to whom he more nearly approaches in his beauties and his faults than, we believe, any other English writer of sonnets. This, however, refers more particularly to his early muse, to those pieces written before his own better taste had dared use an unshackled freedom. We shall give two specimens, which we think altogether excellent, of what we consider Drummond's matured style in this composition. The first is one of six sonnets entitled *Urania, or Spiritual Poems*; and the second, already transiently alluded to, is a sonnet addressed by the poet to his lute. The first perhaps refers to what Drummond considered the political unhappiness or degradation of his country, though, in truth, it may be made answerable to the state of humanity at all times; the second, to the well-known catastrophe of his first love, and accordingly it has its place among the sonnets professedly written on that topic.

I.

"What hapless hap had I for to be born
In these unhappy times, and dying days
Of this now dotting world, when good decays;—
Love's quite extinct and Virtue's held a scorn!
When such are only priz'd, by wretched ways,
Who with a golden fleece can them adorn;
When avarice and lust are counted praise,
AND BRAVEST MINDS LIVE ORPHAN-LIKE FORLORN!
Why was not I born in that golden age,
When gold was not yet known? and those black arts
By which base worldlings vilely play their parts,
With horrid acts staining earth's stately stage?
To have been then, O heaven, 't had been my bliss,
But bless me now, and take me soon from this."

II.

"My lute, be as thou wert when thou didst grow
With thy green mother in some shady grove,
When immelodious winds but made thee move,
And birds their ramage did on thee bestow.
Since that dear voice which did thy sounds approve,
Which wont in such harmonious strains to flow,
Is left from earth to tune the spheres above,
What art thou but a harbinger of woe?
Thy pleasing notes be pleasing notes no more,
But orphan's wailings to their fainting ear,
Each stroke a sigh, each sound draws forth a tear,
For which be silent as in woods before:
Or if that any hand to touch thee deign,
Like widowed turtle still her loss complain."

The *Forth Feasting* is a poem of some ingenuity in its contrivance, designed to compliment King James VI., on the visit with which that monarch favoured his native land in 1617. Of the many effusions which that joyous event called forth, this, we believe, has alone kept its ground in public estimation, and indeed as a performance professedly panegyric, and possessing little adventitious claim from the merit of its object, it is no ordinary praise to say that it has done so. It attracted, Lord Woodhouselee has remarked, "the envy as well as the praise of Ben Jonson, is superior in harmony of numbers to any of the compositions of the contemporary poets of England, and in its subject one of the most elegant panegyrics ever addressed by a poet to a prince."

DRUMMOND, SIR WILLIAM, a distinguished scholar and philosopher. The date of his birth seems not to be ascertained, nor does any memoir of which we are aware describe his early education.

He became first slightly known to the world in 1794, from publishing *A Review of the Government of Sparta and Athens*. It was probably a juvenile performance, which would not have been recollected but for the later fame of its author, and it is not now to be met with in libraries. In 1795 he was elected representative of the borough of St. Mawes; and in 1796 and 1801 he was chosen for the town of Lostwithiel. In the meantime he was appointed envoy-extraordinary to the court of Naples, an office previously filled by a countryman celebrated for pursuits not dissimilar to some of his own—Sir William Hamilton; and he was soon afterwards ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. Of his achievements as an ambassador little is known or remembered, excepting perhaps an alleged attempt, in 1808, to secure the regency of Spain to Prince Leopold of Sicily. Nor as a senator does he appear to have acquired much higher distinction; from being a regular and zealously-labouring political partizan, his studious habits and retired unbending disposition prevented him, but such political labours as he undertook were on the side of the government. In 1798 he published a translation of the *Satires of Perseus*, a work which, especially in fidelity, has been held to rival the contemporaneous attempts of Gifford, and it established him in the unquestioned reputation of a classical scholar. In 1805 appeared his *Academical Questions*, the first work in which he put forward claims to be esteemed a metaphysician. Although in this work he talks of the dignity of philosophy with no little enthusiasm, and gives it a preference to other subjects, more distinct than many may now admit; yet his work has certainly done more for the demolition of other systems than for instruction in any he has himself propounded. He perhaps carried the sceptical philosophy of Hume a little beyond its first bounds, by showing that we cannot comprehend the idea of simple substance, because, let the different qualities which, arranged in our mind, give us the idea of what we call an existing substance, be one by one taken away,—when the last is taken nothing at all will remain. To his doctrine that the mind was a *unity*, and did not contain *separate* powers and faculties, Locke's demolition of innate ideas must have led the way; but that great philosopher has not himself been spared from Sir William's undermining analysis, with which he attempted indeed to destroy the foundations of most existing systems.

In 1810 Sir William, along with Mr. Robert Walpole, published *Herculanensia*, containing archæological and etymological observations, partly directed towards a MS. found in the ruins of Herculaneum. During the same year he published an *Essay on a Punic Inscription found in the island of Malta*. The inscription was interesting from its twice containing the name Hanni-Baal, or Hannibal; but it seems to have been merely used by Sir William as a nucleus round which he could weave an extensive investigation into the almost unknown and undiscoverable language of the Carthaginians. He proposed two methods of analytically acquiring some knowledge of this obscure subject; first, through the Phœnician and Punic vocables scattered through the works of Greek and Roman authors; and second, through the dialects cognate to the Phœnician, viz., the Arabic or ancient Syriac, the Samaritan, the Ethiopian, the fragments of Egyptian to be found in the modern Coptic, and the Hebrew.

In 1811 he printed the most remarkable of all his works, the *Edipus Judaicus*. It was not published, and probably had it been so it would have brought on the author, who did not entirely escape criticism by his concealment, a torrent of censure which might

have rendered life uncomfortable. It was Sir William Drummond's object to take the parts of the Old Testament commonly commented on by divines as purely historical, and prove them to be allegories. Perhaps the following extract contains a greater portion of the meaning which the author had in view than any other of similar brevity:—"When we consider the general prevalence of Tsabaism among the neighbouring nations, we shall wonder less at the proneness of the Hebrews to fall into this species of idolatry. Neither shall we be surprised at the anxious efforts of their lawgiver to persuade and convince them of the vanity of the superstitions, when we recollect that, though he could command the elements, and give new laws to nature, he could not impose fetters on the free-will of others. With such a power as this he was by no means invested; for the Almighty, in offering to the Hebrews the clearest proofs of his existence, by no means constrained their belief. It cannot be doubted that by any act of power God might have coerced submission, and have commanded conviction; but had there been no choice, there could have been no merit in the acceptance of his law.

"Since then Jehovah did not compel the people to acknowledge his existence, by fettering their free will; it was natural for his servant Moses to represent, by types and by symbols, the errors of the Gentile nations; and it is in no manner surprising that the past, the existing, and the future situation of the Hebrews, as well as the religious, moral, and political state of their neighbours, should be alluded to in symbolical language by a historian who was also a teacher and a prophet.

"Above all things, however, it is evident that the establishment of the true religion was the great object of the divine legation of Moses. To attain this purpose it was not enough that he performed the most surprising miracles. His countrymen acknowledged the existence of Jehovah; but with him they reckoned, and were too willing to adore, other gods. Is it then surprising that the false notions of religion entertained by the Gentiles should be pointed out in the writings of Moses, and that their religious systems should be there made to appear what they really are—the astronomical systems of scientific idolaters?"

To institute a critical investigation of the points discussed in such a book as the *Ædipus* would require more learned investigation than is expected to be met with in a casual memoir. But with deference, we believe a mere ordinary reader may take it on him to say that Sir William has run riot on the dangerous and enticing ground of philology. It will be difficult to convince ordinary minds that the book of Joshua allegorically represents the reform of the calendar, or that the name Joshua is a type of the sun in the sign of the Ram; and when he finds the twelve labours of Hercules and the twelve tribes of Israel identified with the twelve signs of the zodiac, one feels regret that he did not improve the analogy by the addition of the twelve Cæsars. It was with some truth that D'Oyly, in his *Remarks on Sir William Drummond's Ædipus Judaicus*, thus characterized the species of philology in which Sir William indulged:—"It is in the nature of things impossible to *disprove* any proposed method of deducing the etymology of a word, however absurd, fanciful, and strained it may appear to every considerate mind. We may give reasons for rejecting it as highly improbable, and for receiving another, perhaps as drawn from a far more obvious source; but this is all that we can do; if any person should persevere in maintaining that his own is the

best derivation, the question must be left to the judgment of others: it is impossible to prove that he is wrong. In some old monkish histories the word Briton is derived from Brutus, a supposed descendant of Æneas: now, we may produce reasons without end for disbelieving any connection to have subsisted between Britain and a person named Brutus, and for either acquiescing in our inability to derive the word at all, or for greatly preferring some other mode of deriving it; but we can do no more; we cannot *confute* the person who maintains that it certainly is derived from Brutus, and that every other mode of deriving it is comparatively forced and improbable. Precisely in the same manner, when our author affirms that the word 'Amorites' is derived from a Hebrew word signifying a ram, the astronomical sign of Aries; that 'Balaam' comes from a word signifying 'to swallow,' with allusion to the celestial Dragon; 'Deborah' from Aldebaran, the great star in the Bull's-eye—so we cannot possibly *confute* him, or positively *prove* that he is wrong: we can only hint that these derivations are not very obvious or probable, and refer the matter to the common sense of mankind."

Sir William was not likely to create friends to his views by the tone he adopted, which was occasionally (especially in the introduction) such as he should not have used till the world had acknowledged his own system, and should not have been applied to anything held in reverence.

In 1818 Sir William Drummond published the first part of a poem, entitled *Odin*, which was never popular. The first of the three volumes of his *Origines, or Remarks on the Origin of several Empires, States, and Cities*, appeared in 1824. Of the varied contents of this very eminent historico-critical work, we shall spare our readers any analysis, as it is well known to the reading world, preferring to refer to the article on Sir William Drummond in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Towards the latter period of his life Sir William was a martyr to gout. His habits were retired, and by some considered reserved. For instance, when on a visit he would seldom make his appearance after dinner, spending the afternoon in the library or study. But while he was in company his manners were bland and courteous, and his conversation was enriched by classical and elegant information. He died in the year 1828.

DUNBAR, WILLIAM, "the darling of the Scottish Muses," as he has been termed by Sir Walter Scott, was born about the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. David Laing suggests the year 1460 as about the date of his birth. The place of his nativity is not more accurately known. In the *Flighting of Dunbar and Kennedy*, a series of satires which these two poets interchanged with each other, the former speaks of the "Carrick lips" of his antagonist, a *bona fide* allusion to the provincial vernacular of that port, and, within three lines, he uses the adjective *Lothian* in the same way, respecting a part of his own person; thereby, apparently, indicating that he was a native of that district. Unless Dunbar here meant only to imply his habitual residence in Lothian, and his having consequently contracted its peculiar language, he must be held as acknowledging himself a native of the province. The early events of the poet's life are unknown. In 1475, when he must have reached his fifteenth or sixteenth year, he was sent to the university of St. Andrews, then the principal seat of learning in Scotland. The name of William Dunbar is entered in the ancient registers of the university, in 1477, among the *Determinantes*, or Bachelors of Arts, in St. Salvador's Col-

lege, a degree which students could not receive till the third year of their attendance. His name again occurs in 1479, when he had taken his degree of Master of Arts, in virtue of which he was uniformly styled *Maister William Dunbar*, a designation which was exclusively appropriated till a late period to persons who had taken that degree at a university. Of his subsequent history, from 1480 to 1499, no trace remains. He became an ecclesiastic at an early age, having entered the mendicant order of St. Francis, which had an establishment of Grey Friars at Edinburgh.

In his poem entitled *How Dunbar was desyred to be ane Frier*, he gives the following intimation on this subject, as reduced to prose, by Dr. Irving:—"Before the dawning of day, methought St. Francis appeared to me with a religious habit in his hand, and said, 'Go, my servant, clothe thee in these vestments, and renounce the world.' But at him and his habit I was scared like a man who sees a ghost. 'And why art thou terrified at the sight of the holy weed?' 'St. Francis, reverence attend thee. I thank thee for the good-will which thou hast manifested towards me; but with regard to these garments, of which thou art so liberal, it has never entered into my mind to wear them. Sweet confessor, thou needs not take it in evil part. In holy legends have I heard it alleged that bishops are more frequently canonized than friars. If, therefore, thou wouldest guide my soul towards heaven, invest me with the robes of a bishop. Had it ever been my fortune to become a friar, the date is now long past. Between Berwick and Calais, in every flourishing town of the English dominions, have I made good cheer in the habit of thy order. In friars' weed have I ascended the pulpit at Derton and Canterbury; in it have I crossed the sea at Dover, and instructed the inhabitants of Picardy. But this mode of life compelled me to have recourse to many a pious fraud, from whose guilt no holy water can cleanse me.'"

It is probable that he did not long continue his connection with this order, as he informs us that the studies and life of a friar were not suited to his disposition. It is no doubt to his having been a travelling novice of the Franciscan order that his poetical antagonist Kennedy alludes, when he taunts Dunbar with his pilgrimage as a pardoner, begging in all the churches from Etrick Forest to Dumfries. His poems do not inform us how he was employed after relinquishing the office of a friar, nor how he became connected with the Scottish court, where we find him residing about the beginning of the sixteenth century, under the patronage of James IV. From some allusions in his writings, at a subsequent period of his life, to the countries he had visited while in the king's service, it is not improbable that he was employed as secretary, or in some kindred capacity, in connection with the embassies to foreign states which were maintained by the reigning monarch. In 1491 he was residing at Paris, in all likelihood in the train of the Earl of Bothwell and Lord Monypenny, then on an embassy to the court of France.

In the books of the treasurer of Scotland, we find that Dunbar enjoyed a pension from his sovereign. Under date May 23, 1501, occurs the following entry:—"Item, to Maister William Dunbar, in his pension of Martymes by past, 5*l*." Another entry occurs December 20, "quhilk was payit to him eftir he com furth of England." If these were half-yearly payments, the pension must have been one of ten pounds, which cannot be deemed inconsiderable, when we take into account the resources of the king, the probable necessities of the bard, and the value of money at that time. In March, 1504, he first

performed mass in the king's presence. In 1507 we find that his pension was *newly eiked*, or augmented, to the sum of twenty pounds a year; and in 1510, to eighty pounds. On the marriage of James IV. to Margaret of England, Dunbar celebrated that event, so auspicious of the happiness of his country, in a poem entitled *The Thistle and the Rose*, in which he emblemized the junction and amity of the two portions of Britain. In the plan of this poem, he displays, according to Dr. Irving, "boldness of invention and beauty of arrangement, and, in several of its detached parts, the utmost strength and even delicacy of colouring." Dunbar seems to have afterwards been on as good terms with the queen as he had previously been with the king, for he addresses several poems in a very familiar style to her majesty. In one, moreover, "on a daunce in the queene's chalmere," where various court personages are represented as coming in successively and exhibiting their powers of saltation, he thus introduces himself:—

"Than in cam Dunbar the Makar;¹
On all the flure there was nane fracar,
And thair he dauncet the Dirry-duntoun:
He hopet, like a filler wantoun,
For luff of Musgraffe me fulis me.
He trippet quhile he tur his pantoun:
A mirreir daunce nicht na man see."

The next person introduced was Mrs. Musgrave, probably an English attendant of the queen, and, as the poet seems to have admired her, we shall give the stanza in which she is described:—

"Then in cam Maestres Musgraffe:
Scho nicht haif lemit all the laeffe.
Quhen I saw her sa trimlie dance,
Hir gud convoy and contenance,
Than for hir saek I wissit to be
The grystair erle, or duke, in France:
A mirreir daunce nicht na man see."

Notwithstanding the great merit of Dunbar as a poet, he seems to have lived a life of poverty, with perhaps no regular means of subsistence but his pension. He appears to have addressed both the king and the queen for a benefice, but always without success. How it came to pass that King James, who was so kind a patron to men professing powers of amusement, neglected to provide for Dunbar is not to be accounted for. The poet must have been singularly disqualified, indeed, to have been deemed unfit in those days for church preferment. It appears that the queen became more disposed to be his patron than the king, for he writes a poem in the form of a prayer, wishing that the king were *John Thomson's man*, that is, subservient to the views of his consort, so that he might obtain what the queen desired his majesty to bestow upon him. The poor poet tells the king that his hopes were in reality very humble:—

"Greit abbaiss graith I nill to gather,
Bot ane kirk want coverit with hadder;
For I of bytil wald be fane:
Quhille to consider is ane pane."

His poetry is full of pensive meditations upon the ill division of the world's goods—how some have too much without meriting even little, while others merit all and have nothing. He says—

"I knaw nocht how the kirk is gydit,
Bot benefices are nocht leil dyvidit:
Sum men hes sevin, and I nocht ane:
Quhilk to consider is ane pane."

He also reflects much upon the vanity of all sub-lunary affairs. At the beginning, for instance, of the above poem, he thus moralizes on "the world's instability":—

"This waverand warldis wretchidnes,
The failyand and fruitles bissines,

¹ Writers of verses were so termed in the sixteenth century.



ADMIRAL LORD DUNCAN.

VICOUNT CAMBERWELL.

The mispent tyme, the service vane,
For to consider is ane pane.

The slydan joy, the gladness schort,
The feyngand luf, the fals comfort,
The sueit abayd, the flichtful trane,
For to consider is ane pane.

The sugarit mouthis, with mynds thaifra;
The figurit speiche, with faces twa;
The pleasand toungis, with hartis unplane,
For to consider is ane pane."

Next to *The Thistle and the Rose*, the most considerable poem by Dunbar was *The Golden Targe*, a moral allegorical piece, intended to demonstrate the general ascendancy of love over reason: the golden targe, or shield, of reason, he shows to be an insufficient protection to the shafts of Cupid. He is also supposed to be the author of an exquisitely humorous tale, entitled *The Freirs of Berwick*, which has supplied the ground-work of a well-known poem of Allan Ramsay, designated *The Monk and the Miller's Wife*. Another composition, styled *The Two Marriet Women and the Wedo*, contains much humorous sentiment, and many sarcastic reflections upon the fair sex; but of all Dunbar's poems, it is most open to the charge of immodest description. The poem, however, displaying the highest powers of mind, is certainly that entitled *A Dance*, which presents pictures of the *seven deadly sins*, equally expressive, perhaps, with any that could have been delineated by the pen of Milton himself.

Dunbar had the fortune, rare in that age, of seeing some of his works printed in his own lifetime. In 1508, among the very first efforts of the Scottish press, Chepman and Millar published his *Golden Targe*, his *Two Marriet Women and the Wedo*, and several other poems. Three years after the poet's pension had been increased to £80 came the fatal disaster of Flodden, involving the destruction of the king and his nobles. How the fortunes of the bard were affected by this sad national event does not appear. Mr. Laing thinks it probable that he at last succeeded in obtaining preferment in the church. "The queen dowager, whom, during the king's life, our poet styled his 'advocate bayth fair and sweet,' could have no difficulty, during her regency, in providing for his wants; and we cannot believe that she would allow his old age to pine away in poverty and neglect. Even were it otherwise, we are not to suppose that he had no other friends in power who would be willing to assist in procuring some adequate and permanent provision for an individual who had so long contributed, by his writings, to the amusement of the court." The poet is supposed to have survived till 1520, and died at the age of sixty. The first complete collection of his works was published by Mr. David Laing in 1834. Although Dunbar received from his contemporaries the homage due to the greatest of Scotland's early *makars*, his name and fame were doomed to a total eclipse during the period from 1530, when Sir David Lyndsay mentions him among the poets then deceased, to the year 1724, when some of his poems were revived by Allan Ramsay. Mr. Laing observes that, "if any misfortune had befallen the two nearly coeval manuscript collections of Scottish poetry by Bannatyne and Maitland, the great chance is, that it might have been scarcely known to posterity that such a poet as Dunbar ever existed."

DUNCAN, LORD VISCOUNT, one of the comparatively few naval heroes of whom Scotland can boast, was a younger son of Alexander Duncan, Esq., of Lundie, in the county of Forfar. He was born in Dundee, on 1st July, 1731; in which town he also received the rudiments of his education. The family

of Lundie, which had for centuries been distinguished for its peaceful and domestic virtues, seems at this time to have had an inclination directed towards the more active business of war—the eldest son having gone into the army, while the younger, the subject of the present sketch, joined the navy at the aspiring age of sixteen. In 1747 he took the humble conveyance of a carrier's cart to Leith, whence he sailed to London; and beginning his career in a manner so characteristic of the unostentatious but settled views of his countrymen, he did not revisit the place of his birth until his genius, his virtues, and his courage had secured for him the honour of an admiral's commission and the gratitude of his country.

In the year last mentioned young Duncan went on board the *Shoreham* frigate, Captain Haldane, under whom he served for three years. He was afterwards entered as a midshipman on board the *Centurion*, of 50 guns, then the flag-ship of Commodore Keppel, who had received the appointment of commander-in-chief on the Mediterranean station. While on this station Mr. Duncan attracted the attention and regard of the commodore, no less by the mildness of his manners and the excellence of his disposition, which, indeed, distinguished his character through life, than by the ability and intrepidity which he uniformly displayed in the discharge of his arduous though subordinate duties. How true it is that the sure foundations of future fame can be laid only during that period of youth which precedes the commencement of manhood's more anxious business! His submission to the severity of naval discipline, the diligence with which he made himself acquainted with the practical details of his professional duties, and the assiduity with which he cultivated an intellect naturally powerful, formed the true germs whence his greatness afterwards sprung. The amiable and excellent qualities which so soon and so conspicuously manifested themselves in his mind and character, gained for him, at an early period of his life, the affection of many whose friendship proved useful to him in the subsequent stages of his professional advancement.

As Keppel, himself a hero, had been the first to discover kindred qualities in his young friend, so he was also the first who had the honour to reward the rising genius of Mr. Duncan. In January, 1755, the commodore was selected to command the ships of war destined to convey the transports which had been equipped for the purpose of carrying out troops under General Braddock to North America, where the French had made various encroachments on British territory; and it was then that Keppel paid a compliment no less creditable to his own discrimination than flattering to Duncan's merits, by placing his name at the head of the list of those whom he had the privilege of recommending to promotion. Mr. Duncan was accordingly raised to the rank of lieutenant, in which capacity he went on board the *Norwich*, Captain Barrington. Soon after the arrival of the fleet in Virginia, the commodore removed Mr. Duncan on board his own ship the *Centurion*, whereby he was placed not only more immediately under the friendly eye of his commander, but in a more certain channel of promotion. With the *Centurion* he returned to England, and remained unemployed (still the shipmate of Keppel, now on the home station) for three years. He was soon afterwards, however, called into active service, having been present at the attack on the French settlement of Goree on the coast of Africa; and the expectations which his commander had formed of him were amply realized by the bravery which he displayed in the attack on the fort. Before the return of the expedi-

tion he rose to the first lieutenantcy of the commodore's ship, the *Torbay*.

In September, 1759, he was promoted to the rank of commander, and in February, 1761, being then in his thirtieth year, he obtained a post-captaincy. The ship to which on this occasion he was appointed was the *Valiant*, of 74 guns, on board of which Keppel hoisted his flag, as commodore in command of the fleet which carried out the expedition to Belleisle. Here the critical duty of commanding the boats to cover the disembarkation of the troops devolved on Captain Duncan, and in this, as in various other difficult and important services in which he was employed during the siege, he greatly distinguished himself. He had the honour, also, of taking possession of the Spanish ships when the town surrendered to the English.

In the year following, he sailed with the *Valiant* in the expedition under Admiral Pocock, which reduced the Havannah; and he remained in command of the same vessel till the conclusion of the war in 1763. The powers of Europe, notwithstanding the exhausting conflicts in which they had for many years been engaged, were still too heated to remain long at peace, and the war which followed again called into active operation all the energies of the British navy. No opportunity, however, occurred that enabled Duncan, now commander of the *Suffolk*, of 74 guns, to distinguish himself. On returning to England on the temporary cessation of hostilities, he had the singular fortune of being called to sit as a member of the court-martial which was held on his brave and injured friend Admiral Keppel, whose unanimous and most honourable acquittal was immediately followed by votes of thanks from both houses of parliament for his distinguished services. He discharged perhaps a less irksome but a not less impartial duty, on the trial of Keppel's accuser, Sir Hugh Palliser, who, suffering under the censure of the court, and the resentment of the nation, was forced to relinquish all his public offices.

In the summer of 1779, Captain Duncan commanded the *Monarch*, 74, attached to the Channel fleet under Sir Charles Hardy; and towards the conclusion of the year he was placed under the orders of Sir George Rodney, who sailed with a powerful squadron to attempt the relief of Gibraltar. This armament, besides effecting the purpose for which it had been sent out, had the good fortune to capture a fleet of fifteen Spanish merchantmen and their convoy, a sixty-four gun-ship and four frigates. The admiral had scarcely regulated the distribution of the prizes, when, on 16th January, off Cape St. Vincent, he came in sight of a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line, commanded by Don Juan Langara. The English admiral immediately bore down with his whole force, and Captain Duncan, although his ship was one of the worst sailers in the fleet, had the honour, as it had been his ambition, to get first into action. His gallant impetuosity having been observed by his no less daring commander, the captain was warned of the danger of rushing unsupported into a position where he would be exposed to the fire of three of the enemy's largest ships. "*Just what I want*," he coolly replied; "*I wish to be among them*,"—and the *Monarch*, dashing on, was in an instant alongside of a Spanish ship of much larger dimensions, while two others of the same rate and magnitude lay within musket-shot to leeward of him. In this perilous position—one, however, in which every true British sailor glories to be placed—the *Monarch* had to contend against fearful odds; but then Duncan knew that allowance was to be made for the difference between British and Spanish skill

and bravery, and he calculated rightly, for though the Spaniards defended themselves with great gallantry, the two ships to leeward soon perceived that there was more safety in flight than in maintaining the contest, and they accordingly made off with all the sail they could carry, leaving their companion, who had no opportunity of escape, to make the best defence in his power. Duncan had now comparatively easy work; and directing all his fire against his antagonist, he had the satisfaction, in less than half an hour, of seeing the *St. Augustin* of 70 guns strike her colours to the *Monarch*. This engagement afforded little opportunity for a display of scientific tactics; it was, in seaman's language, a fair stand-up fight, gained by the party who had the stoutest heart and the strongest arm. But it distinguished Captain Duncan as a man of the most dauntless intrepidity, and of judgment competent to form a correct estimate of his own strength as compared with that of his adversaries. After beating the *St. Augustin*, Captain Duncan pushed forward into the heart of the battle, and, by a well-directed fire against several of the enemy's ships, contributed greatly to the victory which was that day achieved over the Spanish flag. The *St. Augustin* proved a worthless prize. So much had she been shattered by the *Monarch's* tremendous fire, that it became necessary to take her in tow; but, taking water rapidly, her captors were obliged to abandon her, in consequence of which she was repossessed by her original crew, and carried into a Spanish port.

On Captain Duncan's return to England in the same year he quitted the *Monarch*, and in 1782 was appointed to the *Blenheim*, of 90 guns. With this ship he joined the main or Channel fleet, under Lord Howe. He shortly afterwards accompanied his lordship to Gibraltar, and bore a distinguished part in the engagement which took place in October, off the mouth of the straits, with the combined fleets of France and Spain, on which occasion he led the larboard division of the centre, or commander-in-chief's squadron. Here he again signalized himself by the skill and bravery with which he fought his ship.

After returning to England he enjoyed a respite for a few years from the dangers and anxieties of active warfare. Having removed to the *Edgar*, 74, a Portsmouth guardship, he employed his time usefully to his country, and agreeably to himself, though he would have preferred the wider sphere of usefulness which a command on the seas would have afforded him, in giving instructions in the science of naval warfare to a number of young gentlemen, several of whom subsequently distinguished themselves in their profession.

Overlooked for several years by an administration who did not always reward merit according to its deserts, he was now destined to receive that promotion to which, by his deeds, he had acquired so just a claim. On 14th September, 1787, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and three years afterwards he was invested with the same rank in the white squadron. On 1st February, 1793, he received promotion as vice-admiral of the blue, and on 12th April, 1794, as vice-admiral of the white. On 1st June, 1795, he was appointed admiral of the blue, and of the white on 14th February, 1799. At none of these successive steps of advancement, except the two last, was he in active service, although he had frequently solicited a command.

In February, 1795, he received the appointment of commander-in-chief of all the ships and vessels in the north seas: he first hoisted his flag on board the *Prince George*, of 90 guns, but afterwards removed

to the *Venerable*, of 74, a vessel of a more suitable size for the service in which he was about to engage, and one in which he afterwards rendered so glorious a service to his country.

History does not perhaps record a situation of more perplexing difficulty than that in which Admiral Duncan found himself placed in the summer of 1797. For a considerable period he had maintained his station off the Dutch coast, in the face of a strong fleet, and in defiance of the seasons, and when it was known with certainty that his opponents were ready for sea, and anxious to effect a landing in Ireland, where they expected the co-operation of a numerous band of malcontents. At this most critical juncture, he was deserted by almost the whole of his fleet, the crews of his different ships having, with those of the Channel fleet, and the fleet at the Nore, broken out into a mutiny, the most formidable recorded in history. With the assistance of a foreign force, Ireland was prepared for open rebellion; Scotland had its united societies; and England, too, was agitated by political discontent, when a spirit of a similar kind unhappily manifested itself in the British fleet. Early in the year of which we speak, petitions on the subject of pay and provisions had been addressed to Lord Howe from every line-of-battle ship lying at Portsmouth, of which no notice whatever was taken. In consequence, on the return of the fleet to the port, an epistolary correspondence was held throughout the whole fleet, which ended in a resolution that not an anchor should be lifted until a redress of grievances was obtained. Accordingly, on the 15th of April, when Lord Bridport ordered the signal for the fleet to prepare for sea, the sailors on board his own ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, instead of weighing anchor, took to the shrouds, where they gave him three cheers, and their example was followed by every ship in the fleet. The officers were astonished, and exerted themselves in vain to bring back the men to a sense of their duty. Alarmed at the formidable nature of this combination, which was soon discovered to be extensively organized, the lords of the admiralty arrived on the 18th, and various proposals were immediately made to induce the men to return to their duty, but all their overtures were rejected. They were informed, indeed, that it was the determined purpose of the crews of all the ships to agree to nothing but that which should be sanctioned by parliament, and by the king's proclamation. In circumstances so alarming to the whole nation, government was compelled to make some important concessions, and a promise of his majesty's pardon to the offenders. These, after much deliberation, were accepted, and the men returned to their duty with apparent satisfaction. The ringleaders of the mutiny were still, however, secretly employed in exciting the men to fresh acts of insubordination; and, taking hold of some parliamentary discussions which had recently been published, the mutiny was, in the course of fourteen days, revived at Spithead with more than its original violence; and, under pretence that government did not mean to fulfil its engagements, the Channel fleet, on the 7th of May, refused to put to sea. Such officers as had become objects of suspicion or dislike to their crews were put on shore. Flags of defiance were hoisted in every ship; and a declaration was sent on shore, stating that they knew the Dutch fleet was on the point of sailing, but, determined to have their grievances redressed, they would bring matters to a crisis at once by *blocking up the Thames!* At this dreadful crisis, an act was hurried through parliament, increasing their wages; but, so far from satisfying them, this conciliatory and liberal measure

served only to increase their insolence, and to render them the more extravagant in their demands. Four ships of Duncan's fleet, from Yarmouth, were now moored across the mouth of the Thames. Trading vessels were prevented alike from entering and leaving the river, and all communication with the shore was prohibited. A regular system was adopted for the internal management of each ship, and Richard Parker, a person who had recently employed himself as a political agitator in Scotland, was placed at the head of the disaffected fleet. On the part of government, preparations were made for an attack on the mutineers. All farther concession was refused; the eight articles submitted to government by Parker were rejected; and it was intimated, that nothing but unconditional submission would be accepted by the administration. This firmness on the part of government had, at length, the desired effect, Dismayed at their own rashness and folly, the ships escaped one by one from Parker's fleet, and submitted themselves to their commanders; and the apprehension, trial, and execution of Parker and others of the mutineers, which speedily followed, closed this most disgraceful and formidable mutiny. The anxiety of the nation all this time was intense; that of Duncan, deserted as he was by the greater part of his fleet, while in the daily expectation of an enemy coming out, must have been extreme. On the 3d of June, when thus forsaken, he called together the faithful crew of his own ship the *Venerable*, and gave vent to his feelings in a speech, which has been admired as one of the finest specimens of simple eloquence—"My lads," said he, "I once more call you together with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen of the disaffection of the fleets: I call it disaffection, for they have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet, in the face of an enemy, is a disgrace which I believe never before happened to a British admiral, nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort, under God, is that I have been supported by the officers and seamen of this ship, for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself much good may result from your example, by bringing these deluded people to a sense of the duty which they owe not only to their king and country, but to themselves. The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us by our ancestors, and which, I trust, we shall maintain to the latest posterity, and that can be done only by unanimity and obedience. The ship's company, and others who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be, the favourites of a grateful country. They will also have, from their inward feelings, a comfort which will be lasting, and not like the fleeting and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty. It has often been my pride to look into the Texel, and see a foe which decided on coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled indeed! My feelings are not easily to be expressed. Our cup has overflowed and made us wanton. The all-wise Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. On Him then let us trust, where our only security can be found. I find there are many good men among us; for my own part, I have had full confidence of all in this ship, and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct. May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so; and may the British navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world. But this can only be effected by

a spirit of adherence to our duty, and obedience; and let us pray that the Almighty God may keep us in the right way of thinking. God bless you all!" The crew of the *Venerable* were so affected by this simple but impressive address, that on retiring there was not a dry eye among them.

Thus Admiral Duncan, by acts of mildness and conciliation, and by his uniform firmness, contrived, when every other British admiral, and even the government itself, failed in the attempt, to keep his own ship, as well as the crew of the *Adamant*, free from the contagion of the dangerous evil that then almost universally prevailed.

Fortunately for Great Britain, the enemy was not aware of the insubordination that existed throughout the fleet. At a time, however, when Duncan had only two line-of-battle ships under his control, his ingenuity supplied the place of strength, and saved this country from the disgrace of a foreign invasion; for it cannot be doubted, that had the Dutch commander known the state of helplessness in which the nation was placed, when its right arm was so effectually bound up by the demon of rebellion, they would have chosen that moment to run for our shores. It was then that the happy thought occurred to the anxious mind of Duncan, that by approaching the Texel with his puny force, and by making signals as if his fleet were in the offing, he might deceive the wary De Winter into the belief that he was blocked up by a superior squadron. This stratagem was employed with entire success, nor indeed was it known to De Winter that a deception had been practised upon him until he had become his antagonist's prisoner. This manoeuvre, so singular in its conception, so successful in its execution, and performed at a moment of such extreme national difficulty, stands unparalleled in naval history, and alone gave to him who devised it as good a claim to the honour of a coronet, and to his country's gratitude, as if he had gained a great victory.

On the termination of the mutiny, Admiral Duncan was joined by the rest of his fleet, very much humbled, and anxious for an opportunity to wipe away, by some splendid achievement, the dishonour they had incurred. The two rival fleets were now placed on an equal footing, and all anxiety for the event of a collision was completely removed. Having blockaded the Dutch coast till the month of October, Duncan was under the necessity of coming to Yarmouth Roads to refit, leaving only a small squadron of observation under the command of Captain Trollope. But scarcely had he reached the Roads when a vessel on the back of the sands gave the spirit-stirring signal that the enemy was at sea. Not a moment was lost in getting under sail, and early on the morning of the 11th of October he was in sight of Captain Trollope's squadron, with a signal flying for an enemy to leeward. He instantly bore up, made signal for a general chase, and soon came up with them, forming in line on the larboard tack, between Camperdown and Egmont, the land being about nine miles to leeward. The two fleets were of nearly equal force, consisting each of sixteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates, brigs, &c. As they approached each other, the British admiral made signal for his fleet, which was bearing up in two divisions, to break the enemy's line, and engage to leeward, each ship her opponent. The signal was promptly obeyed; and getting between the enemy and the land, to which they were fast approaching, the action commenced at half-past twelve, and by one it was general throughout the whole line. The *Monarch* was the first to break the enemy's line. The *Venerable* was frustrated in her attempt to pass astern of De Winter's flag-ship; but pouring a de-

structive broadside into the *States-General*, which had closed up the interval through which the *Venerable* intended to pass, she compelled that vessel to abandon the line. The *Venerable* then engaged De Winter's ship the *Vryheid*, and a terrible conflict ensued between the two commanders-in-chief. But it was not a single-handed fight. The enemy's *Leyden*, *Mars*, and *Brutus*, in conjunction with the *Vryheid*, successively cannonaded the *Venerable*, and she found it expedient to give ground a little, though not forced to retreat. In the meantime the *Triumph* came up to her relief, and, along with the *Venerable*, gave a final blow to the well-fought and gallantly defended *Vryheid*, every one of whose masts were sent overboard, and herself reduced to an unmanageable hulk. The contest throughout the other parts of the line was no less keenly maintained on both sides; but with the surrender of the admiral's ship the action ceased, and De Winter himself was brought on board the *Venerable* a prisoner of war. His ship and nine other prizes were taken possession of by the English. Shortly after the *States-General* had received the fire of the *Venerable* she escaped from the action, and, along with two others of Rear-admiral Storey's division, was carried into the Texel, the admiral having afterwards claimed merit for saving a part of the fleet. The British suffered severely in their masts and rigging, but still more so in their hulls, against which the Dutch had mainly directed their fire. The loss of lives also was great, but not in proportion to that suffered by the enemy. The carnage on board of the two admirals' ships was particularly great, amounting to not less than 250 men killed and wounded in each. The total loss of the British was 191 killed and 560 wounded, while the loss of the Dutch was computed to have been more than double that amount. At the conclusion of the battle the English fleet was within five miles of the shore, from whence many thousands of Dutch citizens witnessed the spectacle of the utter discomfiture of their fleet. When the conflict was over, Admiral Duncan ordered the crew of his ship together, and falling down upon his knees before them, returned solemn thanks to the God of battles for the victory he had given them, and for the protection he had afforded them in the hour of danger. This impressive act of pious humility affected the Dutch admiral to tears.

Naval tacticians accord to Admiral Duncan great merit for this action. It stands distinguished from every other battle fought during the war by the bold expedient of running the fleet between the enemy and a lee shore, with a strong wind blowing on the land—a mode of attack which none of his predecessors had ever hazarded. The admiral also evinced great judgment in the latter part of the contest, and in extricating his fleet and prizes from a situation so perilous and difficult, while the Dutch sustained all the character of their best days. The battle of Camperdown, indeed, whether we view it as exhibiting the skill and courage of its victor, the bravery of British seamen, or as an event of great political importance, will ever stand conspicuous among the many naval victories that adorn our annals.

On the arrival of Admiral Duncan at the Nore, on 17th October, he was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Viscount Duncan of Camperdown and Baron Duncan of Lundie, to which estate he had succeeded by the death of his brother; and a pension of £2000 a year was granted his lordship for himself and the two next heirs of the peerage. The thanks of both houses of parliament were unanimously voted to the fleet; and the city of London presented Lord Duncan with the freedom of the city

and a sword of two hundred guineas value. Gold medals were also struck in commemoration of the victory, which were presented to the admirals and captains of the fleet. The public, too, by whom the benefits of no action during that eventful war were more highly appreciated than the one of which we have been speaking, paid Lord Duncan a flattering mark of respect by wearing, the women gowns and ribands, and the men vests of a particular kind, which were named "Camperdowns," after the victory.

Lord Duncan continued in the command of the North Sea squadron till the beginning of the year 1800, when, there being no longer any probability of the enemy venturing to sea, and having now arrived at his sixty-ninth year, he finally retired from the anxieties of public to the enjoyment of private life; which he adorned as eminently by his virtues, as he had done his public station by his energy and talents.

In 1777 his lordship married Miss Dundas, daughter of Lord-president Dundas, of the Court of Session in Scotland, by whom he had several children. He did not long enjoy his retirement, having been cut off in the seventy-third year of his age by a stroke of apoplexy at Cornhill, on his way from London, in the summer of 1804. He was succeeded in his estates and titles by his eldest son,—in elevating whom to an earldom, William IV. not only paid an honourable tribute of respect to the memory of the father, but a just compliment to the talents, public spirit, and worth of the son.

We close this sketch in the words of a late writer: "It would perhaps be difficult to find in modern history another man in whom, with so much meekness, modesty, and unaffected dignity of mind, were united so much genuine spirit, so much of the skill and fire of professional genius; such vigorous and active wisdom; such alacrity and ability for great achievements, with such indifference for their success, except so far as they might contribute to the good of his country. Lord Duncan was tall, above the middle size, and of an athletic and firmly proportioned form. His countenance was remarkably expressive of the benevolence and ingenious excellencies of his mind."

DUNCAN, ANDREW, Sen., M.D., an esteemed physician and professor of the institutions of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, was born at St. Andrews, on the 17th October, 1744. His father, who was formerly a merchant and shipmaster in Crail, was descended from a younger branch of the Duncans of Ardownie, in the county of Angus; and his mother, a daughter of Professor Villant, was related to the Drummonds of Hawthornden. He received his preliminary education for the profession of medicine at St. Andrews, from the university of which city he obtained the degree of Master of Arts in May, 1762. He then transferred his residence to Edinburgh, where he pursued his medical studies under the happiest auspices, being the pupil, as he was afterwards the friend, of Dr. Cullen, Dr. John Gregory, Dr. Monro the second, Dr. John Hope, and Dr. Black. The university of Edinburgh was at this period beginning to hold a prominent position in the scientific and literary world; for although the many discoveries that have since been made, were then unknown and unsuspected, yet the advancement of the progressive sciences which were here taught and cultivated began to be duly appreciated both at home and abroad. The professors, who held not their offices as sinecures, toiled to advance the interests and extend the known boundaries of science; and the students, emulating their examples, were

likewise animated by a zeal which in turn reflected back honour on the university. It is not, then, to be supposed that our young candidate for medical honours, who had already distinguished himself by his talents and acquirements at St. Andrews, would be less active than his fellow-students; and accordingly, we find that he was soon elected a president of the Royal Medical Society in the session of 1764, the second year after the commencement of his medical studies in Edinburgh. In the welfare of this society he ever afterwards took a warm interest, nor did he hesitate to declare that he considered it an essential part of the medical school of Edinburgh. In the year 1768-9, having completed his studies, he went a voyage to China, in the capacity of surgeon to the Honourable East India Company's ship *Asia*, under the command of Captain (afterwards Sir Robert) Preston; and so well did he discharge his professional duties, that when the vessel returned to England, the captain offered him the sum of 500 guineas to go out with him a second time. But this offer, however complimentary, he declined, for the purpose of pursuing a different and more congenial tenor of life. In the October, therefore, of the same year (1769), he received the diploma of Doctor of Medicine from the university of St. Andrews, and in the month of May following was admitted a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh. Dr. Duncan in 1770 came forward as a candidate for the professorship of medicine in the university of St. Andrews; but his application proved unsuccessful, the rival candidate being duly elected. In the four sessions succeeding that of 1769-70, he was annually re-elected one of the presidents of the Royal Medical Society, and during this period exerted himself in completing the arrangements for the erection of the medical hall, now occupied by the society. About this time he married a lady, with whom he enjoyed an uninterrupted union of upwards of fifty-seven years, and by whom he had twelve children. She was a Miss Elizabeth Knox, the daughter of Mr. John Knox, surgeon in the service of the East India Company, who, it may be added, was the eldest son of the Rev. William Knox, minister of Dairsie, in the county of Fife, and great-grand-nephew to the illustrious reformer.

On the death of Dr. John Gregory, professor of the theory of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, which occurred in February, 1773, Dr. Drummond was appointed to that chair; but, being absent from the country, Dr. Duncan was chosen to supply the temporary vacancy. He, accordingly, during the sessions 1774-5 and 1775-6, delivered lectures on the theory of medicine; in addition to which he revived the judicious plan adopted by Dr. Rutherford, of illustrating the select cases of indigent patients labouring under chronic complaints, by clinical lectures. Dr. Drummond still failing to return, the magistrates and town council, on the 12th June, 1776, declared the chair to be again vacant, and on the 19th of the same month elected Dr. James Gregory, the son of the late professor, to the professorship, the duties of which had been for two years discharged by Dr. Duncan. Mortified by this rejection from an office to which he thought himself entitled, Dr. Duncan immediately determined on delivering an independent course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic, without the walls of the university; besides which, as his clinical lectures had been so numerous attended, he also announced his intention of continuing them. "While these lectures," said he, in announcing his intention, "are more immediately intended for the instruction of students, they will be also the means of furnishing

the indigent with advice and medicines gratis, when subjected to chronic diseases." He soon found that the number of sick poor who applied to him for relief was so considerable, that he was induced to project a scheme for the establishment of a dispensary for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings of those whose diseases were not of a nature to entitle them to admission into the Royal Infirmary. When the objects of this institution, by the unwearied exertions of Dr. Duncan, were brought fully and fairly before the public, a sufficient fund was raised to carry his views into effect. In Richmond Street, on the south side of the city, a commodious building for this charity was erected, and in 1818 the subscribers were incorporated by royal charter. Notwithstanding the increasing number of similar institutions, this dispensary continues to flourish; and a picture of the venerable founder is placed in its hall.

In the same year that Dr. Duncan commenced lecturing (1773), he also undertook the publication of a periodical work, entitled *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries*, which was avowedly on the plan of a similar publication at Leipsic—the *Commentarii de Rebus in Scientia Naturali et Medicina gestis*, which obviously could only be a very imperfect channel for the communication of British medical literature. The *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries* contained an account of the best new books in medicine, and the collateral branches of philosophy; medical cases and observations; the most recent medical intelligence, and lists of new books: it appeared in quarterly parts, forming one volume annually, and continued until the year 1795 under his sole superintendence, when it had extended to twenty volumes. It was afterwards continued by him under the title of *Annals of Medicine*, until the year 1804, when it consisted of eight volumes more, after which Dr. Duncan ceased to officiate as editor, and changing its appellation, it became the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, which, under the care of his son, became subsequently one of the most influential medical journals in Europe.

In the year 1790 Dr. Duncan was elected president of the College of Physicians in Edinburgh, and in the same year his venerable friend Dr. Cullen having resigned the professorship of the practice of medicine, Dr. James Gregory was translated to that chair. The object of Dr. Duncan's former ambition he now obtained, for after having lectured with increasing reputation for fourteen years without the walls of the college, he was elected successor to Dr. James Gregory as the professor of the institutions of medicine.

In 1792, perceiving how destitute was the condition of those unhappy beings suffering under the bereavement of reason, he brought forward a plan for the erection and endowment of a lunatic asylum, which he laid before the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. It is said that the idea of such an institution was suggested to him by the death of the poet Fergusson, who, in 1774, a few years after Dr. Duncan had settled in Edinburgh, expired in the cells of the common charity workhouse, in a state of the most abject and appalling wretchedness. After much time had elapsed, and many difficulties been surmounted, a petition was presented to the king, who granted a royal charter, dated the 11th April, 1807, under which a lunatic asylum was erected and opened at Morningside. In September, 1808, the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh presented Dr. Duncan with the freedom of the city, as a public acknowledgment of the sense they entertained of the services he had rendered the community by the establishment of the public dispensary and

lunatic asylum; and assuredly this honour was never more deservedly conferred.

In 1809 Dr. Duncan brought forward a scheme for another public association for the purpose of contributing to the interests and happiness of society. He observed that the study of horticulture had been too much neglected in Scotland, and proposed therefore the institution of a society which should receive communications and award prizes to those who distinguished themselves by making discoveries, or promoting the interests of this science. His proposal and exertions in accomplishing this favourite object he lived to see amply rewarded; for the horticultural society soon attaining considerable importance in the estimation of the public, was incorporated by royal charter, and among the number of its members will be found the names of many who are an ornament and an honour to their country. "The latest public object undertaken by Dr. Duncan," says his friend Dr. Huie, "was connected with this society, in the success of which he ever took the warmest interest. This was the establishment of a public experimental garden, for the purpose of putting to the test various modes of horticulture, and also for collecting specimens and improving the method of cultivating every vegetable production, from every quarter of the globe, which could either be agreeable to the palate or pleasing to the eye. By means of private subscriptions, assisted by a loan from government, this object was at last attained; and the venerable promoter of the scheme had the satisfaction, before his death, of seeing his views on the subject in a fair way of being realized."¹ On the death of Dr. James Gregory, which happened in 1821, Dr. Duncan, who had long served his majesty when Prince of Wales in that capacity, was appointed first physician to the king for Scotland.

The Royal College of Physicians in 1824, as a signal mark of respect and favour, re-elected Dr. Duncan president; but he had now attained that advanced age when men find it necessary to retire from the more active cares and anxieties of the world. He however continued, so long as he could command bodily strength, to participate in the business of those institutions which had been his pride in earlier life. More especially it was his pride to continue his physiological lectures in the university; and to pay that attention to his pupils which always showed the natural kindness of his heart. He made a point, like his venerable preceptor Dr. Cullen, of inviting them to his house, and cultivating a friendly and confidential intercourse with them. It was his custom to invite a certain number to be with him every Sunday evening, which he intimated by little printed circulars, twenty or thirty of which he would issue at a time, taking his pupils in the order they entered to his class, until every one had been invited. On these occasions he conversed cheerfully and freely with them on all subjects; a practice which is surely encouraging to the pupil, and calculated to increase rather than diminish his respect and attachment towards the professor. His kindness of heart was indeed unbounded. He never heard of a pupil having to struggle against the ills of poverty, or being in any kind of distress, that he did not exert himself to emancipate him from such difficulty; and many now live whose feelings of silent gratitude are the most appropriate homage to his memory. "While his benevolence fell with the warmth of a sunbeam on all who came within the sphere of its influence, it was more especially experienced," says Dr. Huie,

¹ *Harveian Oration* for 1829, by R. Huie, M.D., who succeeded Dr. Duncan as secretary to the Harveian Society.

"by those students of medicine who came from a distance, and had the good fortune to attract or be recommended to his notice. Over them he watched with paternal solicitude. He invited them when in health to his house and his table. He attended them when in sickness with assiduity and tenderness, and when they sunk the victims of premature disease, the sepulchre of his family was thrown open for their remains."¹

He was in some respects eccentric; but there was not an eccentricity or custom he adopted which did not indicate that some generous or good feeling was the ruling principle of his actions. In addition to the institutions to which we have alluded, of a grave character, Dr. Duncan established the Esculapian and Gymnastic clubs, at which, by assembling round the social and convivial board, it was intended to soften down those asperities and inimical feelings which, proverbially and from the most ancient time, have been imputed to medical men. With the same object in view, and to encourage a taste for experimental research, in the year 1782 he founded the Harveian Society, to which, for a period of forty-seven years, he discharged the duties of secretary. This society, which still flourishes, proposes annually a question, or the subject for an essay; and an honorary reward, consisting of a gold medal and a copy of the works of the great exemplar, is awarded to the successful candidate. The adjudication takes place publicly on the anniversary of Harvey's birth-day, which is afterwards commemorated by an elegant convivial entertainment. Before adjudging the prize, the secretary is appointed to pronounce an *éloge* on some deceased ornament of the profession; and among others, those read by Dr. Duncan on the lives of Alexander Monro, *primus*, Alexander Monro, *secundus*, and Sir Joseph Banks, merit particular notice. Dr. Duncan occasionally stepped aside from the ordinary avocations of his profession to indulge in effusions—both prose and verse—little consonant with the more general tenor of his occupations. Among these we may notice a work he published, entitled "*Elogium Sepulchrale Edinensium delectus*—Monumental Inscriptions selected from Burial-grounds near Edinburgh;" in the preface of which, speaking as the editor, he observes: "Since the death of an amiable son, the editor has made it a religious duty to pay a visit to his grave every Christmas-day, the period of his death. This visit he has also extended to other churchyards, where the dust of several of his best friends is now deposited. His meditations during these mournful visits have led him to imagine that he was invited by the calls of gratitude to take this method of promulgating commemorations of departed worth." He then adds that he has selected the inscriptions and printed them in that form for the benefit of "an able scholar, who, depressed by accidental misfortunes in the mercantile line, now supports a young family by his knowledge of ancient and modern languages." This is peculiarly characteristic both of the affectionate and charitable disposition of his nature. He always, even to the very latest period of his life, looked back with satisfaction and pride at the period when he participated in the proceedings of the Royal Medical Society; and it was his custom to go down to the medical hall one night or more every season, for the purpose of hearing the discussions, in which he always expressed great interest. In the winter of 1827 he visited it for the last time, being then in the eighty-third year of his age. The members of that society had two years previously testified the high esteem in

which they held his memory, by subscribing for a full-length portrait of him, which was admirably executed by Mr. Watson Gordon, and now adorns the hall of the institution. It had been Dr. Duncan's custom for more than half a century to pay an annual visit to the summit of Arthur's Seat every May-day morning. This feat of pedestrianism he accomplished as usual on the 1st of May, 1827; but he was obliged, from a feeling of physical infirmity, to relinquish the attempt in May, 1828, on which day he had invited some friends to dine with him; finding himself rather unwell in the morning, he was under the necessity of retiring and confining himself to his chamber. From this period he was never able to go abroad. His appetite and flesh failed him, and, without having suffered any acute pain, he expired on the 5th of July, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

His funeral was attended by the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh; the principal and professors of the university, the Royal College of Physicians, the managers and medical officers of the Royal Public Dispensary, the Royal Medical Society, the Royal Physical Society, the Caledonian Horticultural Society, and a large assemblage of private gentlemen and friends of the venerable deceased.

He published numerous works during the course of his life; among which, *Elements of Therapeutics—Medical Commentaries—Heads of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic—Annals of Medicine—Essay on Consumption—Medical Cases and Observations*, may be regarded as important additions to the medical literature of that period. To the Royal College of Physicians he bequeathed seventy volumes of MS. notes from the lectures of the founders of the Edinburgh school of medicine, Drs. Munro *primus*, Rutherford, Alston, St. Clair, and Plummer; together with one hundred volumes of practical observations in his own hand-writing, which he had employed as notes for his clinical lectures. His exertions in his profession, and in the general cause of humanity, obtained for him the highest respect of his contemporaries, both at home and abroad. He was elected a corresponding member of the Medical Society of Denmark in 1776, and of the Royal Medical Society of Paris in 1778; he was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia in 1786, and of the Medical Society of London in 1787; he was appointed an honorary member of the Cæsarian university of Moscow in 1805, and first president of the Medico-chirurgical Society of Edinburgh at its institution in 1821. As a professor in the university of Edinburgh he was deservedly esteemed. His lectures were written in a perspicuous and unadorned style, and the physiological doctrines he promulgated were those which were considered the best established at that period; and these he explained in so clear a manner that his course of lectures may even yet be regarded as valuable, notwithstanding the additions that have been since made to our knowledge in this department of medical science. His style of lecturing was simple and unaffected, and no man could discharge more conscientiously the duties of his office. Both as a professor and a man, in his public and private career, his many estimable qualities endeared him to society, and especially to all who had the good fortune personally to know him.

DUNCAN, ANDREW, junr., M.D., the son of the excellent physician whose memoir we have given above, is entitled to a prominent rank among those who have distinguished themselves in the history of medicine. He was born in Edinburgh on the 10th August, 1773. At an early age he showed a predi-

¹ *Harveian Oration* for 1829, p. 24.

lection for medical science, being, when yet very young, often found in his father's library poring over medical books; to gratify which inclination he would often rise at an early hour before the rest of the family. His father naturally therefore destined him for the profession, and after going through the preliminary course of education prescribed for youth, he commenced its study in 1787. That he might become acquainted with the science in all its practical details, he served a regular apprenticeship for five years with Messrs. Alexander and George Wood, fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons; during which probation he toiled assiduously in laying the foundation of his future reputation. He then went through a complete course of literature and philosophy at the university, where, in 1793, he was admitted Master of Arts, and in 1794 received the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

With the view of acquiring a still more competent knowledge of his profession, he spent the ensuing winter, 1794-95, in London, where he attended the lectures on anatomy and surgery, then delivered in Windmill Street, by Dr. Baillie and Mr. Cruickshank; and dissected under the superintendence of Mr. Wilson. He there also became a pupil of Dr. George Pearson in chemistry, materia medica, and medicine, and received unusual advantages and opportunities of improvement from the attention and kindness of his father's numerous friends. He then proceeded to the Continent. After spending some time in Hamburg, Brunswick, and Hanover, for the purpose of acquiring the German language, seeing the hospitals of those cities, and becoming personally acquainted with the distinguished individuals at the head of the profession there, he entered himself a student in the university of Göttingen. There he attended the hospital under Richter, and resided with Professor Grellman, and had the good fortune to enjoy the intimate acquaintance of Blumenbach, Torisberg, Gmelin, Arneemann, Stromeyer, and Heine, gaining besides the friendship of many of the most distinguished students, who afterwards filled chairs in the universities of Germany.

From Göttingen he went to Vienna, visiting the hospitals and most of the celebrated men in the various universities and capitals through which he passed; after which he proceeded to Italy through the Tyrol, and having seen the hospitals at Milan, resided during the winter at Pisa, in the house of Brugnatelli, the professor of chemistry. He there attended the lectures and hospital practice of Scarpa, whose friendship and correspondence he had ever afterwards the honour of retaining; and also clinical medicine under Joseph Frank, and natural history under Spallanzani. He then made the tour of Italy as far as Naples, remained some time at Rome, and returned by Padua, Venice, and Trieste, to Vienna, where he attended the clinical lectures of John Peter Frank, then at the head of the profession in Germany. From Vienna he returned home, through Prague, Leipsic, Halle, Dresden, and Berlin, remaining in each long enough to see the public institutions and become acquainted with the most celebrated men. During this tour, not only did he acquire a more accurate and more extensive knowledge concerning the medical institutions and the state of medical science abroad than was at that time possessed by other medical men in this country; but he attained a proficiency in foreign languages, and an erudition in literature, which added all the accomplishments of a scholar to his qualifications as a physician. Here, too, in leisure hours snatched from severer studies, he cultivated his taste for the fine arts, more especially for painting and music, in which he ever after-

wards found a charm to relieve him from the fatigues he had to encounter in the laborious and anxious discharge of his professional and professorial duties.

On his return to Edinburgh he assisted his father in editing the *Medical Commentaries*, which, as we have already stated, extended to twenty volumes, and was succeeded by the *Annals of Medicine*, on the title-page of which the name of Dr. Duncan, junior, first appeared along with that of his father as joint-editors. But, at the request of Lord Selkirk, he was again induced to leave his native city to visit the Continent, for the purpose of attending his lordship's son, who was suffering under ill health. On his arrival, however, he found that this young nobleman had expired; but the attainments of Dr. Duncan having attracted considerable notice on the Continent, and being already signalized by a portion of the fame he afterwards enjoyed, he was solicited to prolong his stay in Italy, where he was by many invalids professionally consulted, and again enjoyed the opportunity of prosecuting his favourite pursuits. No man, perhaps, was ever more thoroughly imbued with the love of knowledge. It was in him an innate desire, urging him on with increasing restlessness to constant mental activity. He now remained chiefly in Florence and Pisa nine months, where he lived on habits of intimacy with the celebrated Fontana and Fabroni; and having afterwards visited many places in Switzerland and Germany, which he had not passed through during his former tour, he again returned to Edinburgh. He there settled as a medical practitioner, and was elected a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and shortly afterwards one of the physicians of the royal public dispensary, founded by the exertions of his father in 1773.

While actively engaged in the practical department of his profession, he did not neglect the application of his erudition and talents to the diffusion and advancement of medical science among his professional brethren. In 1805 he undertook the chief editorship of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, which long sustained the high reputation of being one of the most valuable and influential medical journals in Europe. He acted from the commencement as the chief editor, although for some time he was assisted by Dr. Kellie of Leith, Dr. Balteman of London, Dr. Reeve of Norwich, and afterwards by Dr. Craigie. But his chief and most valuable contribution to medical science was the *Edinburgh Dispensatory*, the first edition of which appeared in 1803. A similar work had been published by Dr. Lewis in London, in 1753, under the title of the *New Dispensatory*, but the advancement of chemistry and pharmacy since that period had rendered a complete revision of it absolutely necessary. This task, which required no ordinary extent and variety of knowledge, and no slight assiduity, he executed with so much skill, judgment, and fidelity, that his work, immediately on publication, commanded the most extensive popularity, and became a standard authority in every medical school in Europe. Notwithstanding, indeed, that it has had to encounter the rivalry of other meritorious works on pharmaceutical chemistry and materia medica, it still maintains its pre-eminence. By Sir James Wylie it was made great use of in his *Pharmacopœia Castrensis Russica*, published at Petersburg in 1808, for the use of the Russian army. It has been since translated into German by Eschenbach, with a preface by Professor Kuhn; into French by Couverchel, and has been several times republished by different editors in America.

He next conferred an essential service not only on the university, but on the general interests of the

community, by calling, in a strong and emphatic manner, attention to that branch of science denominated by the Germans state medicine, which comprehends the principles of the evidence afforded by the different branches of medicine in elucidating and determining questions in courts of law. This study, to which the more appropriate term of medical jurisprudence was applied, had been chiefly confined to the Germans, nor had the advantages resulting from their labours been sufficiently communicated to other countries. This Dr. Duncan fully perceived. He laid before the profession the substance of the few medico-legal works which had then been published on the Continent; he pointed out, and advocated ably, the necessity of this department of medical science being systematically studied in this country; and, after combating many prejudices, and overcoming many difficulties, succeeded in the cause he defended, and was rewarded by seeing the chair of medical jurisprudence instituted in the university. To his exertions the profession—we should rather say the public—is indebted for the institution of this important professorship; and when we look at the current of public events, and the numerous complex and momentous cases that are continually agitated in our judiciary and civil courts, often implicating the liberty, fortunes, and even lives of our fellow-creatures, we cannot remain insensible of the great good he has achieved. The chair of medical jurisprudence and police was instituted in the Edinburgh university in 1807, and Dr. Duncan was considered the most proper person to discharge its duties. He was therefore appointed the professor, and commenced his lectures the following session. He soon, by the lectures he delivered, and the numerous papers he published in his journal, impressed on the public mind the importance of the science he taught; and the interest he excited in its cultivation, both among his pupils and medical practitioners generally, gave in this country the first impetus to the progress of medical jurisprudence.

He repeatedly, during this time, was called upon to assist his father in officiating as physician in the clinical wards, and occasionally delivered clinical lectures. He also had at times the charge of the fever hospital at Queensberry House; to which, on the resignation of Dr. Spens, he was elected physician. But his introduction into the university brought on him an accumulation of labours, for he was shortly afterwards appointed secretary and also librarian; offices, the duties of which required at that period no ordinary exertions to discharge. Already it may have been gathered from the lives of Drs. Cullen and Duncan, senior, that the Edinburgh university was at this time only just emerging from that original infantine state which must precede the maturer glory of all institutions, on however grand a scale; and although Pitcairn, M^r Laurin, the Monroes, Plummer, St. Clair, Alston, and Cullen, had thrown over it a lustre which was recognized by men of science throughout Europe, yet its internal state and economy required the most assiduous attention and careful management. The library, which from the charter of the college was entitled to every published work, was at this time, as may readily be supposed, a mass of confusion, which to reduce to anything like order was little less than an Herculean task. Added to this, the building of the university was yet unfinished, and every possible inconvenience opposed the duties of the librarian. Still the labours of Dr. Duncan were incessant. He was then appointed one of the commissioners for superintending the completion of the building of the college; and the services which in both capa-

cities he rendered to the public cannot be too highly estimated.

Having officiated for his father and Dr. Rutherford in the clinical wards of the Royal Infirmary during the winter of 1817-18 and the summer of 1818, he published at the end of that year reports of his practice, for the purpose of preserving a faithful record of the epidemic which at that time spread its ravages through Edinburgh. His labours did not go unrewarded. In 1819 the patrons of the university appointed him joint professor with his father in the chair of the theory of medicine. His skill as a lecturer on physiology was duly estimated by his pupils; but he did not retain this office long, for in 1821, Dr. Home, being translated to the chair of the practice of physic, he was elected in his place professor of materia medica and pharmacy. It is worthy of observation, that so highly were the qualifications of Dr. Duncan appreciated, and so obviously did they entitle him to this honour, that when it was understood that he had come forward as a candidate, no person ventured to compete with him for the vacated chair. He commenced his lectures at considerable disadvantage, being at the time in ill health, owing to an accident he had recently met with; but his abilities as a lecturer and his profound knowledge of materia medica, with all its collateral branches, being well known, attracted crowds to his class, whose sanguine expectations of the excellence of his teaching were amply redeemed. In the discharge of his duties as a professor he laboured most conscientiously, sacrificing his own comforts and health for the instruction of his pupils. During this season, and indeed ever after, says one who had every opportunity of knowing his domestic habits, "he was often seated at his desk at three in the morning, for his lectures underwent a continual course of additions and improvements." When, by the tender solicitude of his own relatives, he was often entreated to relax his incessant toils, and told that surely his task must be finished, he would reply, that to medical knowledge there was no end, and that his labours must be therefore infinite; and so, truly, they were, for it was one of the peculiar traits of his character to be ever investigating, which he did with unwearied patience, every new improvement and every new discovery that was announced in this country or on the Continent. His lectures on materia medica were most comprehensive and profound, and attracted so great a number of students to his class that the expectations which had been formed of the good which the university would derive from his promotion were amply fulfilled. He discharged the duties of this professorship with unwearied zeal and assiduity for eleven years. We have now arrived at the saddest period of his life. His constitution was never strong. It was constantly preyed upon by the exertions of an over-active mind, which allowed itself no repose. Had he been less solicitous about the discharge of his duties and less zealous in the pursuit of science, his health might have been invigorated and his life prolonged. But there was that disparity between the powers and energies of his mind and the limited vigour of his body, which generally proves fatal to men of superior attainments. He had for years toiled incessantly, bearing up against the consciousness of ill health and physical suffering. His anxiety to discharge his duties, indeed, absorbed every other consideration, and prompted him to endure until endurance itself could no longer obey its own high resolves. His strength, which had been severely impaired by an attack of fever in 1827, contracted in the discharge of his hospital duties, gradually declined. After persevering in delivering

his lectures until nearly the end of the session, he took to his bed in April, 1832, and having endured a lingering illness, during which he displayed all that patience and moral courage which are characteristic of a highly-gifted mind, he died on the 13th of the following May, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. His funeral, according to his own directions, was intended to be strictly private; but the members of numerous institutions, anxious to show their affection for his memory, met in the burial-ground to attend the obsequies of their lamented friend.

Great energy and activity of mind, a universality of genius that made every subject, from the most abstruse to the most trivial, alike familiar to him, and a devoted love of science, which often led him to prefer its advancement to the establishment of his own fame, were his distinguishing traits. So well was he known and appreciated on the Continent, that he received, unsolicited on his part, honorary degrees and other distinctions from the most famous universities; and few foreigners of distinction visited Edinburgh without bringing introductions to him. He had the honour of being in the habit of corresponding with many of the most distinguished persons in Europe, whether celebrated for high rank or superior mental endowments. He had a great taste for the fine arts in general, and for music in particular, and from his extensive knowledge of languages was well versed in the literature of many nations. His manners were free from pedantry or affectation, and were remarkable for that unobtrusiveness which is often the peculiar characteristic of superior genius. He possessed a delicacy of feeling and a sense of honour and integrity amounting in the estimation of many to fastidiousness, but which were the elements of his moral character. He was indeed as much an ornament to private as to public life.

Among his contributions to medical science deserving especial notice may be enumerated his experiments on Peruvian bark, whereby he discovered cinchonin, and paved the way for the discovery of the vegetable alkaloids, which has so essentially contributed to the advancement of pharmaceutical science; his examination of the structure of the heart and the complicated course of its fibres; his paper on diffuse inflammation of the cellular tissue; and more recently his *Experiments on Medicine*, communicated to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in December, 1830. In addition to these, and besides the numerous essays written in his own journal, he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* the articles on the "Pharmacopoeia of the Royal College of Physicians," on "Vaccination," and on "Dr. Thomson's System of Chemistry;" and to the *Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica* those on "Aqua Toffana," "Digestion," and "Food."

DUNCAN, Rev. HENRY, D.D. This excellent divine, whose life was so distinguished by active practical usefulness, was born at Lochrutton manse, on the 8th of October, 1774. His father, the Rev. George Duncan, was minister of the parish of Lochrutton, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and his grandfather had also held the same parochial charge. Indeed both by father and mother Henry Duncan traced his descent from a line of ministers that almost reached to the days of the covenant, so that he was wont to compare his family to the tribe of Levi. It was not wonderful, therefore, that not only himself, but his younger brother, Thomas, should direct their choice and their studies to the ministry. After a careful home education at the manse of Lochrutton, and subsequently a public one at the academy of Dumfries, Henry Duncan went to the university of

St. Andrews in 1778. Two years after a temporary interruption in his college studies occurred, in consequence of his near relation Dr. Currie, the biographer of Burns, inviting him to enter a banking establishment in Liverpool with a view to becoming a merchant. Henry, whose purposes were not as yet very definite, complied, and in 1790 exchanged the occupations of a student for those of a banker's clerk.

During the three years which Henry Duncan thus spent in Liverpool, his time was not wholly employed in the details of business and banking calculations. From his natural bias, talents, and previous education, he could not be happy without the enjoyments of literary exercise, and therefore he not only sought every opportunity of frequenting intellectual society, but renewed his old studies, and wrote poetry. All these were significant tokens that he would not voluntarily become a banker: his choice was to be a parish minister rather than a *millionaire*; and this, too, not at the time from religious considerations, but the opportunities which he would enjoy for those literary pursuits which, in his eyes, formed the best occupation of life. After much reluctance his wishes were complied with, and he returned to Scotland in 1793, and continued his studies for five years, partly at the university of Edinburgh and partly at that of Glasgow. Having completed the required courses, he was taken upon trial by the presbytery of Dumfries, and licensed as a preacher of the gospel in 1798, after which, like many other licentiates, he betook himself to the occupation of a family tutor, until a presentation should introduce him into a settled charge. The place of his sojourn on this occasion was the Highlands; and as the whole heather was in a blaze of patriotic ardour at this period, from the threat of a French invasion, the young enthusiastic preacher caught the general spirit, and carried it so far, that besides girding himself with the usual weapons of military exercise, he assumed the Highland garb, to the great astonishment and mirth of its legitimate wearers, who had never seen theology so habited. It was as well that all this should speedily terminate, and accordingly, in 1799, not less than two presentations and one popular call offered themselves at the same period to his acceptance: these were to the parishes of Lochmaben and Ruthwell, and to a congregation of Presbyterians in Ireland. Mr. Duncan made his election in favour of Ruthwell, although it was the least tempting of the two parishes. It presented however, what he considered of chief account—the best opportunity of a life of clerical usefulness.

The first act of Mr. Duncan after receiving the presentation was well fitted to endear him to the affections of his future parishioners. By law he was entitled to the crop upon the glebe, should his settlement take place before its removal, by merely paying the expenses for seed and labour. This right, however, he waived in favour of the widow and daughter of the late incumbent, allowing her in the meantime to put into the ground what crop she pleased; and, in order that she might reap it undisturbed by legal technicalities, he delayed his settlement till the 19th of September, when he was solemnly inducted into his parish at the age of twenty-five, with a pastoral charge delivered to him by the aged minister who presided, from the text, "Let no man despise thy youth." On being settled, he entered into his clerical duties, so far as he understood them, with all the warmth of his affectionate heart, and all the energy of his active spirit, visiting and catechising from house to house, in addition to his public labours on the Sabbath. But the deep

ignorance, and somewhat lawless border character of his flock—for the parish lies on the shores of the Solway, and within the border district—were not the only difficulties with which he had to contend; for to these impediments were added the extreme poverty of the people occasioned by a course of scanty harvests, while the landlords were at their wits' end and knew not what remedy to devise. Finding that something must be done, and that speedily, Mr. Duncan, at his own risk, and through his two brothers settled in Liverpool, procured a cargo of Indian corn, which was retailed by his orders at prime cost, and in several cases where no money could be forthcoming, upon credit. But while comfort was thus introduced into the cottages of Ruthwell, and himself the only loser, he rejoiced in the expense and trouble he had undergone, as his plan was adopted by many. Another public case equally urgent, although of a less clerical character, arose from the threats of an invasion of Britain, which the French government still continued to hold out. Justly conceiving it to be his duty to set an example of Christian patriotism on this occasion, he roused his parishioners to resistance, and in consequence of this a corps, called the Ruthwell Volunteers, was soon embodied, with the minister for their captain. This office, indeed, whether willing or not, it was necessary that he should accept, otherwise his parishioners would scarcely have cared to come forward. Mr. Duncan, although perhaps the first clerical captain of this period, did not long stand alone, as many of the other parishes of Scotland followed the instance of Ruthwell, so that the same voice which uttered the military commands of to-day, was often employed in the public religious ministrations of to-morrow. It was the old spirit of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge come back again, and no Protestant country but Scotland could perhaps have given such an example.

Thus far Mr. Duncan had gone on, beloved by his people, to whom he was a fair example of all that is dignified and amiable in the natural man, as well as zealous in the discharge of all those general duties with which his office was connected. Something more, however, was still necessary to bring him into vital contact with the spiritual life of his sacred calling, and show how much as yet was wanting in his endeavours to promote the eternal welfare of those committed to his charge. His example and his efforts, excellent though they were, had still fallen short of the mark. But in 1804 the time had come when those spiritual perceptions were to be vouchsafed to him under which he would continue his ministerial career with new ardour and redoubled efficacy. This new light, too, under which such a happy change was to be accomplished, was neither to arise from the study of the works of the great masters of theology, nor yet from the reasonings or example of his learned co-presbyters; but from a despised people, as yet almost new in Scotland, and whose names were seldom mentioned except for purposes of ridicule and merriment. One man and two women of the society called Friends, or Quakers, had arrived at Annan, and announced their intention of holding a meeting in the evening for worship. Induced by curiosity, Mr. Duncan, who was in the town, attended the meeting, and was struck by the warmth and simplicity with which these strange preachers enunciated those Christian doctrines that had long been familiar to his mind, but to which the new style wherein they were now embodied, imparted the charm and power of novelty. An interview with the Quakers followed, and the impression was deepened; the minister gradually began to perceive

that he had something still to learn before he could become an effective Christian teacher. The lesson abode with him until, through a course of years, its fruits were ripened and matured; and ever after he was wont to revert with pleasure to this visit of the "Friends," and the benefits he had derived from them. In the same year which so powerfully influenced him for the future, he married Miss Agnes Craig, the only surviving daughter of his predecessor, in whose energy of character, refined taste, and active practical disposition, he found a mind congenial to his own in the work of life that still lay before him, and a counsellor to whom he could refer in every difficulty.

And now that the stirring enterprising mind of the minister of Ruthwell had received a new impulse, as well as a fit companion and assistant, his career was to be traced in a series of benevolent parochial plans from which he never desisted until they were realized. Ruthwell was not only a very poor parish, but subject to periodical visits of extreme destitution; and for such a population, amounting to 1100 souls, the fund for the poor, which was collected at the church-door, amounted annually to only about £25. As this constitutional poverty threatened to grow with the changes of modern living, and as Mr. Duncan dreaded the establishment of that artificial and compulsory charity called a poor's-rate, by which idleness would be encouraged and the honourable independent spirit of the poor broken down, he had set in earnest from the beginning to make them a self-supporting people. A friendly society, indeed, had been established among them so early as 1796; but from the imperfection of its plan, and the inexperience of its supporters, it had come to nothing. Undismayed by the evil omen of such a failure, and the despondency it had occasioned, Mr. Duncan brought the whole strength and experience of his mind to a revival of the plan under better arrangements; and the result was, that several friendly societies were originated in Ruthwell, having 300 members independent of the "parish box," and happy with each other in their public meetings and temperate soirees. Coincident with this was Mr. Duncan's concern for the intellectual as well as physical and moral elevation of his people; and therefore he endeavoured, by conversational lectures which he held on the Sunday evenings, to illustrate the Divine attributes, as manifested in the sciences of astronomy, physics, and history. This, however, unfortunately staggered the people, who as yet were neither prepared for such Sabbath ministrations, nor to believe that the earth turns round, and that the stars are of such prodigious magnitude. With the same purpose of elevating the lower orders, and inspiring them with the capacities as well as right feelings of industrious manly independence, he next commenced, in 1808, a serial work, of great efficacy in its day, under the title of the *Scotch Cheap Repository*. This periodical, consisting of short tracts and stories, was formed upon the plan of Mrs. Hannah More's *Cheap Magazine*; and both were the precursors of penny magazines, Chambers' journals, and the other economical popular literature of the present day. In supplying the materials for his *Repository*, Mr. Duncan was assisted by five of his clerical brethren, and by Miss Hamilton, the justly-famed authoress of the *Cottagers of Glenburnie*; while his own principal contribution, entitled *The Cottage Fireside, or Parish Schoolmaster*, afterwards published in a separate form, was thus eulogized by that Aristarchus of modern criticism, the *Quarterly Review*:—"In point of genuine humour and pathos, we are inclined to think that it fairly merits a place by the side of the *Cottagers of Glenburnie*, while the

knowledge it displays of Scottish manners and character is more correct and more profound." Without going out of his way to seek it, Mr. Duncan's talents as an author were now so highly appreciated, that his pen was in demand both from the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* and the *Christian Instructor*—to the former of which he supplied the articles "Blair" and "Blacklock," and to the latter several valuable contributions extending over many years. His next principal object was the establishment of a provincial newspaper, the *Weekly Journal of Dumfries* being but a poor production, while the important events of the day, and the growing wants of the public mind, if not supplied with adequate sustenance, would have only opened the way for the publications of political discontent, false philosophy, and infidelity. Aware of this danger, and eager to avail himself of the opportunities of such a season for indoctrinating the public with substantial, healthy, and purified intelligence, Mr. Duncan had recourse to his brothers in Liverpool for the pecuniary means of action, and with their aid was enabled, at the close of 1809, to start the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, a weekly newspaper, to which, without announcing the fact, he officiated as editor for the first seven years. In this way he originated the best and most influential of all our Scottish provincial journals, and happily its reputation did not deteriorate under the able management of Mr. M'Diarmid, who, in 1817, succeeded Mr. Duncan in the editorship. All this while the wonderful activity which the minister of Ruthwell displayed, and the amount of versatile intelligence he brought to a great variety of action, cannot be too widely known. While he was careful in all his pulpit preparations, and enriching the columns of his journal with powerful and original articles, he was conducting as secretary the business of the Dumfries Auxiliary Bible Society, which he had formed in 1810; and, as president, that of the Dumfries Missionary Society. But this was not all. He was surrounding the manse of Ruthwell with a rich picturesque garden, and so effectually cultivating his fifty-acre glebe, that while a new scenery at length rose beneath his hand out of a bleak waste, his labours were the most instructive models that could have been presented to his own people and neighbourhood of what might be achieved in horticulture and agriculture, by one's own taste and industry, independent of a plentiful capital. Within the manse, too, there was no elbow-chair repose after suit out-door occupation; on the contrary, it was a fit beehive for such a scenery, and resounded from morning till night with the hum of happy, active industry—for a domestic school was there, composed of a few boarders whom Mr. Duncan taught in addition to his own family, and in whose training he was the most careful, as well as most affectionate, of fathers and teachers. Even if we were to combine Pope's *Man of Ross* and Goldsmith's *Country Clergyman* into one, we would still have to search for a third person, learned and able in authorship, to complete a parallel picture.

But the greatest and most important of Mr. Duncan's public labours remains still to be mentioned: this was the establishment of savings-banks, by which his name will be best remembered by posterity. Mention has already been made of his desire to foster a spirit of independence among the lower orders, by cherishing the principles of provident economy through the establishment of friendly societies. In his researches, to which this attempt led, he found a paper, written by Mr. John Bone, of London, containing a plan for the abolition of poor's-rates in England; and among its complicated

devices, which for the most part were too ingenious to be practical, the idea was thrown out of the erection of an economical bank for the savings of the working-classes. Upon this suggestion Mr. Duncan fastened; although occurring as a pendicle, it contained the real pith and marrow of the whole subject, and might be easily reduced to working operation. He drew up a plan for the establishment of savings-banks throughout the country, which he published in his *Dumfries journal*; and, knowing that this would be regarded as a mere theory until it was verified by at least one substantial illustrative fact, he proceeded to the establishment of one of these banks in his own parish. Its working was soon sufficient to convince the most sceptical. The Ruthwell savings-bank commenced its existence in May, 1810; and although the poverty of this parish was beyond that of most in Scotland, the deposits during a course of four years were £151, £176, £241, and £922. This success was announced, and the plan of action he had drawn up in the *Dumfries Courier* was republished in several of the leading journals of Scotland; and the natural consequence was that savings-banks, established upon the model of that of Ruthwell, were opened not only in Edinburgh, but the principal towns throughout the kingdom. It was well for such a provident scheme that it had found Scotland for its birth-place and first field of action. From Scotland the example passed into England, and afterwards into Ireland; and with what happy results the superior economy of the industrious poor throughout the three kingdoms, and the immense amount of capital that has now accumulated, can bear full testimony. During this course of operation the honoured founder of the scheme was not forgot, chiefly however that he might lend his gratuitous labours to the furtherance of the good work; and for this purpose applications for counsel and suggestion poured in upon him from every quarter, the answers to which would have tasked a state-secretary and whole staff of assistants, instead of an already overladen country minister. But, cheered with this evidence of the success of his benevolent mission, Mr. Duncan confronted the epistolary torrent, and had an answer for every inquirer. "Happily for himself and his cause," thus writes his amiable biographer, "his readiness as a letter-writer was one of his most remarkable characteristics. Whole days, indeed, were frequently consumed in this laborious occupation; but the amount of work accomplished while thus engaged was indeed astonishing. This may be understood when it is remembered that, among his correspondents in a scheme so entirely new, there must have been, as there were, many desirous of minute information and special explanations; many suggesting difficulties, and demanding their solution; many persevering and insatiable letter-writers, making small allowance for the overburdened and weary individual on whom had thus at once devolved the care of a thousand infant institutions. Add to this, that the soundness of some of the principles on which he was most decided was disputed by a few of the warmest friends of the measure, and that he had to maintain on these topics a tedious controversy, not the less necessary because those with whom it was carried on were among his best friends and coadjutors." While thus engaged, he also published, at the beginning of 1815, an essay *On the Nature and Advantages of Parish Banks; together with a Corrected Copy of the Rules and Regulations of the Parent Institution in Ruthwell*, for which production a new and enlarged edition was in demand in the following year. Thus it will be seen that Mr. Duncan was no mere benevolent

dreamer, even as a savings-bank was no mere "devout imagination." He was a man of fearless daring and incessant labour, and therefore in his hands the theory became a great substantial and national reality. And well was his benevolent disinterested heart rewarded in its own best fashion. To few of those who would teach truths "to save a sinking land" is the happy lot accorded to witness these truths in full operation, and producing their happiest results.

After the general adoption of the principle of savings-banks throughout the three kingdoms, from which it gradually diffused itself throughout the different countries of Europe, where it was adopted as the true "cheap defence of nations," it would have been contrary to all past experience, since the days of Triptolemus, if Mr. Duncan had been allowed to sit down as a public benefactor, and no angry wind had blown to shake the laurels that grew around him. Carping questions rose as to the fitness of his scheme, either in whole or in part; and when these were satisfactorily answered, attempts were made to bereave him of the honour of its paternity. A more difficult as well as more important step was to obtain for it the advantages of legislative protection, and for this purpose he repaired to London in the spring of 1819. After much negotiation with some of the leading financiers and statesmen, whom he converted to his views, the measure was introduced, and successfully carried through parliament. "You may carry with you," said a friend to him on that occasion, "the satisfaction of knowing that the savings-bank bill would not have been carried except by your visit to London." During the same year, and while the political discontent of the lower orders was daily threatening to merge into French infidelity and republicanism, Mr. Duncan published his *Young South Country Weaver*, a tale admirably suited to the times, as well as the classes for which it was especially written, being full of Scottish humour, and vigorous descriptions of such popular meetings and noisy demagogues as were in vogue among the rabble during this stormy period. In 1823 the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by the university of St. Andrews. In 1826, stimulated by the example of Sir Walter Scott's novels, as well as offended with the tone of the tale of *Old Mortality*, in which our Presbyterian ancestors are held up to ridicule, Dr. Duncan attempted a work in the same style, but of an opposite tendency, in which he resolved to place the characters of the Covenanters in their proper light. For this purpose he wrote *William Douglas, or the Scottish Exiles*, a three-volume tale, which, however excellent in its way, was by no means a match for the powerful antagonist which it attempted to confront. But *non omnia possunt omnes*; and perhaps it was not altogether fitting or desirable that the minister of Ruthwell and founder of savings-banks should be as able and popular a novelist as the "author of Waverley."

In a life so active and so full of incidents as that of Dr. Duncan, it would be impossible, within our narrow limits, to give even a brief detail of his many occupations and their results. We are therefore obliged to dismiss the labours of years, filled as they were with his plans for the better instruction of the lower classes—with his attempts to avert, or at least retard, the imposition of a poor's-rate in Ruthwell, and over the country at large—and the active exertions he made in favour of the Roman Catholic relief bill, and afterwards in behalf of negro emancipation. We must even pass over his researches among the footprints of animals, which he was the

first to detect in the strata of old red sandstone; by which, according to Dr. Buckland, his discovery was "one of the most curious and most important that has been ever made in geology." In all these there was abundance of literary correspondence and authorship, in which he bestirred himself with his wonted activity and success. But events were now occurring in the church of sufficient import to absorb the attention and task the utmost energies of every zealous minister, let him be of what party he might; and, under the influence of these, Dr. Duncan was summoned to abandon his favourite pursuits, and throw his whole heart into a conflict in which the very existence of the national church itself appeared to be at stake.

This controversy, which finally led to the disruption, commenced with the popular hostility towards patronage. In a mere political point of view, indeed, patronage had fully lasted its day. The people of Scotland had now become so divested of their old feudal veneration for rank and place, and withal so intelligent and inquiring, that they were no longer in the mood of implicitly submitting their spiritual guidance to any earthly patron whatever. This palpable fact, however, it was not the interest of the aristocracy to recognize, and therefore they could not see it; so that, instead of gracefully conceding a privilege which in a few years more would have been worn-out and worthless, they preferred to cling to it until it should be torn from their grasp. On the subject of patronage Dr. Duncan had meditated long and anxiously; and, being convinced that it was an evil, he joined in the great popular movement that sought its suppression.

The proceedings of Dr. Duncan in the subsequent measures of the church may be easily surmised. In the most important of these he bore an active part; and when the convocation was assembled in Edinburgh, in 1842, he attended as one of the fathers of the church, and gave the benefit of his experience to its deliberations. On the 18th of May, 1843, the General Assembly met, and on that occasion 474 ministers abandoned their livings, and departed, that they might constitute a church in conformity with those principles for which they had made the sacrifice. Dr. Duncan, who had been present on the occasion, and joined the solemn exodus, returned to Ruthwell, to gather together that portion of his flock which still adhered to him. They constituted nearly the half, though the least wealthy part, of the church-going population of the parish; but their exertions, as well as their sacrifices, in behalf of the cause which they had embraced, even already consoled him for the loss both of church and manse. A new place of worship was soon erected, and as for a place of residence, this also was found in one end of a cottage, which the tenant resigned, for the occupation of the minister and his family. It was, indeed, a different habitation from that beautiful manse which he had so amplified, and the gardens of which he had so tastefully laid out and planted, during a residence of forty years, but the change was made in the name of Him who "had not where to lay his head."

The remainder of Dr. Duncan's career, after he left the Established Church, may be briefly told. It was that long-confirmed spirit of activity, which had become the chief element of his being, struggling as bravely as ever against new obstacles, and surmounting them, but struggling under the growing frailties of years, through which the trial must be all the more quickly ended. To such a man there could be but one resting-place, and to this his failing footsteps were hastening. It was also in

harmony with his character, that the summons calling him to enter into his rest should find him in the midst of active duty, with his loins girt, and his lamp burning. After a journey into England, chiefly connected with the interests of the church and his own flock, he resumed, at his return home, the work of clerical visitation, and for this purpose had repaired to Cockpool, about two miles from Ruthwell, to preside at an evening prayer-meeting. In the course of the religious services on this occasion he read a text of Scripture, and was employed in illustrating it, when he was suddenly struck with paralysis, and after a short illness died on the evening of the 11th of February, 1846, in the seventy-second year of his age.

Dr. Duncan was twice married; his second wife having been the widow of the Rev. Mr. Lundie, of Kelso, to whom he was united in 1836. In mentioning the varied authorship of Dr. Duncan, we omitted the work on which his literary reputation will chiefly depend. This was *The Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons*, in four volumes, written upon the plan of the well-known work of Sturm, and furnishing a paper for every day in the year. Of this work several editions have already been published. But the savings-banks will constitute Dr. Duncan's most abiding monument, and will continue, throughout the world at large, to be connected with his name as their founder, when the best literary productions of the present day have ceased to be remembered.

DUNCAN, JOHN. Of all the enterprises of travel, none perhaps are so dangerous or difficult as the exploration of that vast and mysterious *terra incognita*, the interior of Africa, and none have been more tempting to Scottish perseverance and intrepidity. The names of Bruce, Park, Clapperton, and others, who either perished in the journey, or returned home only to die after their expectations had been crushed and their constitutions broken, will here occur to the memory of the reader. One of this intrepid, self-devoted forlorn hope, was Mr. John Duncan.

This African traveller was born in humble circumstances, being the son of a small farmer in Wigtonshire; but the precise date of his birth we have been unable to ascertain. At an early period he enlisted in the 1st regiment of life-guards, where he served eighteen years with an excellent character, and was discharged about the year 1840 with the highest testimonials of good conduct. After having left the army, he was attached as armourer to the unfortunate expedition sent out to explore the Niger in 1842. His office on this occasion was one peculiarly trying under a vertical African sun; for in all the treaties made with the native chiefs, he marched at the head of the English party, encumbered with the heavy uniform of a life-guardsman, and burning within the polished plates of a tightly buckled cuirass. He was thus made an imposing pageant, to strike the eyes of the astonished Africans, and impress them with a full sense of the grandeur and military power of Britain. But it was a delusive show; for in such a climate all this glittering harness was an intolerable burden, and the wearer would in reality have been more formidable in the linen-quilted armour of the soldiers of Cortez, or even in a tanned sheepskin. He survived to return to England with such of his companions as remained, but with a shattered constitution, and a frightful wound in his leg, under which he was long a sufferer.

After John Duncan had recovered from the effects of such a journey, instead of being daunted by the toils and dangers he had so narrowly escaped, he only felt a keener desire than ever to attempt new

discoveries in the African interior. The excitement of peril had become his chief pleasure, while the do-or-die determination to resume his half-finished adventure, and prosecute it to the close, must be gratified at whatever price. It is of such stuff that the hearts of our African travellers are composed, and how seldom therefore are they satisfied with *one* expedition, however dangerous it may have been? Duncan announced his desire to Mr. Shillinglaw, then librarian to the Geographical Society, and the latter, delighted to find one so well qualified for such a journey, introduced him to the council. The arrangements were soon made, and in the summer of 1844 Duncan set off upon his pilgrimage, under the auspices of the society, and liberally furnished with everything that could minister to his comfort or facilitate his means of exploration. On reaching Africa, his first attempt was to explore the kingdom of Dahomey, the wealthiest and most civilized—or, perhaps, we should say, the least savage—of all those marvellous African realms which Europeans have as yet reached; and of this country he traversed a large portion, laying open sources of information concerning it which had hitherto been inaccessible to our travellers. But the sufferings he underwent in this journey were excruciating, chiefly owing to the old wound in his leg, that broke out afresh under the burning climate that had first occasioned it; and so serious at one time were his apprehensions of a mortification supervening, that in the absence of all medical aid, he had actually made preparations for cutting off the limb with his own hand. Happily, a favourable turn made such a desperate resource unnecessary; but the mere resolution shows of what sacrifices he was capable in the prosecution of his purpose. On returning to Cape Coast, much impaired in constitution, he resolved to start afresh on a new journey to Timbuctoo, but continuing ill health obliged him to forego his purpose, and return to England.

Our admiration of Duncan's persevering intrepidity is heightened by the fact, that he was neither a man of science, nor even a tolerable scholar, his early education having been both brief and defective; and thus he was deprived of those sources of enthusiasm which cheered onward such travellers as Bruce and Park to the source of the Nile or the parent streams of the Niger. But he had keen observation and solid sound sense, by which he was enabled materially to enrich our African geography, without the parade of learning; and as such his communications were so justly appreciated, that after his return to England, her majesty's government appointed him to the office of British vice-consul at Whydah, in the kingdom of Dahomey. Nothing could be more grateful to his feelings, for besides being an honourable attestation to his services in behalf of science and humanity, the appointment furnished him with ample means for a third African expedition, in which all his previous attempts as a traveller might be perfected. He set sail accordingly, in H.M.S. *Kingfisher*, but was not destined to reach the expected port; for he sickened during the voyage, and died when the vessel had reached the Bight of Benin, on the 3d of November, 1849.

DUNCAN, MARK. It is a fact gratifying to our national pride, that so great a number of the learned men in France during the sixteenth and earlier part of the seventeenth centuries were not natives of that country, but Scotsmen. Scottish professors were to be found in all the universities and seminaries of learning throughout that kingdom, and from them a large portion of that impulse was derived under

which French learning and civilization grew and flourished. It was thus that Scottish students amply repaid those continental universities in which their learning was matured. It was there also that they could enjoy that consideration and literary tranquillity which the poverty, ignorance, and unsettled state of their own country were unable to bestow.

Among these Scottish benefactors and instructors of France may be included Mark Duncan. It has been stated, but erroneously, that he was born in London, and that his father was a native of Yorkshire. There is sufficient proof however from family testimonials to show that he was a Scotsman, and the son of Thomas Duncan of Maxpoffie, in the county of Perth; and that both by father and mother he was descended from old and respectable Scottish families. In what year Mark Duncan was born we are unable to ascertain, but it is supposed to have been about or nigh 1570. Of his early history also we have no positive information, and can only conclude, that, according to the custom of Scottish students at that period, he acquired the elements of learning in his own country, and afterwards matured his scholarship at some university on the Continent. Through the patronage of Du Plessis-Mornay, governor of the city of Saumur, and one of the most influential of the Protestant leaders, he was appointed professor of philosophy in the university of Saumur, at that time distinguished not only as a seminary of the reformed doctrines in religion, but by the accomplished scholars who taught in it. In this chair Mark Duncan obtained high reputation, and educated several distinguished pupils, among whom was Jean Dailé, one of the most eminent theologians of the seventeenth century. In this situation he also published several learned works, the chief of which was his *Institutio Logica*, which extended his reputation as an acute and accurate logician. Of this work, which is dedicated to Du Plessis-Mornay, at least three editions are known to have been published; and Burgersdick, himself a distinguished writer and teacher in the science of logic, declared that he had derived more aid from it in compiling his *Institutiones* than from any other source. But besides discharging the duties of his chair both as a professor and author, Duncan added to these the practice of physic, in which his fame became so high, that James I., after his accession to the English throne, invited him to settle in England; and to show the sincerity of his wish, he sent to him a patent appointing him his own physician. But Mark Duncan had married at Saumur a lady of good family, and on account of her reluctance to leave her native country, relatives, and friends, he was induced to remain in the country of his adoption. Such was the esteem in which he was held in France, and the emolument that must have flowed from his practice as a physician, that he doubtless acted prudently even in refusing the appointment of physician in ordinary to the King of Great Britain, encumbered with the court jealousies and changes with which it was likely to be accompanied.

One of the most notable events in the life of Mark Duncan originated in the alleged case of the devil-possession of the nuns of Loudun. Urbain Grandier, curate and canon of Loudun, was so popular as a preacher that the Capuchins of the place resolved to effect his ruin, and for this purpose trumped up accusations against him suited to the superstitions of the age. After charging him with several flagrant acts of incontinence with women under his spiritual guidance, from which however, after several strict examinations, he was cleared, they had recourse to an accusation from which, on account of its very absurdity, it was not so easy to escape. He was

accused of having bewitched the Ursuline nuns of Loudun, and these silly women, either tutored by the Capuchins, or persuaded of the reality of the charge, confirmed it by those frantic demonstrations which were usually accepted as the tokens of Satanic possession. Grandier was arrested in December, 1633, and after long examination and trial, was in the following year condemned and committed to the flames. In such a strange inquest Duncan, along with other physicians, had attended at the exorcisms of the nuns, and being convinced that the whole affair was an imposture devised for an unjust and cruel purpose, he wrote an anonymous tract detecting and exposing the fraud. It was so daring an act against the incredulity of the age and the interests of a powerful ecclesiastical order, that inquiries were certain to be set on foot for the detection of the author; and as the pamphlet was suspected to be his production, he would soon have experienced the vengeance of the prosecutors, and suffered the same fate as Grandier, had he not been protected by Madame le Maréshale de Brezé, who esteemed him as a physician, and whose husband was governor of the province.

The year in which Mark Duncan died is supposed to have been 1640, and so much had he been beloved that his demise was followed by the regret of all parties, whether Papist or Protestant. His literary reputation did not rest on his acquirements in philosophy and medicine alone, as he was also well skilled in divinity and mathematics. He had three sons and three daughters, of which family his sons, according to the custom of France, assumed territorial names, although, in the words of Dr. Irving, "their only territorial possessions were castles in the air." Of these the eldest, Mark, who was named Cerisantes, was a poet, soldier, and diplomatist, and distinguished by a life of varied adventures. In 1641 he was an envoy to Constantinople; in 1645 he was resident ambassador of Christina, Queen of Sweden, at the court of France; and finally, having renounced the Protestant religion, he was sent by the French king to watch the conduct of the Duke of Guise during his expedition to Naples, and fell in an attack on the Spaniards in 1648. The chief poem of this erratic genius was *Carmen Gratulatorium in Nuptias Caroli R. Ang. cum Henriettâ Mariâ filiâ Henrici IV. R. Fr.*—a union from which all kinds of blessings were to accrue to the world at large, and a millennium of universal peace to be established on earth. It is needless to add that, however beautiful the poetry, its predictions were sadly belied.

DUNCAN, THOMAS, R.S.A., A.R.A. This distinguished portrait and historical painter was born at Kinclaven, Perthshire, on the 24th of May, 1807. In early life his parents removed to Perth, and there the education of the future artist was chiefly conducted. As the tendency towards painting, like that of poetry or music, is natural, not acquired, Thomas Duncan at an early age gave distinct indications of his future walk in life, by drawing likenesses of his young companions, or such objects as struck his fancy; and on one occasion, when himself and his school-fellows had resolved to perform the play of "Rob Roy" in a stable loft, he painted the whole of the scenery that was needed for the occasion. As it is not always that these juvenile predilections find favour in the eyes of prudent parents and guardians, the father of Thomas took the alarm, and hastened to remove his idle boy, as he reckoned him, to an occupation that would ultimately be more profitable; and, with this view, bound him as apprentice to a provincial lawyer; but such uncongenial drudgery only fostered the tendency which it was meant to cure, so that

when Thomas Duncan had finished his time of servitude, there was less chance than ever of his becoming a country lawyer. A painter he would be, and his father was obliged to consent to his choice by allowing him to remove to Edinburgh, that he might cultivate the profession for which nature had designed him. He was so fortunate as to obtain Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Allan for his preceptor. Under his guidance he not only rapidly mastered the rules of art, and acquired artistic skill, but soon outstripped his class-fellows in that most difficult of all departments, the drawing of the human figure. In 1828 he became an exhibitor at the Scottish Academy, and his first picture which brought him into general notice was the "Milkmaid;" the "Braw Wooer" soon followed, the last being exhibited in 1830; and these early productions were so highly appreciated, that although under the usual age of those who had hitherto held such important offices, he was first appointed to be professor of colouring, and soon afterwards he succeeded Sir W. Allan as chief director of the Trustees' Academy. He was also elected a member of the Royal Scottish Academy. From this time onward his career was one of steady advancement, and he speedily gained for himself the position of one of the most prominent artists in Scotland. Devoting himself at first principally to portraiture, a department in which he greatly excelled, he produced *genre* and historical pictures from time to time. In 1831 he exhibited his "Lucy Ashton at the Mermaid's Fountain," and "Jeanie Deans on her Journey to London;" in 1834, "Cuddie Headrigg visiting Jenny Dennison;" in 1835, "Queen Mary Signing her Abdication;" in 1836, "Old Mortality," and "A Covenantant;" in 1837, "Anne Page inviting Master Slender to Dinner" (now in the Scottish National Gallery), a picture which obtained the enthusiastic approbation of such men as Etty and Landseer; and in 1838, "Isaac of York visiting his Treasure Chest," and "The Lily of St. Leonards."

Having thus won for himself such high distinction, Mr. Duncan was resolved that it should not be merely local or temporary: he loved art for its own sake, as well as for its emoluments, and longed to paint for immortality rather than the easily-won celebrity of the passing day. For this purpose he turned his attention to the Royal Academy, and sent thither, in 1840, his well-known painting of "Prince Charles Edward and the Highlanders entering Edinburgh after the Battle of Prestonpans," a truly national production, the value of which was enhanced to the present generation of Scotchmen by the portraits of several eminent living characters whom he has introduced into the scene. It was purchased by the late Alexander Hill, Esq., for £500. In the London exhibition he had a more formidable ordeal to pass than the limited one of Edinburgh; but he triumphantly went through it, and the historical painting of the young Scottish artist was spoken of in terms of the highest commendation. This he successfully followed, in 1841, by his picture of the "Waefu' Heart," a scene from the beautiful ballad of *Auld Robin Gray*, in which it is enough to say, that the conception of the painter does not fall short of that of the poet; in 1842 by the picture of "Deerstalking;" and in 1843 by "Charles Edward asleep after the Battle of Cul-loden, protected by Flora Macdonald," also purchased by Alexander Hill, Esq., for £400. By this time his reputation was so well established, that, in the same year, he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy. In 1844 Mr. Duncan sent to the exhibition his ideal painting of "Cupid," and his historical one of "The Martyrdom of John Brown, of Priesthill, in 1685." These were his principal

productions, many of which are now widely known through the medium of engravings; and to the list might be added his admirable portraits of several eminent Scottish contemporaries, whose features he has perpetuated with a felicity that has been universally acknowledged. But of these, we should especially mention his portraits of Professor Miller, Lord Robertson, Dr. Gordon, and Dr. Chalmers, and his own portrait, now the property of the Royal Scottish Academy; the last, one of the noblest modern portraits in existence.

Such was the artistic career of Thomas Duncan, which was now to be brought to a premature close. His constitution had always appeared a sound one, giving promise of a long and healthy life; but an internal tumour had gradually been forming in his head, near the optic nerves, which at last nearly reduced him to a state of blindness. By skilful medical treatment the malady was almost entirely removed, when it fixed itself upon the brain, producing all the appearances of brain-fever, under which he sank. His death occurred on the 30th of April, 1845, at the age of thirty-eight; and he was survived by a widow and six children, who were not left unprovided. His remains were followed to the place of interment by the Royal Academicians; by his venerable friends Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Professor Wilson, &c.; and by the whole of the pupils of the Edinburgh School of Art. A short time before his last illness he had received an order from the Marquis of Breadalbane for a picture, to commemorate the Queen's visit to Taymouth, for which he was to be paid £600. For this picture he had prepared a finished sketch in oil colours, and this, together with an unfinished sketch for a large historical picture of "George Wishart, on the Day of his Martyrdom, dispensing the Sacrament in the Prison of the Castle of St. Andrews," appeared after his decease in the Royal Scottish Academy's exhibition of the year 1846. To this brief sketch we can only add the following summary of his character, as given by a brother-artist and friend of Thomas Duncan:—"Had his life been prolonged, there is no question he would have achieved a lofty position in historical painting; nor must we omit to mention his portraits, which were faithfully and skilfully rendered. As a colourist, indeed, he had few superiors. As an instructor of his art he was kind, conciliatory, and anxious for the improvement of his pupils; and in every relation of domestic life he contrived to secure the esteem and affection of all around him."

DUNCAN, WILLIAM, a learned writer, was born at Aberdeen, in July, 1717. He was the son of William Duncan, a tradesman in that city, and of Euphemia Kirkwood, the daughter of a farmer in Haddingtonshire. He received the rudiments of his education partly at the grammar-school of Aberdeen, and partly at a boarding-school at Foveran, kept by a Mr. George Forbes. In 1733 Mr. Duncan entered the Marischal College at Aberdeen, and applied himself particularly to the study of Greek under Dr. Blackwell. At the end of the usual course he took the degree of M.A. His first design was to become a clergyman; but, after studying divinity for two years, he abandoned the intention, and, removing to London, became a writer for the press. The greater part of his literary career was of that obscure kind which rather supplies the wants of the day, than stores up fame for futurity. Translations from the French were among his mental exertions, and he was much beloved and respected by the other literary men of his day, especially those who were of the same nation with himself, such as George Lewis Scott and Dr. Armstrong.

The principal work of Mr. Duncan was his translation of select orations of Cicero, which is still a book of standard excellence, and constantly used in our schools. He contributed the department of "Logic" to Mr. Doddsley's *Modern Preceptor*, which appeared in 1748, and was one of the most useful and popular books published during the eighteenth century. In 1752 appeared his last work, the translation of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, which is decidedly the best in our language. Duncan has in a great measure caught the spirit of the Roman writer, and has preserved his turn of phrase and expression as far as the nature of our language would permit. In this year Mr. Duncan received a royal appointment to a philosophical chair in the Marischal College; and in 1753 commenced lecturing on natural and experimental philosophy. Before leaving London he had engaged to furnish a bookseller with a new translation of Plutarch; but his health proved inadequate to the task. His constitution had been considerably injured by the sedentary nature of his employments in London, and he was now content to discharge the ordinary duties of his chair. After a blameless life he died (unmarried) May 1, 1760, in the forty-third year of his age. Mr. Duncan cannot so much be said to have possessed genius, as good sense and taste; and his parts were rather solid than shining. His temper was social, his manners easy and agreeable, and his conversation entertaining and often lively. In his instructions as a professor he was diligent and very accurate. His conduct was irreproachable, and he was regular in his attendance on the various institutions of public worship. Soon after his settlement in the Marischal College, he was admitted an elder in the church-session of Aberdeen, and continued to officiate as such till his death.

DUNDASES OF ARNISTON. This family holds a very conspicuous place in the legal and political history of Scotland for a period extending almost to a century and a half; and to the biographical student nothing can be more interesting than to trace the merited elevation of the successive heads of the family to the highest judicial appointments in the country. The Arniston family is sprung from that of Dundas of Dundas, one of the most ancient in Scotland. Sir James Dundas, the first of Arniston, who received the honour of knighthood from James VI., and was governor of Berwick, was the third son of George Dundas of Dundas, the sixteenth in descent from the Dunbars, Earls of March, a family which, according to Sir James Dalrymple, can trace its origin from the Saxon Kings of England. The mother of Sir James Dundas was Catherine, daughter of Lawrence, Lord Oliphant. Having premised this much of the origin of the family, we proceed to give short biographical notices of its most distinguished members.

DUNDAS, SIR JAMES, of Arniston, eldest son of the first Sir James, by Mary, daughter of George Hume of Wedderburn, had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by Charles I. After receiving a liberal education, he spent a considerable time abroad, visiting the principal courts of Europe. On his return he was chosen one of the representatives of the county of Mid-Lothian in the Scottish parliament, and during a period of great danger and difficulty he maintained the character of a steady patriot and a loyal subject—an enemy alike to slavish subservency and to treasonable turbulence. He greatly disapproved of the measures proposed by Charles I., at the instigation of Laud, for establishing Episcopacy in Scotland, and did not think it inconsistent with a sincere principle of loyalty to sub-

scribe the national covenant, entered into for the purpose of resisting that innovation.

After the Restoration, when the English judges who had officiated in Scotland during the usurpation were expelled, and the Court of Session re-established, Sir James Dundas was, in 1662, appointed one of the judges, and took his seat on the bench under the title of Lord Arniston. His high character and great natural abilities were thought sufficient to counterbalance the disadvantage arising from the want of a professional education. But he held this appointment only for a short time. For Charles II. having been induced by the unsettled state of Scotland to require that all persons holding office should subscribe a declaration importing that they held it unlawful to enter into leagues or covenants, and abjuring the "national and solemn league and covenant," the judges of the Court of Session were required to subscribe this test under pain of deprivation of office. The majority of them complied; but Sir James Dundas refused, unless he should be allowed to add, "in so far as such leagues might lead to deeds of actual rebellion." Government, however, would consent to no such qualification; and Lord Arniston was consequently deprived of his gown. The king himself had proposed as an expedient for obviating the scruples of the recusant judges, that they should subscribe the test publicly, but should be permitted to make a *private* declaration of the sense in which they understood it. Most of them availed themselves of this device, but Lord Arniston rejected it, making the following manly answer to those of his friends who urged him to comply—"I have repeatedly told you, that in this affair I have acted from conscience; I will never subscribe that declaration unless I am allowed to qualify it; and if my *subscription* is to be public, I cannot be satisfied that the *salvo* should be *latent*." His seat on the bench was kept vacant for three years, in the hope apparently that he might be prevailed on to yield to the solicitations which, during that interval, were unceasingly, but in vain, addressed to him, not only by his friends and brother judges, but by the king's ministers. He had retired to his family seat of Arniston, where he spent the remainder of his life in the tranquil enjoyment of the country, and in the cultivation of literature and the society of his friends. He died in the year 1679, and was succeeded in his estates by his eldest son Robert, the subject of the immediately succeeding notice.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, son of Sir James, by Marion, daughter of Lord Boyd, was bred to the profession of the law, and for many years represented the county of Edinburgh in the Scottish parliament. In the year 1689, immediately after the Revolution, he was raised to the bench of the Court of Session by King William, and took the title of Lord Arniston. He continued to fill that station with great honour and integrity during the long period of thirty-seven years; and died in the year 1727, leaving his son Robert, by Margaret, daughter of Robert Sinclair of Stevenston,¹ to succeed him in his estates, and to follow his footsteps in the legal profession.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, F.R.S. Edinburgh, third lord of session of the family, and first lord-president, was born on the 9th December, 1685. Although at no time distinguished for laborious application to study, yet he had obtained a general acquaintance with literature, while his remarkable acuteness, and very extensive practice, rendered him a profound lawyer. He became a member of the

¹ It is from this lady, familiarly termed Meg Sinclair, that the peculiar talent of the family is said to have been derived.

Faculty of Advocates in 1709, and in 1717, while the country was recovering from the confusion occasioned by the rebellion of 1715, he was selected, on account of his firmness and moderation, to fill the responsible office of solicitor-general for Scotland, which he did with much ability and forbearance. In 1720 he was presented to the situation of lord-advocate; and in 1722 was returned member to the British parliament for the county of Edinburgh. In parliament he was distinguished by a vigilant attention to Scottish affairs, and by that steady and patriotic regard to the peculiar interests of his native country, which has been all along one of the most remarkable characteristics of his family. When Sir Robert Walpole and the Argyle party came into power in the year 1725, Mr. Dundas resigned his office, and resumed his place as an ordinary barrister; soon after which he was elected by his brethren dean of the Faculty of Advocates; a dignity which confers the highest rank at the bar, it being even at this day a question whether, according to the etiquette of the profession, the dean is not entitled to take precedence of the lord-advocate and the solicitor-general. In 1737 Mr. Dundas was raised to the bench; when, like his father and grandfather, he took the title of Lord Arniston. He held the place of an ordinary or puisne judge until the year 1748, when, on the death of Lord-president Forbes of Culloden, he was raised to the president's chair, and continued to hold that high office until his death. He died in 1753, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

As a barrister Mr. Dundas was a powerful and ingenious reasoner. To great quickness of apprehension he added uncommon solidity of judgment; while, as a public speaker, he was ready, and occasionally impressive without being declamatory. His most celebrated display was made in 1728, at the trial of Carnegie of Finhaven, indicted for the murder of the Earl of Strathmore. Mr. Dundas, who was opposed on that occasion to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, then lord-advocate, conducted the defence with great ability, and had the merit, not only of saving the life of his client, but of establishing, or rather restoring, the right of a jury in Scotland to return a general verdict on the guilt or innocence of the accused. An abuse, originating in bad times, had crept in, whereby the province of the jury was limited to a verdict of finding the facts charged *proven*, or *not proven*, leaving it to the court to determine by a preliminary judgment on the relevancy, whether those facts, if proved, constituted the crime laid in the indictment. In this particular case the fact was, that the Earl of Strathmore had been accidentally run through the body, and killed, in a drunken squabble; the blow having been aimed at another of the party, who had given great provocation. The court, in their preliminary judgment on the relevancy, found that the facts, as set forth in the indictment, if proved, were sufficient to infer the "*pains of law*,"—or, in other words, that they amounted to *murder*;—and therefore they allowed the public prosecutor to prove his case before the jury, and the accused to adduce a proof in exculpation. Had the jury confined themselves to the mere question whether or not the facts stated in the indictment were *proved*, the life of Mr. Carnegie would have been forfeited. But Mr. Dundas, with great acuteness and intrepidity, exposed and denounced this encroachment on the privileges of the jury, which he traced to the despotic reigns of Charles II. and his brother James II.; and succeeded in obtaining a verdict of not guilty. Since that trial, no similar attempt has been made to interfere with juries. The trial, which is in other respects interest-

ing, will be found reported in Arnot's *Collection of Celebrated Criminal Trials*; and in preparing that report, it appears that Mr. Arnot was favoured, by the second Lord-president Dundas, with his recollections, from memory, of what his father had said, together with the short notes from which Mr. Dundas himself spoke. These notes prove, that, in preparing himself, he merely jotted down, in a few sentences, the heads of his argument, trusting to his extemporaneous eloquence for the illustrations.

In his judicial capacity Lord Arniston was distinguished no less by the vigour of his mind and his knowledge of the law, than by his strict honour and inflexible integrity. It has been said of him, that his deportment on the bench was forbidding and disagreeable; but although far from being affable or prepossessing in his manners, he was much liked by those who enjoyed his friendship; and was remarkable throughout his life for a convivial turn approaching occasionally to dissipation. Some allowance, however, must be made for the manners of the time, and for the great latitude in their social enjoyments, which it was the fashion of the Edinburgh lawyers of the last century to allow themselves. It is to be regretted that Lord Arniston was not raised to the president's chair earlier in life. He succeeded Lord-president Forbes, one of the most illustrious and eminent men who ever held that place; and it is not therefore very wonderful, that, far advanced in life as President Dundas was, he should not have been able to discharge the duties of his important office with all the dignity and energy of his highly-gifted predecessor.

Lord Arniston was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Watson of Muirhouse, by whom he left Robert, afterwards lord-president of the Court of Session, and two daughters; and secondly, to Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Invergordon, Bart., by whom he left four sons and one daughter. One of the sons of this second marriage was Henry, afterwards raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Viscount Melville.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, lord-president of the Court of Session, the eldest son of the first Lord-president Dundas, by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Watson of Muirhouse, was born on the 18th of July, 1713. When at school and at college he was a good scholar, but afterwards was never known to read through a book, and seldom even to look into one, unless from curiosity, when he happened to be acquainted with the author. It was the custom at the period when the subject of this memoir received his education for Scottish gentlemen, intended for the higher walks of the legal profession, to study the Roman law at the schools on the Continent, where that law was then taught with much celebrity. Young Dundas, therefore, after acquiring the elementary branches of his education under the care of a domestic tutor, and at the schools and university of Edinburgh, proceeded to Utrecht towards the close of the year 1733, in order to prosecute his legal studies at that famous university. He remained abroad during four years, spending his academical vacations in visiting Paris and several of the principal towns and cities in France and the Low Countries.

He returned to Scotland in the year 1737, and in the year following became a member of the Faculty of Advocates. His first public appearances sufficiently proved that he had inherited the genius and abilities of his family: his eloquence was copious and animated; his arguments convincing and ingenious, while even his most unprepared pleadings were distinguished by their methodical arrangement. In

consultation his opinions were marked by sound judgment and great acuteness, while his tenacious memory enabled him with facility and readiness to cite precedents and authorities. Although endowed by nature with very considerable talents for public speaking, yet he not only neglected the study of composition, but contemned the art of elocution. In his pleadings, however, as well as in his conversation, he displayed a great deal of fancy and invention, which the strength and soundness of his judgment enabled him to restrain within due bounds. In spite of his want of application, and a strong propensity to pleasure and dissipation, he rose rapidly into practice at the bar. But from the course which he adopted it seems to have been his intention, without rendering himself a slave to business, to attain such a high place in his profession as should entitle him to early promotion. Acting on this principle he usually declined, except in very important cases, to prepare those written pleadings and arguments which at that time, and until lately, were so well known in the Court of Session. The labour attending this part of his professional duty he felt to be irksome. For the same reason he was accustomed to return many of the briefs which were sent to him, confining his practice to noted cases, or such as excited general interest. In this manner, without undergoing the usual drudgery of the bar, he acquired a degree of celebrity and distinction, which opened to him, at a period remarkably early in his career, the highest honours of his profession. In September, 1742, when he had just entered his twenty-ninth year, he was appointed solicitor-general for Scotland. He had obtained this appointment under the Carteret administration, and therefore, in 1746, when the Pelham party gained the ascendancy, he resigned this office along with the ministry; but in the same year (as had happened to his father under similar circumstances) he was honoured by one of the strongest marks of admiration which his brethren at the bar could confer, having been, at the early age of thirty-three, elected dean of the Faculty of Advocates, which office he continued to hold until the year 1760, when he was elevated to the bench.

In the beginning of the year 1754 Mr. Dundas was returned to parliament as member for the county of Edinburgh, and in the following summer he was appointed lord-advocate for Scotland. During the rancorous contention of parties which at that time divided the country, it was scarcely possible to escape obloquy, and Mr. Dundas shared in the odium cast upon the rest of his party by the opposition; but it may be truly affirmed of him, that in no instance did he swerve from his principles, or countenance a measure which he did not believe to be conducive to the general welfare of the country. He suffered much in the opinion of a numerous party in Scotland on account of his strenuous opposition to the embodying of the militia in that part of the kingdom. The alarm of invasion from France, occasioned by the small expeditions which sometimes threatened our coasts, had led to numerous meetings throughout the country to petition parliament in favour of the establishment of a militia force for the defence of Scotland. There were cogent reasons, however, why these petitions should not be acceded to. The country was still in a very unimproved condition; agriculture neglected, and manufactures in their infancy, while the inhabitants were as yet but little accustomed to the trammels of patient industry. In such circumstances, to put arms into their hands had a tendency to revive that martial spirit which it was the great object of government to repress. The embodying of the militia was farther objectionable, inasmuch as the disaffected par-

tisans of the Stuart family, although subdued, were by no means reconciled to the family of Hanover; and, therefore, to arm the militia would have been in effect so far to counteract the wise measure of disarming the Highlanders, which had proved so efficacious in tranquillizing the northern districts of the kingdom. Mr. Dundas's opposition to the proposal for embodying a militia in Scotland was thus founded on grounds of obvious expediency, any risk of foreign invasion being more than counterbalanced by the still greater evil of a domestic force on which government could not implicitly rely, and which might by possibility have joined rather than opposed the invaders. The lesson taught by the rebellion in Ireland in 1797 has since illustrated the danger of trusting arms in the hands of the turbulent and disaffected, and has fully established the wisdom of Mr. Dundas's opposition to a similar measure in Scotland.

On the 14th of June, 1760, Mr. Dundas was appointed lord-president of the Court of Session—the highest judicial office in Scotland. When he received this appointment some doubts were entertained how far, notwithstanding his acknowledged and great abilities, he possessed that power of application, and that measure of assiduity, which are the first requisites for the due discharge of the duties of the high office he filled. Fond of social intercourse, and having risen to eminence as a lawyer by the almost unassisted strength of his natural talents, he had hitherto submitted with reluctance to the labour of his profession. But it speedily became evident that one striking feature in his character had remained undeveloped; for he had not sooner taken his seat as president than he devoted himself to the duties of his office with an ardour which had been rarely exhibited by the ablest and most diligent of his predecessors, and with a perseverance which continued unabated until his death. So unwearied and anxious was his application to the business of the court, that he succeeded in disposing of an arrear of causes which had accumulated during a period of five sessions. This task he accomplished in the course of the summer session of 1760, and that without interrupting or impeding the current business of the court; and while he presided, no similar arrear ever occurred.

President Dundas was distinguished by great dignity and urbanity. In delivering his opinions on the bench, he was calm and senatorial; avoiding the error into which the judges in Scotland are too apt to fall, namely that of expressing themselves with the impatience and vehemence of debaters eager to support a particular side, or to convince or refute their opponents in an argument. Impressed with a conviction that such a style is ill suited for the bench, President Dundas confined himself to a calm and dispassionate summary of the leading facts of the case, followed by an announcement, in forcible but unadorned language, of the legal principle which ought, in his apprehension, to rule the decision. To the bar he conducted himself with uniform attention and respect, a demeanour on the part of the bench to which, in former times, the Scottish bar was but little accustomed; and even at this day, the deportment of the Scottish judges to the counsel practising before them is apt to surprise those who have had opportunities of observing the courtesy uniformly displayed by the English judges in their intercourse with the bar. President Dundas listened with patience to the reasonings of counsel; he neither anticipated the arguments of the pleader, nor interrupted him with questions, but left him to state his case without interference, unless when matter evidently irrelevant was introduced, or any offence com-

mitted against the dignity of the court. In this last particular he was sufficiently punctilious, visiting the slightest symptom of disrespect to the bench with the severest animadversion. While he was thus constant in his anxiety to improve the administration of justice, and to insure due respect for his own court, he was scrupulously attentive in reviewing the decisions, and watchful in the superintendence of the conduct of the inferior judges. He also treated with the greatest rigour every instance of malversation or chicanery in the officers or inferior practitioners in the courts. No calumnious or iniquitous prosecution, and no attempt to pervert the forms of law to the purposes of oppression, eluded his penetration, or escaped his marked reprehension.

A disregard or contempt for literary attainments has been brought as a charge against President Dundas; and a similar charge was, with less justice, afterwards made against his celebrated brother, Lord Melville. This peculiarity was the more remarkable in the president, because in early life he had prosecuted those studies which are usually termed literary, with advantage and success. In his youth he had made great proficiency in classical learning; and as his memory retained faithfully whatever he had once acquired, it was not unusual with him, even towards the close of his life, in his speeches from the bench, to cite and apply, with much propriety, the most striking passages of the ancient authors.

Having attained the advanced age of seventy-five years, President Dundas was seized with a severe and mortal illness, which, although of short continuance, was violent in its nature; and he died at his house in Adam Square, Edinburgh, on the 13th of December, 1787, having borne his sufferings with great magnanimity. He retained the perfect enjoyment of his faculties until his death, and was in the active discharge of his official duties down till the date of his last illness. He was interred in the family burial-place at Borthwick. The body was attended to the outskirts of the city by a procession consisting of all the public bodies in their robes and insignia.

President Dundas was twice married; first to Henrietta, daughter of Sir James Carmichael Baillie of Lamington, Bart., by whom he left four daughters; and secondly, 7th September, 1756, at Prestongrange, to Jane, daughter of William Grant of Prestongrange—an excellent man and good lawyer, who rose to the bench under the title of Lord Prestongrange. By his second lady he left four sons and two daughters, of whom Robert, the eldest son, was successively lord-advocate and lord chief-baron of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland.

DUNDAS, ROBERT, of Arniston, lord chief-baron of the Court of Exchequer, eldest son of the second Lord-president Dundas, by Miss Grant, youngest daughter of William Grant, Lord Prestongrange, was born on the 6th of June, 1758. Like his distinguished predecessors, he was educated for the legal profession, and became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in the year 1779. When Mr. (afterwards Sir Ilay) Campbell was promoted to the office of lord-advocate, Mr. Dundas, at a very early age, succeeded him as solicitor-general; and afterwards, in 1789, on Sir Ilay's elevation to the president's chair, Mr. Dundas, at the age of thirty-one, was appointed lord-advocate. This office he held for twelve years, during which time he sat in parliament as member for the county of Edinburgh: and on the resignation of Chief-baron Montgomery in the year 1801, he was appointed his successor. Mr. Dundas sat as chief-baron until within a short time of his death, which happened at Arniston on the 17th of June, 1819, in

the sixty-second year of his age. He had previously resigned his office, and it happened that Sir Samuel Shepherd, who succeeded him, took his seat on the bench on the day on which Mr. Dundas died.

Without those striking and more brilliant talents for which his father and grandfather were distinguished, Chief-baron Dundas, in addition to excellent abilities, possessed, in an eminent degree, the graces of mildness, moderation, and affability, and descended to the grave, it is believed, more universally loved and lamented than any preceding member of his family. This is the more remarkable, when it is borne in mind that he held the responsible office of lord-advocate during a period of unexampled difficulty and of great political excitement and asperity. His popularity, however, was not attributable to any want of firmness and resolution in the discharge of his public duties, but arose in a great measure from his liberal toleration for difference in political opinion, at a time when that virtue was rare in Scotland, and from his mild and gentleman-like deportment, which was calculated no less to disarm his political opponents than to endear him to his friends. It would have been impossible, perhaps, for any one of his professional contemporaries to have been the immediate agent of government in the trials of Muir, Skirving, and Palmer, without creating infinite public odium.

As chief-baron, Mr. Dundas was no less estimable. The Scottish Court of Exchequer never opened a very extensive field for the display of judicial talent; but wherever, in the administration of the business of that court, it appeared that the offender had erred from ignorance, or from misapprehension of the revenue statutes, we found the chief-baron disposed to mitigate the rigour of the law, and to interpose his good offices on behalf of the sufferer. It was in private life, however, and within the circle of his own family and friends, that the virtues of this excellent man were chiefly conspicuous, and that his loss was most severely felt. Of him it may be said, as was emphatically said of one of his brethren on the bench—"he died, leaving no good man his enemy, and attended with that sincere regret, which only those can hope for who have occupied the like important stations, and acquitted themselves so well."

DUNDAS, GENERAL SIR DAVID, was born near Edinburgh about the year 1735. His father, who was a respectable merchant in Edinburgh, was of the family of Dundas of Dundas, the head of the name in Scotland; by the mother's side he was related to the first Lord Melville. This distinguished member of a great family had commenced the study of medicine, but changing his intentions, he entered the army in the year 1752, under the auspices of his uncle, General David Watson. This able officer had been appointed to make a survey of the Highlands of Scotland, and he was engaged in planning and inspecting the military roads through that part of the country. While engaged in this arduous undertaking, he chose young Dundas, and the celebrated General Roy, afterwards quarter-master-general in Great Britain, to be his assistants. To this appointment was added that of a lieutenancy in the engineers, of which his uncle was at that time senior captain, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

In the year 1759 Dundas obtained a troop in the regiment of light horse raised by Colonel Elliot, and with that gallant corps he embarked for Germany, where he acted as aide-de-camp to Colonel Elliot. In that capacity he afterwards accompanied General Elliot in the expedition sent out in the year 1762, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle, against

the Spanish colonies in the West Indies. On the 28th May, 1770, he was promoted to the majority of the 15th dragoons, and from that corps he was removed to the 2d regiment of horse on the Irish establishment, of which he obtained the lieutenant-colonelcy.

It was to the ministerial influence of General Watson that Colonel Dundas owed his rapid promotion; and he now obtained, through the same interest, a staff appointment as quarter-master general in Ireland. He was also allowed to sell his commission in the dragoons, and at the same time to retain his rank in the army. He afterwards exchanged his appointment for that of adjutant-general, and in 1781 he was promoted to the rank of colonel.

Shortly after the peace of 1783, Frederick, King of Prussia, having ordered a grand review of the whole forces of his kingdom, the attention of military men throughout Europe was attracted to a scene so splendid. Amongst others Colonel Dundas, having obtained leave of absence, repaired to the plains of Potsdam, and by observation and reflection on what he there saw, he laid the foundation of that perfect knowledge of military tactics which he afterwards published under the title of *Principles of Military Movements, chiefly applicable to Infantry*.

In the year 1790 Colonel Dundas was promoted to the rank of major-general, and in the following year he was appointed colonel of the 22d regiment of infantry, on which he resigned the adjutant-generalship of Ireland.

Previous to the publication of General Dundas' work on military tactics, the military manœuvres of the army were regulated by each succeeding commander-in-chief; while even the manual exercise of the soldier varied with the fancy of the commanding officer of the regiment. The disadvantages attending so irregular a system is obvious; for when two regiments were brought into the same garrison or camp, they could not act together until a temporary uniformity of exercise had been established. To remedy these defects in our tactics, his majesty George III., to whom General Dundas' work was dedicated, ordered regulations to be drawn up from his book, for the use of the army, and accordingly, in June, 1792, a system was promulgated, under the title of "*Rules and Regulations for the Formations, Field-exercises, and Movements of his Majesty's Forces*;" with an injunction that the system should be strictly followed and adhered to, without any deviation whatever: and such orders as are formed to interfere with, or counteract their effects or operation, are considered hereby cancelled and annulled." *The Rules and Regulations for the Cavalry* were also planned by General Dundas. It is therefore to him that we are indebted for the first and most important steps which were taken to bring the British army to that high state of discipline which now renders it one of the most efficient armies in Europe.

At the commencement of the war with France, General Dundas was put on the staff, and in autumn 1793 he was sent out to command a body of troops at Toulon. While on this service he was selected to lead a force ordered to dislodge the French from the heights of Arenes, which commanded the town; and although he succeeded in driving the enemy from their batteries, still the French were too strong for the number of British employed in the service, and he was ultimately driven back; and Toulon being consequently deemed untenable, Lord Hood judged it prudent to embark the troops and sail for Corsica. Soon after the expedition had effected a landing in that island, some misunderstanding hav-

ing arisen between General Dundas and Admiral Hood, the former returned home.

General Dundas immediately returned to the Continent, and served under the Duke of York in Holland; and in the brilliant action of the 10th of May, 1794, at Tournay, he greatly distinguished himself. During the unfortunate retreat of the British army, which ended in the evacuation of the Dutch territory, General Dundas acted with much skill and great gallantry, and on the return of General Harcourt to England, the command of the British army devolved upon him. Having wintered in the neighbourhood of Bremen, he embarked the remnant of the British forces on board the fleet on the 14th of April, 1795, and returned home.

In December, 1795, General Dundas was removed from the command of the 22d foot to that of the 7th dragoons. He was also appointed governor of Langard-fort, and on the resignation of General Morrison he was nominated quarter-master general of the British army.

In the expedition to Holland in the year 1799, General Dundas was one of the general officers selected by the commander-in-chief; and he had his full share in the actions of that unfortunate campaign. On the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, General Dundas succeeded him in the command of the 2d North British dragoons, and also in the government of Forts George and Augustus. In the summer of 1801 he was second in command of the fine army of 25,000 men which assembled in Bagshot Heath; and made uncommon exertions to bring it to the high state of discipline which it displayed on the day it was reviewed before his majesty George III. and the royal family.

On the 12th of March, 1803, he resigned the quarter-master generalship, and was put on the staff as second in command under the Duke of York, when his majesty invested him with the riband of the order of the Bath. In the year 1804 he was appointed governor of Chelsea Hospital, and on the 1st June of that year, he, along with many others, was installed as a knight of the Bath in Henry VII.'s Chapel. On the 18th of March, 1809, he succeeded the Duke of York as commander-in-chief of the forces, which high appointment he held for two years. He was made a member of the privy-council and colonel of the 95th regiment. The last of the many marks of royal favour conferred on him was the colonelcy of the 1st dragoon guards.

General Dundas died on the 18th of February, 1820, and was succeeded in his estates by his nephew, Sir Robert Dundas of Beechwood, Bart.

DUNDAS, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY, Viscount Melville and Baron Dunira, was born in the year 1741. He was the son of the first and brother to the second Robert Dundas of Arniston, each of whom held the high office of lord-president of the Court of Session. His father's family, as has been mentioned in the notice of Sir James Dundas of Arniston, derived their origin from the very ancient family of Dundas of Dundas; his mother was the daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Invergordon, Bart. After receiving the preliminary branches of education at the high-school and university of Edinburgh, and having gone through the usual course of legal study, Mr. Dundas was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in the year 1763. It is related of him that after paying the expenses of his education and his admission to the faculty, he had just sixty pounds of his patrimony remaining. He commenced his professional career in chambers situated at the head of the Fleshmarket Close of Edinburgh; and such was the moderate accommo-

dation of Scottish lawyers in those days, that his rooms did not even front the High Street. The meanness of his apartments, however, is to be attributed rather to the habits of the times, and the state of Edinburgh, than to pecuniary obstacles, or to any distrust of success; for the member of a family so well connected in the country, and so highly distinguished in the courts before which Mr. Dundas proposed to practise, enjoyed every advantage which a young lawyer could have desired as an introduction to his profession. In Mr. Dundas these recommendations were happily combined with great talents and persevering application to business; so that, although he did not resist the temptations to gaiety and dissipation which beset him, he on no occasion allowed the pursuit of pleasure or amusement to interfere with the due discharge of his professional duties. Nor did he lose any opportunity which presented itself of cultivating his oratorical powers. With that view he early availed himself of the opening afforded for that species of display, in the annual sittings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. As a lay member of that venerable body, Mr. Dundas gave a foretaste of that manly eloquence and address which in after-life rendered him the able coadjutor of Mr. Pitt in the management of the House of Commons during a period of unexampled difficulty.

The first official appointment which Mr. Dundas held, was that of one of the assessors to the magistrates of the city of Edinburgh. He was afterwards depute-advocate, that is, one of the three or four barristers who, by delegation from the lord-advocate, prepare indictments, attend criminal trials both in Edinburgh and on the circuits of the High Court of Justiciary, and in general discharge, under the lord-advocate, his function of public prosecutor. The office of solicitor-general for Scotland was the next step in Mr. Dundas' promotion; and with regard to this part of his career it is sufficient to observe, that his sound judgment, sagacity, and prompt discernment as a lawyer, obtained for his pleadings the respect and attention of the ablest judges on the bench (no small praise, considering the manner in which the bench of the Court of Session was at that time occupied), and held out to him the certainty of the highest honours of the profession in Scotland, had he limited his ambition to that object.

We have now reached a stage of Mr. Dundas' life, at which he may be almost said to have taken leave of the Scottish bar and of law as a profession, and to have entered on a scene where objects of still higher ambition presented themselves. In 1774 he stood candidate for the county of Edinburgh in the general election of that year, and was returned in opposition to the ministerial influence. But he soon joined the party then in power, and became a strenuous supporter of Lord North's administration. He frequently spoke in the House of Commons, and notwithstanding the disadvantages of an ungraceful manner and a provincial accent, he was always listened to with attention, on account of the clearness of his statements and the weight of his arguments. As a reward for his services, he was, in 1775, appointed lord-advocate of Scotland, on the elevation of Sir James Montgomery to the office of lord chief-baron; and in 1777 he obtained the sinecure appointment of keeper of the king's signet for Scotland.

The lord-advocate holds the highest political office in Scotland, and is always expected to have a seat in parliament, where he discharges something resembling the duties of secretary of state for that quarter of the kingdom. And Mr. Dundas, from the time of his obtaining this appointment, appears

to have devoted his chief attention to public business and party politics. The contentions among political parties ran very high towards the close of Lord North's administration; but, supported by the king, that nobleman was long enabled to hold out against the unpopularity occasioned by the disastrous progress of the American war, aggravated by the eloquent invectives of an opposition perhaps the most talented which any British ministry ever encountered. The result of the unfortunate campaign of 1781, however, compelled Lord North to resign. Mr. Dundas had supported his administration; but at the same time, by maintaining a cautious forbearance during this arduous struggle for power, he ingratiated himself with all parties.

When the fall of Lord North's administration became certain, Mr. Dundas' knowledge of public business, and his intimate acquaintance with the state of the nation, rendered him a most valuable accession to the new administration. He held no office, however, except that of lord-advocate, under the Rockingham ministry; but the dissensions in the cabinet which followed the death of Lord Rockingham, and the promotion of Lord Shelburne to the premiership, made way for Mr. Dundas, who in 1782 was appointed treasurer of the navy. The administration under which he thus accepted office was however speedily displaced by the celebrated coalition administration; on the formation of which Mr. Dundas resigned, and became the able coadjutor of Mr. Pitt in his opposition to the measures proposed by Mr. Fox and Lord North. At that time public attention was turned very much to India, in the hope apparently that in that quarter of the globe the country might find something to counterbalance the loss of our American colonies. The complaints of misgovernment in India were very loud. The British conquests in that country were at the same time rapidly extending; and at last the dissensions in the supreme council of Bengal rendered it necessary to bring the subject before parliament. In April, 1782, on the motion of Lord North, a secret committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the war in India, and the unfavourable state of the Company's affairs. Of this committee Mr. Dundas (who had previously rendered himself remarkable in parliament for his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of India) was appointed chairman. His reports, extending to several folio volumes, were drawn up with great ability and precision, and contained a mass of authentic and important information concerning the transactions of the Company and their servants, both at home and abroad, of the very highest value. These reports Mr. Dundas followed up by a "bill for the better regulation and government of the British possessions in India, and for the preservation and security thereof." But the ministry having intimated their intention to oppose this measure, and to introduce one of their own, Mr. Dundas did not attempt to carry it through the house; and in November, 1783, the ministerial pledge was redeemed by the introduction of Mr. Fox's famous East India bill.

It is foreign to the purpose of the present memoir to inquire into the merits or demerits of this celebrated bill. It met, as is well known, the uncompromising opposition of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas. Nevertheless it passed the House of Commons by large majorities, and would also have been carried through the House of Lords, but for the firmness of the king, which led, of course, to the resignation of Lord North and Mr. Fox; when Mr. Pitt was called to the helm of affairs. On first taking office this great statesman had to contend against a majority of

the House of Commons, and in this arduous struggle he was most powerfully aided by Mr. Dundas, who led the ministerial party in the House of Commons during the temporary absence of Mr. Pitt prior to his reelection, after his acceptance of the chancellorship of the exchequer. This extraordinary contest between the ministers and parliament was terminated by the general election of 1784. In the new parliament Mr. Pitt had a decided majority; and very soon after its meeting he introduced his India bill. The introduction of that measure was also preceded by a select committee, of which Mr. Dundas was chairman; and although the new bill was not liable to the strong objections which had been urged against that of Mr. Fox, it nevertheless encountered a very serious opposition, and might have been greatly obstructed or mutilated in its progress, but for the assistance of Mr. Dundas. His intimate acquaintance with Indian affairs, and his skill and dexterity as a debater, were invaluable to government, and contributed in no inconsiderable degree to neutralize or overcome the opposition of the East India Company, and ultimately to carry the bill triumphantly through parliament.

Mr. Dundas had been restored to his office of treasurer of the navy immediately on the formation of Mr. Pitt's administration; and on the passing of the East India bill he was also appointed president of the Board of Control. As treasurer of the navy Mr. Dundas' services were in the highest degree beneficial. His arrangements for the disbursement of the money appropriated to this branch of the public service substituted order and economy in the place of perplexity and profusion. He, at the same time, provided for greater promptitude in the payment of the seamen's wages; and in order to render the service still more attractive, he introduced and carried through parliament various measures calculated to improve the condition and increase the comforts of the seamen in the royal navy. In particular, he got an act passed for preventing the passing of forged instruments. By this act the wills and powers of attorney, executed by seamen, were required to be countersigned by the officers of the port at which they were dated, and thus a check was given to numerous frauds against the families of sailors who were either absent or who had fallen in the service of their country. He also introduced a bill, which was afterwards passed, empowering seamen to make over half their pay to their wives and families. By these and other reforms which he effected in the naval department, Mr. Dundas, while he greatly increased the efficacy of the navy, showed a humane consideration for those engaged in the service, which is at this day gratefully remembered by many members of that profession, who can speak from their own experience of their obligations to one who was most justly called "the sailor's friend." Among the measures introduced by Mr. Dundas while he held the treasurership of the navy, was the act for the regulation of the money destined for the service of the navy. Previously the salary of the treasurer of the navy was £2000 per annum; but the perquisites attached to the office, and particularly the command of the public money, added greatly to the emoluments. In order to prevent the risk, profusion, and irregularity inseparable from such a system, Mr. Dundas' bill fixed the salary at £4000, and prohibited the treasurer from making any private or individual use of the public money. It was in consequence of a supposed violation of this statute, that Mr. Dundas, at a later period of his life, was exposed to much unmerited obloquy, and made the subject of a public inquiry, to which

we shall have occasion more particularly to advert in the sequel.

In the session of 1784 Mr. Dundas introduced his bill for restoring the estates in Scotland forfeited on account of the rebellion of 1745. The expediency of this measure as a means of conciliating the inhabitants of the northern part of the island, and reconciling them to the reigning family, was manifest; still it was necessary, for obvious reasons, so far to cover the true motive, and to represent the boon as a reward to the people of Scotland for the services which they had rendered in the armies of the country during the recent wars. And such accordingly was the tone taken by the supporters of the measure.

As president of the Board of Control, Mr. Dundas' services were no less beneficial to the country. His sound judgment and remarkable business talents, combined with his intimate acquaintance with the complicated and multifarious details of the East India Company's affairs, enabled him to simplify and reduce to order what had been previously an absolute chaos. Hence, also, in parliament he was at all times prepared to give the requisite explanations, and to furnish full information concerning Indian matters; while it was his constant endeavour to collect, and to avail himself of the information and suggestions which his situation placed at his command, in order to introduce those reforms in the Company's administration which the rapid extension of their possessions in that quarter of the world rendered necessary. It was with this view that, in the session of 1786, Mr. Dundas carried a bill through parliament for effecting certain modifications and improvements in Mr. Pitt's India bill. In the same session Mr. Burke originated those discussions which terminated in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. It is now well known that, on that occasion, the exuberant and inexhaustible eloquence of Mr. Burke was, without his being aware of it, to a certain extent made subservient, not only to party purposes, but to the gratification of the private animosity of Mr. Francis. We can now look back dispassionately and with sympathy to the unmerited and protracted sufferings to which Mr. Hastings was subjected; but during the progress of the investigation, truth as well as justice were lost sight of, amidst the splendid declamation of some of the greatest orators who ever appeared in parliament. Even Mr. Dundas seems to have yielded to the prevailing delusion, and made no attempt to vindicate Mr. Hastings from those charges which, when stripped of rhetorical and oriental embellishments, were found to be either entirely groundless, or such as admitted of explanation.

After taking part with Mr. Pitt in the debates on the regency question, during the king's illness in 1788, the next prominent feature in Mr. Dundas' public life, was his steady and determined opposition to the pernicious principles of the French revolution. In that memorable struggle, in which the salvation of this country was attributable chiefly to the energy and firmness of Mr. Pitt, the minister, as usual, found in Mr. Dundas his most able and cordial coadjutor. In 1791 he was appointed principal secretary of state for the home department, and thus became a member of the cabinet. He, at the same time, retained his other appointments; and yet such was his aptitude for business, and his unwearied application to his official duties, that the three important departments committed to him never were in a state of greater efficiency. Many of the most approved public measures originated with or were directly promoted by him. Among those were the formation of the fencible regiments, the supplementary militia, the volunteer corps, and the provisional

cavalry. The whole, in short, of that domestic military force which, during the war consequent on the French revolution, was raised and kept in readiness as a defence at once against foreign invasion and internal disturbance, was projected and organized under the direction of Mr. Dundas. To him also we owe the improved system of distributing the army throughout the country in barracks and garrisons, by which, in times of commercial distress and political agitation, the most prompt protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants might be afforded. On the accession of the Duke of Portland and his party to the ministry, in 1793, it was thought advisable to appoint a third secretary of state, rather than remove Mr. Dundas from the superintendence of the military system which he had brought into operation. Accordingly, while the Duke of Portland took the home-secretaryship, Mr. Dundas, in 1794, was nominated secretary of state for the war department. At this time he also held the office of keeper of the privy-seal of Scotland, and governor of the Bank of Scotland; still retaining the presidency of the Board of Control and the treasuryship of the navy—which last office he continued to hold until May, 1800; his other political offices he held until his resignation, along with Mr. Pitt, in 1801.

While in the House of Commons, Mr. Dundas represented first the county, and afterwards the city, of Edinburgh. He sat for the county from 1774 to 1787, and for the city from the latter year until 1802, when he was raised to the peerage. And during the whole course of his official life he was considered as virtually the minister of Scotland. He had what is called the political patronage of that quarter of the kingdom; and so acted, as well in the discharge of his various public duties, as in the distribution of the favours of government, that he attached to himself, and to the administration of which he formed a part, the great majority of the men of rank, property, and influence in that country. It has been objected to him that, in the exercise of this patronage, he looked too exclusively to his own political partisans; but in justice to him, it must never be forgotten that he held office in times when the acrimony of his opponents (to say nothing of the dangerous principles avowed by some of them) put conciliation entirely out of the question; and besides, the charge is to a great extent unjust; for on his trial it was admitted, even by his bitterest enemies, that in disposing of appointments in the navy and army he was remarkable for his impartiality and indifference to party distinctions. Nor is it possible to overlook the fact, that the political party by whom this charge was brought against Mr. Dundas had always been proverbial for their own adherence to the practice they were so ready to condemn in him.

When Mr. Pitt retired from office in 1801, previous to the peace of Amiens, Mr. Dundas followed his example. On that occasion he laid before parliament a very favourable statement of the condition in which the East India Company's affairs then were; and although his opponents did not fail to cavil at his views, yet all parties concurred in expressing the highest approbation of the manner in which Mr. Dundas had discharged his duty as president of the Board of Control. The court of directors were disposed to award him more substantial marks of their gratitude; but finding that he had resolved to decline any pecuniary remuneration, they conferred a pension of £2000 per annum on Mrs. Dundas. About the same time the town-council of Edinburgh testified their sense of his merit by resolving, at an extraordinary meeting called for the purpose, that a subscription

should be opened for the erection of a statue of him as a tribute of gratitude for his lengthened and eminent public services. In the year 1802 the Addington administration raised Mr. Dundas to the peerage by the titles of Viscount of Melville in the county of Edinburgh, and Baron of Dunira in the county of Perth.

On Mr. Pitt resuming the premiership, in 1804, Lord Melville was appointed first lord of the admiralty; but this important office he did not long enjoy. The Earl St. Vincent, his predecessor at the head of the admiralty, had obtained the appointment of a commission of inquiry to investigate certain suspected abuses in the naval department of the public service. That commission, in their tenth report, implicated Lord Melville, while he held the treasuryship of the navy, in a breach of the statute which he had himself introduced in 1785, whereby the treasurer of the navy was prohibited from converting to his own use or emolument any part of the public money voted for the service of the navy. This report led to an unsatisfactory correspondence between Lord Melville and the commissioners; and on the 8th of April, 1805, Mr. Whitbread brought the matter under the notice of the House of Commons. After a speech full of violent invective, that gentleman moved thirteen resolutions, to the effect generally that Lord Melville had been guilty of gross malversation and breach of duty, in so far as he had misapplied or misdirected certain sums of public money, and had also, in violation of the act of parliament, retained in his possession, or authorized his confidential agent, Mr. Alexander Trotter, who held the office of paymaster of the navy, to retain, and to speculate in the funds, and discount private bills with the balances of the public money voted for the service of the navy, in the profits of which transactions Lord Melville had participated. Mr. Pitt, after an eloquent and able defence of Lord Melville, concluded by moving, as an amendment, that the tenth report be referred to a select committee of the house. He was replied to by Lord Henry Petty, afterwards Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Fox, and other leading members of the Whig party; and the result was, that in a very full house (433) the original resolutions were carried by the speaker's casting vote.

The debate was then adjourned to the 10th of April, 1805, on which day Mr. Pitt announced to the house on its meeting, that in consequence of the vote of the former evening, Lord Melville had resigned the office of first lord of the admiralty. Mr. Whitbread then delivered another vituperative speech, and concluded by moving that an address should be presented to the king, praying that Lord Melville might be dismissed "from all offices held by him during pleasure, and from his majesty's counsel and presence for ever." Mr. Canning, who at that time held the office of treasurer of the navy, deprecated the rancour with which the Whig party were proceeding. He contrasted their conduct with that of Lord Melville himself when Lord Grey and Earl St. Vincent were on their trial before the house, under similar circumstances, upon which occasion Lord Melville, although the political opponent of these noblemen, had strenuously defended them; while he, "so far from experiencing equal generosity, was now persecuted and hunted down; and by whom? by the friends of Lord Grey and Earl St. Vincent! He congratulated the gentlemen on their sense, true spirit, and virtue, and prayed God Almighty to forbid that he should ever imitate their example." The debate concluded by a vote that a copy of the resolutions of the 8th of April should be laid before his majesty by the whole house. Some discussion after-

wards took place as to the ulterior measures to be adopted against Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, in the course of which the same extraordinary acrimony was displayed; and on the 6th of May Mr. Pitt intimated that his majesty had been advised, in deference to the prevailing sense of the house, to strike the name of Lord Melville out of the list of the privy-council, and that accordingly it would be erased on the first day on which a council should be held. In making this communication Mr. Pitt appeared to be deeply affected; but no sympathy was shown on the opposition benches. On the contrary, it is impossible to deny, that relentless exultation over the expected downfall of an illustrious public servant, and a total disregard for the feelings of his friend the premier, were too prominently manifested by the Whig party on that, as on every other occasion on which this painful subject was before the house.

On the 11th of June the speaker stated that he had received a letter from Lord Melville announcing his readiness to attend and be examined relative to the 10th report. He was thereupon admitted, and a chair placed for him within the bar; when he entered upon a concise vindication of his conduct, declaring his entire ignorance of Mr. Trotter's speculations with the public money, either in the funds or as a private banker; denied all connivance at the violation of the statute 25th George III., relative to the money voted to the navy; and solemnly asserted, that on no occasion whatever had he authorized Mr. Trotter to draw money from the bank for his own private emolument—the only object in allowing him to lodge money with private bankers having been to facilitate the public payments. In short, Lord Melville gave those explanations of his conduct which were afterwards triumphantly established on his trial by evidence. But, as may be easily believed, they did not, at this time, satisfy his opponents; and after a protracted debate, and more than one division adverse to the Whig party, it was at last resolved that the mode of procedure should be by impeaching his lordship at the bar of the House of Lords of high crimes and misdemeanours. On the 26th of June a committee of twenty-one members was appointed to prepare articles of impeachment, Mr. Whitbread's name being placed at the head. Among the members of this committee were Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey (late Earl Grey), Mr. Sheridan, Lord Archibald Hamilton, and other leaders of the party. The committee, on the 4th of March, 1806, made a report to the house of certain new information which had come to their knowledge; and the result of the debate which ensued was an additional article of impeachment. To this new article Lord Melville was of course allowed to put in a replication; and the preliminaries being at length adjusted, the House of Lords fixed the 29th of April, 1806, for the trial.

This imposing exhibition was conducted with the customary pomp and solemnity. Westminster Hall was, as usual, fitted up for the occasion; and the nobility, including the princes of the blood, having taken their places in the full robes of their respective ranks, this tribunal, the most august and venerable in the world, proceeded to the discharge of their high duty. The articles of impeachment resolved into ten charges, of which the following is the substance:—1. That Lord Melville, while treasurer of the navy, prior to January, 1786, fraudulently applied to his own use, or at least misdirected, and would not explain how, £10,000 of the money which came into his hands as treasurer of the navy.—2. That, in violation of the act of parliament already mentioned, he permitted Mr. Trotter to draw large sums from the money issued to the treasurer for the use of the

navy, and to place it in the banking house of Messrs. Coutts & Co. in his (Mr. Trotter's) own name.—3. That while he held the office of treasurer of the navy, and after the passing of the foresaid act, he permitted Mr. Trotter to draw large sums of money from the treasurer's public account kept with the Bank of England, under the said statute, and to place those sums in Mr. Trotter's individual account with Coutts & Co., for purposes of private emolument.—4. That after the 10th of January, 1786, and while treasurer of the navy, he fraudulently and illegally, and for his own private advantage or emolument, took from the public money, set apart for the use of the navy, £10,000; and that he and Mr. Trotter, by mutual agreement, destroyed the vouchers of an account current kept between them, in order to conceal the advances of money made by Mr. Trotter to him, and the account or considerations on which such advances were made.—5. That whilst Mr. Trotter was thus illegally using the public money, he made, in part therefrom, several large advances to Lord Melville, and destroyed the vouchers, as aforesaid, in order to conceal the fact.—6. That in particular he received an advance of £22,000, without interest, partly from the public money illegally in Mr. Trotter's hands, and partly from Mr. Trotter's own money in the hands of Messrs. Coutts, and destroyed the vouchers as aforesaid.—7. That he received an advance of £22,000 from Mr. Trotter, for which, as alleged by himself, he was to pay interest; for concealing which transaction the vouchers were destroyed as aforesaid.—8. That during all, or the greater part of the time that he was treasurer, and Mr. Trotter paymaster of the navy, Mr. Trotter gratuitously transacted his (Lord Melville's) private business, as his agent, and from time to time advanced him from £10,000 to £20,000, taken partly from the public money, and partly from Mr. Trotter's own money, lying mixed together indiscriminately in Messrs. Coutts' hands, whereby Lord Melville derived profit from Mr. Trotter's illegal acts.—9. That Mr. Trotter so acted gratuitously as Lord Melville's agent, in consideration of his connivance at the foresaid illegal appropriations of the public money; nor could Mr. Trotter, as Lord Melville knew, have made such advances otherwise than from the public money at his disposal by his lordship's connivance, and with his permission.—10. That Lord Melville, while treasurer of the navy, at divers times between the years 1782 and 1786 took from the moneys paid to him as treasurer of the navy, £27,000, or thereabouts, which sum he illegally applied to his own use, or to some purpose other than the service of the navy, and continued this fraudulent and illegal conversion of the public money, after the passing of the act for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy.

The charges, of which the above is an abstract, having been read, Mr. Whitbread, as leading manager for the House of Commons, opened the case in an elaborate speech, in which he detailed, and commented on, the evidence which the managers proposed to adduce. This was followed by the examination of witnesses in support of the several charges, the chief witness being Mr. Trotter himself, in whose favour an act of indemnity had been passed, in order to qualify him to give his testimony with safety. The examination of the witnesses in support of the charges occupied nearly nine days. On the tenth day of the trial Sir Samuel Romilly, one of the managers, gave a summary of what, as he maintained, had been proved. He was followed by Mr. Plomer, the leading counsel for Lord Melville, who opened the defence in a speech of distinguished ability, the delivery of which occupied two days. The substance

of the defence was, that Lord Melville, so far from being accessory to, or conniving at, Mr. Trotter's appropriation of the public money, was entirely ignorant of these irregular practices. As to the £10,000, it was admitted to have been diverted from the service of the navy and used in another department of the public service, but this was prior to the passing of the foresaid act, when such a proceeding was perfectly lawful and customary; and at any rate, no part of that sum was applied, either directly or indirectly, to the individual profit or advantage of Lord Melville. Mr. Plomer further showed that Lord Melville had been remarkable during his whole life for his carelessness about money, and for his superiority to all mercenary motives—that while he held the office of treasurer of the navy, he had voluntarily relinquished the salary attached to the office of secretary of state, to the aggregate amount of £34,730, being a sum exceeding the whole of the public money which he was said to have misapplied—that if there had been any irregularity at all, it was imputable solely to Mr. Trotter, and perhaps to a slight degree of laxity on the part of Lord Melville, whose attention was distracted by many engrossing and more important public duties. Witnesses were then called to prove that Lord Melville had voluntarily relinquished, for the benefit of the public, £8648, 13s. 2d. in the home department, and £26,081, 7s. 5d. in the war department, making a total of £34,730, *or. 7d.*; and the case on the part of the defendant was then concluded by a very able speech from Mr. Adam, afterwards lord chief-commissioner of the jury court in Scotland. Sir Arthur Piggott, on the part of the managers of the House of Commons, replied at some length to the legal arguments of Messrs. Plomer and Adam, and Mr. Whitbread closed the case by a reply upon the evidence, in the course of which he resumed the invective and sarcasm against Lord Melville which had distinguished his opening speech as well as all his speeches on this subject in the House of Commons. It would seem, however, if we are to judge from the result, that either his sarcasm or his arguments had by this time lost their efficacy. After a few words from Mr. Plomer, the peers adjourned, and having met again, after an interval of nearly a month, on the 10th of June, to determine on Lord Melville's guilt or innocence, he was acquitted of every charge by triumphant majorities. On the fourth charge, in particular, which concerned the sum of £10,000 alleged to have been applied by Lord Melville for his own advantage or emolument, their lordships were unanimous in their acquittal; and in general the majorities were very large on all the charges which imputed corrupt or fraudulent intentions to Lord Melville. The votes on the several charges were as follow:—

	<i>Guilt. Not Guilty. Majority.</i>		
First Charge,	16	119	103
Second Charge,	56	79	23
Third Charge,	52	83	31
Fourth Charge,	None.	All.	—
Fifth Charge,	4	131	127
Sixth Charge,	48	87	39
Seventh Charge,	50	85	35
Eighth Charge,	14	121	107
Ninth Charge,	16	119	103
Tenth Charge,	12	123	111

The Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge generally voted *not guilty*; the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex, *guilty*, except of the 4th charge. The lord-chancellor, Erskine, generally voted with the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex. The Prince of Wales was not present.

Soon after his acquittal, Lord Melville was restored to his place in the privy-council; but although the Whig administration which was in power at the

end of the trial resigned within a few months, he never returned to office. The loss of his friend Mr. Pitt, and his own advanced age, rendered him little anxious to resume public life; and thenceforward he lived chiefly in retirement, taking part only occasionally in the debates of the House of Lords. One of his last appearances was made in the year 1810, when he brought forward a motion recommending the employment of armed vessels, instead of hired transports, for the conveyance of troops. His death, which was very sudden, took place in Edinburgh, on the 27th of May, 1811. He died in the house of his nephew, Lord Chief-baron Dundas, in George Square; having come to Edinburgh, it is believed, to attend the funeral of his old friend, Lord-president Blair, who had been himself cut off no less suddenly, a few days before, and who lay dead in the house adjoining that in which Lord Melville expired.

Lord Melville's person was tall, muscular, and well formed. His features were strongly marked, and the general expression of his face indicated high intellectual endowments and great acuteness and sagacity. In public life he was distinguished by his wonderful capacity for business; by unwearied attention to his numerous official duties; and by the manliness and straightforwardness of his character. He was capable of great fatigue; and, being an early riser, he was enabled to get through a great deal of business before he was interrupted by the bustle of official details or the duties of private society. As a public speaker he was clear, acute, and argumentative; with the manner of one thoroughly master of his subject, and desirous to convince the understanding without the aid of the ornamental parts of oratory; which he seemed, in some sort, to despise.

In private life his manner was winning, agreeable, and friendly, with great frankness and ease. He was convivial in his habits, and, in the intercourse of private life, he never permitted party distinctions to interfere with the cordiality and kindness of his disposition; hence, it has been truly said that Whig and Tory agreed in loving him; and that he was always happy to oblige those in common with whom he had any recollections of good-humoured festivity. But Lord Melville's great claim on the affection and gratitude of Scotsmen is founded on the truly national spirit with which he promoted their interest, and the improvement of their country, whenever opportunities presented themselves. There had of late been a disposition to *provincialise* Scotland (if we may so express ourselves), and a sort of timidity amongst our public men lest they should be suspected of showing any national predilections. Lord Melville laboured under no such infirmity. *Cateris paribus*, he preferred his own countrymen; and the number of Scotsmen who owed appointments in India and elsewhere to him, and afterwards returned to spend their fortunes at home, have contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the marked improvement on the face of the country which has taken place during the last seventy years. Neither did he overlook the interest of those who remained at home. The abolition of the public boards, courts, and other memorials of the former independence of Scotland, had not occurred to the economists of Lord Melville's day. He acted, therefore, on the exploded, although by no means irrational, notion, that the community generally would derive benefit from the expenditure of the various resident functionaries at that time connected with our national establishments. In all this he may have been wrong, although there are many who are still at a loss to perceive the error; but however that may be, he must be but an indifferent Scotsman, be his political principles what they may,

who can talk lightly of the debt which his country owes to Lord Melville. Indeed it is well known that, during his life, the services which he had rendered to this part of the island were readily acknowledged even by those who differed most widely from him on the general system of public policy in which he took so active a part.

Lord Melville was twice married; first, to Miss Rannie, daughter of Captain Rannie of Melville, with whom he is said to have got a fortune of £100,000. His second wife was Lady Jane Hope, daughter of John and sister to James, Earl of Hopetoun. Of his first marriage there were three daughters and one son; of the second no issue. Lord Melville's landed property in Scotland consisted of Melville Castle in Midlothian and Dunira in Perthshire. He was succeeded in his titles and estates by his only son, the Right Honourable Robert Dundas, who held the office of first lord of the admiralty under the administrations of the Earl of Liverpool and of the Duke of Wellington.

Lord Melville can hardly be said to have been an author, but he published the three subjoined political pamphlets, each of which was distinguished by his usual good sense and knowledge of business.¹

DUNDEE, VISCOUNT. See GRAHAM, JOHN.

DUNLOP, WILLIAM, principal of the university of Glasgow, and an eminent public character at the end of the seventeenth century, was the son of Mr. Alexander Dunlop, minister of Paisley, of the family of Auchencheth in Ayrshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of William Mure of Glanderton. One of his mother's sisters was married to the Rev. John Carstairs, and became the mother of the celebrated principal of the college of Edinburgh; another was the wife successively of Mr. Zachary Boyd and Mr. James Durham. Being thus intimately connected with the clergy, William Dunlop early chose the church as his profession. After completing his studies at the university of Glasgow, he became tutor in the family of William, Lord Cochrane, and superintended the education of John, second Earl of Dundonald, and his brother, William Cochrane of Kilmarnock. The insurrection of 1679 took place about the time when he became a licentiate, and he warmly espoused the views of the moderate party in that unfortunate enterprise. Though he was concerned in drawing up the Hamilton declaration, which embodied the views of his party, he appears to have escaped the subsequent vengeance of the government. Tired, however, like many others, of the hopeless state of things in his own country, he joined the emigrants who colonized the state of Carolina, and continued there till after the Revolution, partly employed in secular and partly in spiritual work. He had previously married his cousin, Sarah Carstairs. On returning to Scotland in 1690, he was, through the influence of the Dundonald family, presented to the parish of Ochiltree, and a few months after had a call to the church of Paisley. Ere he could enter upon this charge, a vacancy occurred in the principality of the university of Glasgow, to which he was preferred by King William, November, 1690. Mr. Dunlop's celebrity arises from the dignity and zeal with which he supported the interests of this institution. In 1692 he was an active member of the general corre-

spondence of the Scottish universities, and in 1694 was one of a deputation sent by the Church of Scotland to congratulate the king on his return from the Continent, and negotiate with his majesty certain affairs concerning the interest of the church. He seems to have participated considerably in the power and influence enjoyed by his distinguished brother-in-law, Carstairs, which it is well known was of a most exalted though unofficial kind. In 1699 he acted as commissioner for all the five universities, in endeavouring to obtain some assistance for those institutions. He succeeded in securing a yearly grant of £1200 sterling, of which £300 was bestowed upon his own college. While exerting himself for the public, Principal Dunlop regarded little his own immediate profit or advantage: besides his principalship, the situation of historiographer for Scotland, with a pension of £40 a year, is stated to have been all that he ever personally experienced of the royal bounty. He died in middle life, March, 1700, leaving behind him a most exalted character. "His singular piety," says Wodrow, with whom he was connected by marriage, "great prudence, public spirit, universal knowledge, general usefulness, and excellent temper, were so well known, that his death was as much lamented as perhaps any one man's in this church."

Principal Dunlop left two sons, both of whom were distinguished men. Alexander, who was born in America, and died in 1742, was an eminent professor of Greek in the Glasgow university, and author of a Greek grammar long held in esteem. William was professor of divinity and church history in the university of Edinburgh, and published the well-known collection of creeds and confessions which appeared in 1719 and 1722 (two volumes), as a means of correcting a laxity of religious opinion, beginning at that time to be manifested by some respectable dissenters. To this work was prefixed an admirable essay on confessions, which has since been reprinted separately. Professor William Dunlop, after acquiring great celebrity both as a teacher of theology and a preacher, died October 29th, 1720, at the early age of twenty-eight.

DUNS, JOHN DE (SCOTUS), that is, "John of Dunse, Scotsman," an eminent philosopher, was born in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

The thirteenth and part of the fourteenth centuries are distinguished in the history of philosophy as the *scholastic age*, in which the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics were employed, to an absurd and even impious degree, in demonstrating and illustrating the truths of the Holy Scriptures. Among the many scholars of Europe who, during this period, perverted their talents in the exposition of preposterous dogmas and the defence of a false system of philosophy, JOHN DE DUNSE, called the Subtle Doctor, was perhaps the most celebrated. So famous indeed was he held for his genius and learning, that England and Ireland have contended with Scotland for the honour of his birth. His name, however, seems to indicate his nativity beyond all reasonable dispute. Though convenience has induced general modern writers to adopt the term Scotus as his principal cognomen, it is evidently a signification of his native country alone; for Erigena, and other eminent natives of Scotland in early times, are all alike distinguished by it in their learned titles; these titles, be it observed, having been conferred in *foreign* seminaries of learning. John of Dunse points as clearly as possible to the town of that name in Berwickshire, where, at this day, a spot is pointed out as the place of his birth, and a branch of his family possessed,

¹ *The Substance of a Speech in the House of Commons, on the British Government and Trade in the East Indies, April 23, 1793.* London, 1813, 8vo. — *Letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, upon an open Trade to India.* London, 1813, 8vo. — *Letters to the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, relative to the Establishment of a Naval Arsenal at Northfleet.* London, 1810, 4to.

till the beginning of the last century, a small piece of ground, called in old writings, "Duns's Half of Grueldykes." Those who claim him as a native of England set forward the village of Dunstane in Northumberland as the place of his birth; but while the word *Dunse*¹ is exactly his name, Dunstane is not so, and therefore, without other proof, we must hold the English locality as a mere dream. The Irish claimants again say, that, as *Scotia* was the ancient name of Ireland, *Scotus* must have been an Irishman. But it happens that Scotland and Ireland bore their present names from a period long antecedent to the birth of John de Dunse; and all over Europe *Hibernus* and *Scotus* were distinguishing titles of Irishmen and Scotsmen. Independent, too, of the name, there are other testimonies concerning the native place of Scotus. In the earliest authentic record of him, preserved in his life by Wading (an Irishman and advocate for Ireland), the following passage occurs, which represents him as a boy conducted by two friars to Dumfries, a town in a county almost adjoining that in which Dunse is situated:—"Some infer that the acute genius of Scotus was inborn. Father Ildephonsus Birzenus (*in Appar.* § 2) from Ferchius (*Vita Scoti*, c. 20), and the latter from Gilbert Brown (*Hist. Eccles.*) relate, 'that Scotus, occupied on a farm, and, though the son of a rich man, employed in keeping sheep, according to the custom of his country, that youth may not become vicious from idleness, was met by two Franciscan friars, begging as usual for their monastery. Being favourably received by his father's hospitality, they began to instruct the boy by the repetition of the Lord's prayer, as they found him ignorant of the principles of piety; and he was so apt a scholar as to repeat it at once. The friars, surprised at such docility, which they regarded as a prodigy, prevailed on the father, though the mother warmly and loudly opposed, to permit them to lead the boy to Dumfries, where he was soon after shorn as a novice, and presented to our holy father St. Francis; and some say that he then assumed the profession of a friar.' Such are the words of Birzenus." Another passage from the same authority is still more conclusive regarding the country of Scotus:—"Nor must a wonderful circumstance be omitted, which, with Birzenus, we transcribe from Ferchius (c. 5), that we may obtain the greater credit. Hence it appears that the Holy Virgin granted to Dunse innocence of life, modesty of manners, complete faith, continence, piety, and wisdom. That Paul might not be elated by great revelations, he suffered the blows of Satan; that the Subtle Doctor might not be inflated by the gifts of the mother of Christ, he was *forced to suffer the tribulation of captivity* by a fierce enemy. Gold is tried by the furnace, and a just man by temptation. Edward I., King of England, called, from the length of his legs, *Long Shank*, had cruelly invaded Scotland, leaving no monument of ancient majesty that he did not seize or destroy, leading to death, or to jail, the most noble and learned men of the country. *Among them were twelve friars; and that he might experience the dreadful slaughter and bitter captivity of his country, John of Dunse suffered a miserable servitude; thus imitating the apostle in the graces of God, and the chains he endured.*"

When delivered from his servitude in England, Scotus studied at Merton College, Oxford, where he soon became distinguished, particularly by the faci-

lity and subtlety of his logical disputations. His progress in natural and moral philosophy, and in the different branches of mathematical learning, was rapid; and his skill in scholastic theology was so striking, that he was, in 1301, appointed divinity professor at Oxford. In this situation he soon attracted unbounded popularity. His lectures on the sentences of Peter Lombard drew immense crowds of hearers, and we are assured that there were no fewer than thirty thousand students brought to the university of Oxford by the fame of the Subtle Doctor's eloquence and learning. These lectures have been printed, and fill six folio volumes. In 1304 he was commanded by the general of his order (the Franciscan) to proceed to Paris, to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, which had been impugned by some divines. No fewer than two hundred objections are said to have been brought against that doctrine, which he "heard with great composure, and refuted them with as much ease as Samson broke the cords of the Philistines." Hugo Cavillus, in his life of Scotus, says that one who was present on this occasion, but who was a stranger to the person, though not to the fame, of Scotus, exclaimed, in a fervour of admiration at the eloquence displayed, "This is either an angel from heaven, a devil from hell, or John Duns Scotus!" The same anecdote we have seen applied to various other prodigies, but this is perhaps the origin of it. As a reward for his victory in this famous dispute, he was appointed professor and regent in the theological schools of Paris, and acquired the title of the *SUBTLE DOCTOR*. Nothing, however, could be more barren and useless than the chimerical abstractions and metaphysical refinements which obtained him his title. He opposed Thomas Aquinas on the subject of grace, and established a sect called the Scotists, in contradistinction to the Thomists, which extended its ramifications throughout every country in Europe. In 1308 he was sent to Cologne, to found a university there, and to defend his favourite doctrine of the immaculate conception against the disciples of Albert the Great. But he was only a few months there when he was seized with an apopleptic fit, which cut him off on the 8th of November, 1308, in the forty-fourth, or, according to others, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. It is said that he was buried before he had been actually dead, as was discovered by an after-examination of his grave.

The writings which Scotus left behind him were numerous. Various editions of parts of them, particularly of his lectures on the sentences of Peter Lombard, were printed towards the close of the fifteenth century; and in 1639 a complete edition of all his works, with his life, by Wading, *et cum Notis et Comm. a P. P. Hibernis Collegii Romani S. Isidori Professoribus*, appeared at Lyons in twelve volumes folio! These labours, which were at one time handled with reverential awe, are now almost totally neglected.

The fame of John Duns Scotus during his lifetime, and for many years after his decease, was extraordinary, and goes to prove the extent of his talents, however misapplied and wasted they were on the subtleties of school philosophy and the absurdities of school divinity. From among the testimonies regarding him which Wading has collected in his life, the following, by a learned cardinal, may be given as a specimen:—"Among all the scholastic doctors, I must regard John Duns Scotus as a splendid sun, obscuring all the stars of heaven by the piercing acuteness of his genius; by the subtlety and the depth of the most wide, the most hidden, the most wonderful learning, this most subtle doctor

¹ It is a common story that the term *dunse* is derived from the name of the philosopher, but in an oblique manner; a stupid student being termed *another Dunse*, on the same principle as a person of heavy intellect in general life is sometimes termed a *bright man*.

surpasses all others, and, in my opinion, yields to no writer of any age. His productions, the admiration and despair even of the most learned among the learned, being of such extreme acuteness, that they exercise, excite, and sharpen even the brightest talents to a more sublime knowledge of divine objects, it is no wonder that the most profound writers join in one voice, "that this Scot, beyond all controversy, surpasses not only the contemporary theologians, but even the greatest of ancient or modern times, in the sublimity of his genius and the immensity of his learning." This subtle doctor was the founder of the grand and most noble sect of the Scotists, which, solely guided by his doctrine, has so zealously taught, defended, amplified, and diffused it, that, being spread all over the world, it is regarded as the most illustrious of all. From this sect, like heroes from the Trojan horse, many princes of science have proceeded, whose labour in teaching has explained many difficulties, and whose industry in writing has so much adorned and enlarged theological learning, that no further addition can be expected or desired." Here is another specimen of panegyric: "Scotus was so consummate a philosopher, that he could have been the inventor of philosophy, if it had not before existed. His knowledge of all the mysteries of religion was so profound and perfect, that it was rather intuitive certainty than belief. He described the divine nature as if he had seen God; the attributes of celestial spirits as if he had been an angel; the felicities of a future state as if he had enjoyed them; and the ways of providence as if he had penetrated into all its secrets. He wrote so many books that one man is hardly able to read them, and no one man is able to understand them. He would have written more, if he had composed with less care and accuracy. Such was our immortal Scotus, the most ingenious, acute, and subtle of the sons of men."¹

These extracts may suffice to show the estimation, or rather adoration, in which the Subtle Doctor was once held; and it was not alone among his own disciples that he was venerated; for Julius Caesar Scaliger acknowledges, that in the perusal of John of Dunse he acquired any subtlety of discussion which he might possess; and Cardan, one of the earliest philosophers who broke the yoke of Aristotle, classes Scotus among his chosen twelve masters of profound and subtle sciences. In comparing the enthusiastic popularity in which Scotus and his works were once held with the undisturbed oblivion which they now enjoy, the mind adverts to the fleeting nature of all, even the most honourable, earthly aggrandizement.

DURHAM, JAMES, "that singularly wise and faithful servant of Jesus Christ," was by birth a gentleman. He was descended from the family of Grange-Durham, in the shire of Angus, and was proprietor of the estate of Easter Powrie, now called Wedderburn. From his age at the time of his death, he appears to have been born in 1622. We have but few memorials of his early life. Leaving college before taking any degree, he retired to his paternal estate, where he lived for some years as a country gentleman. At an early period he married a daughter of the laird of Duntarvie; and soon afterwards, while on a visit to one of her relations, became deeply impressed with religious feelings.² On his return home

he devoted himself almost wholly to study, in which he made great proficiency, and we are told "became not only an experimental Christian but a learned man." He did not, however, contemplate becoming a clergyman till the time of the civil wars, in which he served as a captain. On one occasion, before joining battle with the English, he called his company together to prayer. Mr. David Dickson riding past, heard some one praying, drew near him, and was much struck with what he heard. After the service was finished he charged him, that as as soon as the action was over, he should devote himself to the ministry, "for to that he judged the Lord had called him." During the engagement Mr. Durham met with two remarkable deliverances, and accordingly considered himself bound to obey the stranger's charge, "as a testimony of his grateful and thankful sense of the Lord's goodness and mercy to him."

With this resolution he came to the college of Glasgow, where he appears to have taken his degree,³ and to have studied divinity under his celebrated friend David Dickson. The year 1647, in which he received his license, was one of severe pestilence. The masters and students of the university removed to Irvine, where Mr. Durham underwent his trials, and received a recommendation from his professor to the presbytery and magistrates of Glasgow. Though now only about twenty-five years of age, study and seriousness of disposition had already given him the appearance of an old man. The session of Glasgow appointed one of their members to request him to preach in their city, and after a short period, "being abundantly satisfied with Mr. Durham's doctrine, and the gifts bestowed upon him by the Lord, for serving him in the ministry, did unanimously call him to the ministry of the Blackfriars' Church, then vacant." Thither he removed in November the same year. In 1649 Mr. Durham had a pressing call from the town of Edinburgh, but the General Assembly, to whom it was ultimately referred, refused to allow his translation. In his ministerial labours he seems to have exercised great patience and diligence, nor was he wanting in that plainness and sincerity towards the rich and powerful, which is so necessary to secure esteem. When the republican army was at Glasgow in 1651, Cromwell came unexpectedly on a Sunday afternoon to the Outer High Church, where Mr. Durham preached "graciously and well to the time as could have been desired," according to Principal Baillie; in plainer language, "he preached against the invasion to his face." The

the Lady Duntarvie desired her son-in-law, Mr. Durham, to go and hear sermon upon the Saturday, and for some time he would by no means go, till both his lady and his mother-in-law, with much importunity, at last prevailed with him to go. He went that day and heard very attentively; he seemed to be moved that day by the preacher being very serious in his discourse, so that there was something wrought in Mr. Durham that day; but it was like an embryo. When he came home he said to his mother-in-law, 'Mother, ye had much ado to get me to the church this day: but I will go to-morrow without your importuning me.' He went away on the Sabbath morning, and heard the minister of the place, worthy Mr. Ephraim Melvine, preach the action sermon upon 1 Pe. ii. 7, and Mr. Durham had these expressions about his sermon: 'He commended him, he commended him, again and again, till he made my heart and soul commend him; and soe he immediately closed with Christ, and covenanted, and went down immediately to the table, and took the seal of the covenant; and after that he became a most serious man.'

³ See Letter of Principal Baillie in M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*, ed. 1830, p. 364.

⁴ *Wodrow's Life of Dickson*, MS. p. xix. In the *Analecta* of this historian occurs the following curious particulars: "— tells me he had this account from old Aikenhead, who had it from the gentlewoman. That Cromwell came in to Glasgow, with some of his officers, upon a Sabbath-day, and came straight into the High Church, where Mr. Durham was

¹ Brukeri *Hist. Philol.* tom. iii. p. 828.

² The following account of his conversion is given in *Wodrow's Analecta* (MS. Adv. Lib.):—"He was young when he married, and was not for a while concerned about religion. He came with his lady to visit his mother-in-law, the Lady Duntarvie, who lived in the parish of the Queensferry. There fell at that time a communion to be in the Queensferry, and soe

story is thus concluded by his biographer:—"Next day Cromwell sent for Mr. Durham, and told him, that he always thought Mr. Durham had been a more wise and prudent man than to meddle with matters of public concern in his sermons. To which Mr. Durham answered, that it was not his practice to bring public matters into the pulpit, but that he judged it both wisdom and prudence in him to speak his mind upon that head, seeing he had the opportunity of doing it in his own hearing. Cromwell dismissed him very civilly, but desired him to forbear insisting upon that subject in public. And at the same time, sundry ministers both in town and country met with Cromwell and his officers, and represented in the strongest manner the injustice of his invasion."¹

In the year 1650, when Mr. Dickson became professor of divinity at Edinburgh College, the commissioners for visiting that of Glasgow, appointed by the General Assembly, unanimously called Mr. Durham to the vacant chair. But before he was admitted to this office, the assembly nominated him chaplain to the king's family; a situation in which, though trying, more especially to a young man, he conducted himself with great gravity and faithfulness. While he conciliated the affections of the courtiers, he at the same time kept them in awe; "and whenever," says his biographer, "he went about the duties of his place, they did all carry gravity, and did forbear all lightness and profanity." The disposition of Charles, however, was little suited to the simplicity and unostentatious nature of the Presbyterian worship, and although Mr. Durham may have obtained his respect, there is little reason to believe that he liked the check which his presence imposed.

Livingston mentions that Mr. Durham offered to accompany the king when he went to Worcester—an offer which, as may have been anticipated, was not accepted. The session of Glasgow, finding that he was again at liberty, wrote a letter to him at Stirling, in which they expressed the warmest feelings towards him. "We cannot tell," say they, "how much and how earnestly we long once more to see your face, and to hear a word from you, from whose mouth the Lord has often blessed the same, for our great refreshment. We do, therefore, with all earnestness request and beseech you, that you would, in the interim of your retirement from attendance upon that charge (that of king's chaplain), let the town and congregation, once and yet dear to you, who dare not quit their interest in you, nor look on that tie and relation betwixt you and them as dissolved and null, enjoy the comfort of your sometimes

very comfortable fellowship and ministry." From the letter it would appear, that Mr. Durham did not yet consider himself released from his appointment in the king's family; but with the battle of Worcester terminated all the fond hopes of the royalists. Finding the household thus broken up, there could be no objection to his returning to his former residence. He is mentioned as present in the session in April, and it was at this period that his interview with Cromwell took place, but for several months afterwards he seems to have withdrawn. In August a vacancy in the Inner High Church arose from the death of Mr. Robert Ramsay, and Mr. Durham was earnestly requested to accept the charge. He accordingly entered upon it in the course of the same year (1651), having for his colleague Mr. John Carstairs, his brother-in-law by his second marriage, and father of the afterwards celebrated principal of the university of Edinburgh. (See article CARSTAIRS.) In the divisions which took place between the resolutions and protesters, Mr. Durham took neither side. When the two parties in the synod of Glasgow met separately, each elected him their moderator, but he refused to join them until they should unite, and a junction fortunately took place. The habits of severe study in which he had indulged since his entry into the ministry seem to have brought on a premature decay of his constitution. After several months of confinement, he died on the 25th of June, 1658, at the early age of thirty-six.²

Mr. Durham's first marriage has been noticed in the early part of this sketch. His second wife was the widow of the famous Zachary Boyd, and third daughter of William Mure of Glanderston in Renfrewshire. This lady seems to have survived him many years, and to have been a zealous keeper of conventicles. Several of her sufferings on this account are noticed by Wodrow in his *History*.

It would be tiresome to the reader to enter into a detail of Mr. Durham's different works, and their various editions. He has long been, and still continues, one of the most popular religious writers in Scotland.³

DURIE, LORD. See GIBSON, SIR ALEXANDER.

DURY, JOHN. This clergyman, who was of some note during the religious contentions of the seventeenth century, was born in Scotland, and educated for the ministry. In 1624 he went to Oxford, that he might avail himself of the advantages of the public library; and when the time was ripened for the accomplishment of what he considered his especial mission, he told his ecclesiastical superiors that he could serve the interests of religion better by travelling through the world than confining himself to one flock. His aim was to effect an agreement among the different Protestant churches; and his mind was stored with those arguments in favour of concord which he thought would prove irresistible. His proposal was favourably received, and his cru-

preaching. The first seat that offered him was P[ro]vost Porterfield's, where Miss Porterfield sat, and she, seeing him an English officer, was almost not civil. However, he got in and sat with Miss Porterfield. After sermon was over, he asked the minister's name. She sullenly enough told him, and desired to know wherefore he asked. He said, "because he perceived him to be a very great man, and in his opinion might be chaplain to any prince in Europe, though he had never seen him nor heard of him before. She inquired about him, and found it was O. Cromwell."

¹ Life prefixed to *Treatise concerning Scandal*. Cromwell seems to have received "great plainness of speech" at the hands of the ministers of Glasgow. On a former occasion Zachary Boyd had railed on him to his face in the High Church: on the present, we are informed, that "on Sunday, before noon, he came unexpectedly to the High Inner Church, where he quietly heard Mr. Robert Ramsay preach a very good honest sermon, pertinent for his case. In the afternoon he came as unexpectedly to the High Outer Church, where he heard Mr. John Carstairs lecture, and Mr. James Durham preach graciously, and well to the time, as could have been desired. Generally, all who preached that day in the town gave a fair enough testimony against the sectaries."—Baillie, *ut supra*.

² "Mr. Durham was a person of the outmost composure and gravity, and it was much made him smile. In some great man's house, Mr. William Guthrie and he were together at dinner, and Mr. Guthrie was exceeding merry, and made Mr. Durham smile, yea laugh, at his pleasant facetious conversation. It was the ordinary of the family to pray after dinner, and immediately after their mirth it was put upon Mr. Guthrie to pray, and as he was wont, he fell immediately into the greatest measure of seriousness and fervency, to the astonishment and moving of all present. When he rose from prayer, Mr. Durham came to him and embraced him, and said, 'O! Will, you are a happy man. If I had been soe daft as you have been, I could not have been serious, nor in any frame, for forty-eight hours.'—Wodrow's *Ana.* iii. 133.

³ Abridged from a Memoir of Durham prefixed to his *Treatise concerning Scandal*. Glas. 1740, 12mo.

sade recommended by several influential ecclesiastics, among whom was Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, while he was assisted by Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore, and Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter.

In 1634, Dury, after publishing his plan of union, commenced his active operations; but as these could scarcely be otherwise than unsuccessful, a brief notice of them may suffice. In the year above mentioned he attended a famous assembly of the evangelical churches of Germany at Frankfort. In the same year, also, the churches of Transylvania sent him their advice and counsel. From this period until 1661 he seems to have been employed in incessant action, moving in every direction, negotiating with the clergy of Denmark and Sweden, consulting the universities, and communicating their answers; and although, after so much labour, the prospect of religious union appeared as hopeless as ever, he neither abandoned hope, nor remitted in his exertions. The elasticity of belief, however, which such an enterprise was calculated to create, was manifested in his own career: as a Presbyterian, he was one of the members of the Assembly of Divines, and one of the preachers before the Long Parliament, but subsequently he became an Independent. But let him change or accommodate his creed as he might, his purpose remained unchanged; and, directing his pilgrimage to Germany, he previously applied to the clergy of Utrecht for an authentic testimony of their good intentions towards his scheme of religious accommodation; and, to encourage them, he informed them of the hopeful state in which he had left the affair with the King of Great Britain and the Elector of Brandenburg, of what had been transacted at the court of Hesse, and the measures which had actually been taken at Geneva, Heidelberg, and Metz. Having obtained from the clergy of Utrecht the desired testimonial, which he might show to the Germans, he annexed it to a Latin work which he published in 1661 at Amsterdam, under the title of *Johannis Duri Irenicorum Tractatum Prodomus*, &c. Having visited Germany, and being at Frankfort in April, 1662, his conversation with some gentlemen at Metz about M. Ferri, an amiable enthusiast of their city, who, like himself, laboured to reconcile religious differences, inspired him with the resolution to visit Metz; but here two difficulties occurred—he must accommodate himself to the fashions of the place by shaving off his large white square beard, and dressing himself in the French costume. These, however, important though they might appear to others, were small difficulties to one who for the sake of a righteous enterprise was willing to become all things to all men; and on his arrival at Metz, M. Ferri was so transported with the distinction which such a visit conferred upon him, that he went out to meet Dury in a “complete undress.” [Such is the phrase used by his biographer, but its meaning we cannot clearly understand.] The delight of that meeting was mutual, and the good men had a long conference upon the subject of religious union which each had so much at heart.

In this brief summary we have comprised the history of the labour of forty years, at the end of which Dury found that he had only sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind. The religious world was as

little prepared for conviction by argument in the seventeenth century as it had been by the sword of Charles V. in the sixteenth; and the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches were still as far apart and still as irreconcilable as ever. Thus Dury found them in 1674, when the fire of his enterprise was exhausted, and when he was too old to work. It was only then also that his bold heart yielded to the conviction that all had been done in vain. Still hopeful, however, that truth would ultimately prevail, and the world, although at a remote period, be at one, Dury suspected that he had gone the wrong way to work, and hastened to change his tactics. It was no longer the union merely of the Calvinistic and Lutheran churches which he sought, but of all the Christian churches at large, and this he conceived might be best effected by giving a new exposition of the Apocalypse. This he did in a little treatise written in French, and published at Frankfort in 1674. It was his last morsel of bread cast upon the waters, and he hoped it might appear and be available on earth after he had passed to the more perfect union in heaven. He had now, however, obtained an honourable shelter, where he could spend the rest of his days in comfort, and die in peace. This was from Hedwig Sophia, Princess of Hesse, and regent of the principality, who assigned him a commodious lodging, with a liberal table, and a free postage for his letters, so that he might carry on his extensive correspondence; and here he died, but in what year we are unable to discover. Of the piety and sincerity of Dury there can be no doubt, whatever may be thought of his wisdom and discretion. The world as yet was not fully aware of the difficulty of reconciling contending churches; and he failed by prematurely attempting to accomplish what our own day is still unable to effect. Much writing as well as travelling occupied his long and active life; and his published works, of which the following is a list, show the shades and changes of opinion which his mind underwent in his impossible work of reconciling all parties to one standard:—*Consultatio Theologica super Negotio Pacis Ecclesiast.* Lond. 1641, 4to.—*A Summary Discourse concerning the Work of Peace Ecclesiastical.* Camb. 1641.—*Petition to the House of Commons for the Preservation of True Religion.* Lond. 1642, 4to.—*Certain Considerations, showing the Necessity of a Correspondency in Spiritual Matters betwixt all Professed Churches.* Lond. 1642, 4to.—*Epistolary Discourse to Thomas Godwin, Phil. Nye, and Sam. Hartlib.* Lond. 1644, 4to.—*Of Presbytery and Independency*, &c. 1646, 4to.—*Model of the Church Government.* 1647, 4to.—*Peace makes the Gospel Way.* 1648, 4to.—*Seasonable Discourse for Reformation.* 1649, 4to.—*An Epistolary Discourse to Mr. Thomas Thorowgood concerning his Conjecture that the Americans are descended from the Israelites*, &c. 1649, 4to.—*Considerations concerning the Engagement*, 1650, with two other Pamphlets on the same Subject, in answer to an Antagonist.—*The Reformed School.* 1650, 12mo, with a Supplement in 1651.—*The Reformed Library Keeper*, 1650, 12mo, to which is added *Bibliotheca Ducis Brunovicensis et Lunenburgi et Wolfenbüttele.*—*Conscience Eased*, &c. 1651, 4to.—*Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion.* 1654.—*Summary Platform of Divinity.* 1654.

E.

EDMONDS, COLONEL. This gallant soldier of fortune, who was born in Stirling about the close of the sixteenth century, was of humble origin, being the son of a baker (or as it was called, a baxter) in that ancient town. While a young boy, he ran away from his parents, from what cause is not recorded, and after finding his way to the Low Countries, enlisted as a common soldier in the army of Maurice, Prince of Orange. In this capacity he so highly distinguished himself by his valour and good conduct, that at last he attained the rank of colonel. After he had risen to this distinguished position, he was one day in company with several of his fellow-officers, when a man came to him who spoke Scotch. Edmonds, warming at the sound, was eager to hear the last news from Scotland, upon which the man, desirous of securing the colonel's favour, answered, "Your cousin, my lord —, is well, also your cousin —," and afterwards followed a string of high-titled names, all of whom the rogue made out to be the colonel's near kinsmen. Indignant at this device to ennoble him among strangers, where the fraud might have passed unquestioned, Edmonds sharply rebuked the fellow, ordered him out of his presence, and then told the brilliant company that he had no such high relationship, but was nothing more than the son of a poor baxter of Stirling.

Having won fortune as well as military rank, the colonel returned to his own country; but although now a man of some mark, the same proud humility still abode with him. On returning to Stirling, the magistrates and some of the principal inhabitants went out to meet him, and conduct him to his lodgings; but he would reside in no house but that of his parents, who were still alive. When the Earl of Mar also invited him to dinner or to supper, he refused, unless his father and mother were also invited, and placed above him at table.

In public spirit and liberality to his native town, Edmonds was not wanting. Among his other deeds of this nature, he either wholly built, or materially enlarged the manse of Stirling, a large three-storied edifice, having the baker's arms placed on the east end of the building; and this manse continued until 1824, when it was taken down. He also presented the pair of colours which the town afterwards used in its public meetings and processions. The date of his death is unknown. His daughter married Sir Thomas Livingston of Jerviswood, Bart.; and her eldest son of the same name was colonel of a regiment of dragoons, a privy-councillor, commander-in-chief in Scotland, and finally raised to the peerage by William III. in 1698, under the title of Viscount Terviot; but as he died without issue, the title became extinct.

ELGIN, EARL OF. As a Scottish nobleman, this eminent statesman is entitled to a place in our records, although his birth-place was not in Scotland. James Bruce, eighth Earl of Elgin and twelfth Earl of Kincardine, was born in London on the 20th of July, 1811, and was the eldest son of Thomas, the seventh Earl of Elgin, by his second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of James Townshend Oswald of Dunnikier, Fifeshire. He was educated first at Eton, and afterwards at Christ Church, at which the late Marquis of Dalhousie, Lord Canning, Lord Herbert of Lea,

and Mr. Gladstone were his fellow-collegians; and while a student at the university, he was known by the title of Lord Bruce, his father being still alive. His proficiency as a scholar was attested by his being of the first-class in classics in 1832, after which he became a fellow of Merton College. His public and political life did not commence until he had reached the ripe age of thirty, when, in 1841, he entered parliament as member for Southampton, and a supporter of Sir Robert Peel. In the same year, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the earldom; but, being a Scottish peer, he could still retain his seat in the House of Commons; this, however, he resigned in 1842, in consequence of being appointed to the governor-generalship of Jamaica.

In 1846 more important political duties awaited the Earl of Elgin. At this time our important colony of Canada had many grievances both real and imaginary to complain of; but the greatest of all was the apprehended passing of the corn-law bill, at that time under the consideration of the imperial parliament. Should the bill pass into law, the principle of protection would be annihilated, and that of "buying in the cheapest market" be established in its room. In this case, how would the interests of Canada be affected? It was feared, that if the differential duties on the import of colonial and foreign grain into Great Britain should be abolished, it would be impossible for the colony to compete with the United States. This the colonists represented in an earnest petition to her majesty, expressed in the following words:—"Situated as Canada is, and with a climate so severe as to leave barely one half of the year open for intercourse by the St. Lawrence with the mother country, the cost of transporting her products to market is much greater than is paid by the inhabitants of the United States; and, without a measure of protection or some equivalent advantage, we cannot successfully compete with that country." A hint of a bolder and more significant character followed:—"It is much to be feared," the petition added, "that should the inhabitants of Canada, from the withdrawal of all protection to their staple products, find that they cannot successfully compete with their neighbours of the United States in the only market open to them, they will naturally and of necessity begin to doubt whether remaining a portion of the British empire will be of that paramount advantage which they have hitherto found it to be." Between the urgency of the corn-bill at home and the threat of secession held out by the most important of our colonies, the British ministry were in a great dilemma; and their choice of Lord Elgin to settle the difficulty shows the esteem in which he was held, and the confidence that was reposed in him. In 1846 he was appointed governor of Canada, and he cheerfully undertook the difficult commission. It is not our purpose to enter into the history of his government during the eight years over which it extended: it is enough to state that it was one of firmness tempered with peaceful conciliation, and that it was sufficient for the crisis. Adopting the policy of his father-in-law, Lord Durham, he preserved a neutrality between all parties that naturally made him the umpire of them all; and he secured their confidence, by promoting the welfare of all

alike in developing the commercial and agricultural interests of the colony. This conduct, and the substantial benefits that accrued from it, were of such a pacificatory character, that the colonists no longer talked of secession from the mother state, while at home his services were so justly appreciated, that in 1849 he was raised to the British peerage by the title of Baron Elgin of Elgin.

Scarcely had his lordship rested at home on his return from Canada, when a new commission awaited him. Our wonted quarrels with the Chinese had broken out into a regular war, and although the enemy was contemptible in an open field, the result of such a contest was doubtful, more especially as the Europeans composed but a handful, while the Chinese are supposed to constitute nearly a third of the whole human race. The contest, also, on the part of the enemy, had been aggravated by the perfidy and barbarities of the notorious Yeh, the imperial commissioner. To bring such an unpleasant war to a speedy termination, the British government resolved to send a plenipotentiary to China, armed not only with full authority to negotiate a peace, but, if necessary, with military resources to compel it; and for this important double office Lord Elgin was selected. He set sail for our Chinese settlement at Hong-Kong, which he reached in the beginning of July, 1857; but on the voyage had been met at Singapore with tidings of the sudden outburst of the Indian mutiny, and a request from Lord Canning, the governor-general, to send him whatever troops he could spare. As the loss of our Indian empire was imminent, and would have been fatal to Britain, Lord Elgin complied. Soon after, on finding that the mutiny had attained greater magnitude, he followed in person with additional troops from Hong-Kong, wisely judging that in such an emergency the Chinese war was an affair of trivial moment. It was necessary, indeed, that our handful of troops in India should be reinforced with every bayonet that could be spared, when the whole country had risen in arms against them. Having thus done what he could for the preservation of our Indian empire, Lord Elgin returned to Hong-Kong, and addressed himself with diminished resources to the objects of his Chinese mission. It was soon found, however, that negotiations were useless, on account of the delays and duplicity of the Chinese statesmen, and his lordship was obliged to have recourse to his ultimate argument. This he could the more effectually do, as he had been joined by a French naval and land force, and was seconded by the representatives of Russia and the United States, who had a common interest in the quarrel. Hostilities were commenced by a movement of the English and French armaments into the Canton River; the large island of Honan, situated in the river and opposite Canton, was occupied by the confederate European troops, and Canton itself was bombarded and taken. These sharp measures, and the consciousness of the Chinese that they were no match for the "barbarians" in the arts of war, compelled them to a humiliating peace, by the terms of which trade was opened between China and Europe, and the property, safety, and rights of the foreigners in China guaranteed. All was granted which Lord Elgin demanded; and, after this successful embassy, he turned his attention to the neighbouring empire of Japan, from which a still stricter jealousy than that which prevailed in China had hitherto excluded not only European commerce, but European visitors. To obtain the opening of its ports to our traffic was the purpose of his visit, while the apology for his entrance into the Japanese waters was, that he was commissioned to present a steam-

yacht from the Queen of Great Britain to the Emperor of Japan. He persisted also in conveying this gift of his royal mistress to Jeddo, the capital, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Japanese to arrest his progress, but they were awed into compliance by the sight of the formidable steamships of war by which the British ambassador was attended. He and his suite were welcomed on shore, and the result of this embassy was a treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce between the Tycoon of Japan and the Queen of Great Britain, which was ratified at Jeddo, July 11th, 1859. Although these treaties both with China and Japan were as much owing to force as persuasion, and were made with two great nations who would be certain to reject them as soon as an opportunity occurred, the blame is not to be imputed to Lord Elgin. All that prudence, wisdom, and skilful diplomacy could effect with a people so insincere, he had used on the occasion; and it became the business of his government to see that they were kept inviolate, and to punish their infraction. It was much, also, that two such vast empires, hitherto so inaccessible for ages, and which, on that account, had become "dead seas of man," should be opened to European intercourse and civilization, although this entrance had been so rough, and might prove to be nothing more than a commencement of the attempt.

Events in China soon showed that there at least nothing more than a commencement had been made. One of the conditions of the late treaty was, that a British minister and his suite should be permanently established at Peking; and for this office of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, the Honourable Mr. Bruce, brother of the Earl of Elgin, to whom this treaty was mainly owing, was appropriately nominated to the office. Every precaution also was adopted to spare the sensitive pride and suspicion of the Chinese, and, by the advice of Lord Elgin, Mr. Bruce was instructed by our government to fix the residence of the British mission at Shanghai, and only require that it should be received occasionally at Peking. His right, however, to reside permanently in the capital was to be recognized, by his repairing to Peking, presenting his credentials to the emperor in person, and obtaining their recognition—and forestalling the obstacles that would be thrown in his way, the British admiral commanding our naval forces in China was appointed to enter the mouth of the Peiho, and secure the safety of the mission to Peking. And then commenced those difficulties and delays by which the Chinese had resolved to reduce the treaty to a dead-letter. Mr. Bruce, on reaching Shanghai with the French plenipotentiary, was met with a proposal from the Chinese government to have the ratifications of the treaty exchanged at that place instead of Peking; and, on the refusal of the ambassadors, it was proposed that they should travel from Shanghai to Peking by land, a journey of two months, instead of going to the capital by the river Peiho. But they adopted the latter mode of transit, and the Chinese fortified the river against them. The disasters that befell the British squadron in its attempts to force the passage of the Peiho are too well known to require further mention: their attacks both by land and water were defeated, and the over-confident invaders were driven back with considerable loss, and still greater disgrace, to Shanghai.

On the arrival of these tidings in England, it was felt that not a moment should be lost in our endeavours to repair the disaster, and that none was so fit for the purpose as the Earl of Elgin. He was therefore once more appointed British plenipotentiary in China; and accompanied by Baron Gros, the

ambassador from France, he set sail in an English frigate, the *Malabar*, for China. Stopping on their way, however, at the Point de Galle, in Ceylon, the ship ran upon a reef of sunken rocks, and was wrecked, while the calamity was so sudden and unexpected that both the French and English plenipotentiary were well nigh involved in the ruin. After this narrow escape, they proceeded in another ship to China, and reached Shanghai on the 21st of June, 1860. From the ships and troops placed at their disposal by the French and English governments, they were now in a condition to punish the Chinese for their late outrage, and compel them to renew the violated treaty, while their ultimatum was nothing less than the right of both missions to reside in the Chinese capital. It is unnecessary to particularize the hostile movements both by land and water, and the encounters that took place with the Chinese, in preparing the advance of the embassy to the capital; it is enough to state, that in every encounter the Chinese troops were made to feel that they were unequally matched against the soldiers of Europe. Nor were these the only obstacles to the onward progress of Lord Elgin, for the Chinese diplomatists carried on at the same time a war of crafty negotiation, by which they endeavoured to outwit him. Pretending a desire for peace, they sent commissioners to arrange the terms; but when everything was ready for settlement, it was found that all this was done merely to occasion delay. But this was not all: joining cruelty to perfidy, they attacked a body of the English commissioners whom they invited to a peaceful conference, overpowered them, threw them into prison, and treated them with such barbarity as is seldom paralleled even among savages. To free these captives from their bonds, as well as to punish such treachery, it was necessary to carry the war into the heart of Peking; and to show that they were in earnest, the united French and English troops, on the 6th of October, attacked in their march the summer-palace of the emperor, and subjected it to indiscriminate and ignominious plunder. Two days afterwards, the British prisoners were set free; but this reparation was only partial, and came too late, and on the 12th every preparation was finished for the bombardment of Peking. The emperor himself had previously left the capital under the pretext of a hunting expedition, the government officials were terrified and perplexed, and nowhere was there concert for resistance even had such a purpose been entertained. Peking therefore surrendered at the summons; and one of the most populous of the earth's cities, the capital of the proudest of governments, was in the hands of a small invading force, with the banners of France and England floating triumphantly upon its walls. After this humbling surrender, Lord Elgin thought enough had been inflicted; but it was now only that he learned the full amount of Chinese cruelty that had been inflicted upon the prisoners so treacherously surprised and captured. Of these, twenty-six in number, only thirteen had been restored alive, but so marked by the cruelties they had undergone, that to some of them life could only be a burden; the rest had been murdered, with circumstances of atrocity too horrible to be mentioned. Although Peking was spared according to the previous treaty, he was resolved that such barbarity should not go unpunished; and as the government had sanctioned the deed, it was upon it that the chastisement should fall. The summer-palace of the emperor, lately plundered, and in which several of the captives had been confined and tortured, was therefore selected for the example; and, acting upon his own responsibility, as the French

ambassador shunned any partnership in the affair, Lord Elgin commanded that this stately building should be burned to the ground. He also inflicted a fine of 300,000 taels to be paid as compensation to the families of the murdered men, and to those persons who had survived their imprisonment. Eight millions of taels were to be paid by the Chinese government as an indemnity to England and France for the expenses of the war, and the articles of the former treaty into which his lordship had entered with China in 1858 were ratified with additional strictness. There was no longer any demur expressed about the residence of a British representative in Peking.

The successful termination of this difficult Chinese undertaking, and the courage and prudence with which it was conducted, justified the appointment of Lord Elgin to a still higher office, which almost immediately succeeded. This was to be governor-general of India in the room of the late Lord Canning. The difficulties of the office were so trying, and its duties so arduous, that these, combined with the nature of the climate, were enough to deter any statesman, more especially if he was independent of office, or had the prospect of advancement at home. But Lord Elgin was not to be held back by such personal considerations when duty summoned him to the task. His friends, indeed, had their misgivings, when they remembered how two of his predecessors, both of whom had been his class-fellows at college, had succumbed to the toils of office and the exhausting effects of the climate, and had died before their day; but they hoped that his lordship's case might prove a happy exception, more especially as he was still in little more than the prime of life, and had become inured to the harness of political labour. The discontent of India also had been exhausted in the mutiny, and its numerous tribes and nations had laid the chastisement of its suppression to heart. This his lordship felt as soon as he had assumed office, so that his principal care was to develop the resources of the country, and promote the industry of the people. The history of his rule in India was therefore one of peace, neither provoking contests nor acquiring territory, and its unostentatious character was well rewarded by the substantial benefits which it everywhere created. India, indeed, needed such a Numa, after the fierce wars by which it had been so rudely shaken. But too soon this promise of prosperity to so many millions under his beneficent administration was brought to a close. In the autumn of 1863 he set out on a tour of inspection of the north of India, with the intention of visiting Cashmere, accompanied by Lady Elgin, and attended by his secretaries and other government officials. On the 13th of November he had ascended on foot one of the passes of the Himalayas; but the unwonted fatigue was followed by a severe illness, which threw him upon a sick-bed at a secluded hamlet called the Dhurumsala. From that bed he was never more to rise, and his last hours are thus described in the *Bombay Times*:—"Up to the 19th his lordship was quite conscious, fully aware of his state, and perfectly composed. He made every earthly preparation for his departure. He made his will; gave injunctions that he should be buried at Dhurumsalah; directed Colonel Strachey to design a tomb for his remains; approved of the design when submitted to him; dictated the words of the telegrams that he ordered to be despatched to England, conveying the expression of his duty to his queen, and the request that her majesty would appoint his successor; gave instructions respecting the return of his family to England; took leave of his family, and





waited till his end came. His death," the same authority adds, "is a great loss to the British empire: to British India, at such a time as the present, it is a loss which seems irreparable." The character of Lord Elgin as a statesman and as governor-general of India is thus briefly but justly summed up in the *Times* newspaper, when announcing his decease:—"He has fallen in harness; but he has had the satisfaction of seeing India grow in prosperity under his rule, and hold out expectations which for years past we have not dared to entertain. All through his life he was successful in his undertakings, and he was successful to the last. He owed that success not so much to great genius as to good sense, to social tact, and to a love of hard, steady work."

The Earl of Elgin was twice married. His first wife, Elizabeth Mary, daughter of C. L. Cumming of Rose-isle, Stirlingshire, died in 1843, while he was governor of Jamaica, leaving him one daughter. His second wife was Lady Mary Louisa Lambton, daughter of the Earl of Durham, by whom the Earl of Elgin had three sons and a daughter. The eldest of these sons, Victor Alexander Lord Bruce, succeeded him in the earldom.

ELIBANK, LORD. See MURRAY, PATRICK.

ELLIOT, GEORGE AUGUSTUS, Lord Heathfield, a distinguished military officer, was the ninth son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobbs in Roxburghshire, and born about the year 1718. He received his education, first at home under the charge of a family tutor, and afterwards at Leyden, where he acquired a perfect and colloquial knowledge of the French and German languages. Being destined for the army, he was placed at the military school of La Fere, in Picardy, which was the most celebrated in Europe, and conducted at that time by Vauban, the famous engineer. He afterwards served for some time as a volunteer in the Prussian army, which was then considered the best *practical* school of war. Returning in his seventeenth year, he was introduced by his father to Lieutenant-colonel Peers of the 23d foot or Royal Welsh Fusiliers, which was then lying at Edinburgh. Sir Gilbert presented him as a youth anxious to bear arms for his king and country; and he accordingly entered the regiment as a volunteer. Having served for upwards of a twelvemonth, during which he displayed an uncommon zeal in his profession, he was removed to the engineer corps at Woolwich, and was making great progress in the studies requisite for that branch of service, when his uncle, Colonel Elliot, introduced him as adjutant of the 2d troop of horse-grenadiers. His exertions in this situation laid the foundation of a discipline which afterwards rendered the two troops of horse-grenadiers the finest corps of heavy cavalry in Europe. In the war which ended in 1748 he served with his regiment in many actions—among the rest, the battle of Dettingen, in which he was wounded. After successively purchasing the captaincy, majority, and lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment, he resigned his place in the engineer corps, notwithstanding that he had already studied gunnery and other matters connected with the service, to a degree which few have ever attained. He was now distinguished so highly for his zeal and acquirements, that George II. appointed him one of his aides-de-camp. In 1759 he quitted the 2d regiment of horse-grenadiers, having been selected to raise, form, and discipline the first regiment of light horse, called after him, Elliot's. This regiment was brought by him to such a pitch of activity and discipline, as to be held up as a pattern to all the other dragoon regiments raised for many years after-

wards. Colonel Elliot, indeed, may be described as a perfect military enthusiast. His habits of life were as rigorous as those of a religious ascetic. His food was vegetables, his drink water. He neither indulged himself in animal food nor wine. He never slept more than four hours at a time, so that he was up later and earlier than most other men. It was his constant endeavour to make his men as abstemious, hardy, and vigilant as himself; and it is stated that habit at last rendered them so, without their feeling it to be a hardship. It might have been expected, from such a character, that he would also be a stern and unscrupulous soldier; but the reverse was the case. He was sincerely anxious, by acts of humanity, to soften the horrors of war. In the expedition to the coast of France which took place near the close of the Seven Years' war, he had the command of the cavalry, with the rank of brigadier-general. In the memorable expedition against the Havannah, he was second in command. After a desperate siege of nearly two months, during which the British suffered dreadfully from the climate, the city, which was considered as the key to all the Spanish dominions in the West Indies, was taken by storm. The Spanish general, Lewis de Velasco, had displayed infinite firmness in his defence of this fortress, as well as the most devoted bravery at its conclusion, having fallen amidst heaps of slain, while vainly endeavouring to repel the final attack. Elliot appears to have been forcibly struck by the gallant conduct of Velasco, and to have resolved upon rendering it a model for his own conduct under similar circumstances. After the peace his regiment was reviewed by the king (George III.) in Hyde Park, when they presented to his majesty the standards taken from the enemy. The king, gratified with their high character, asked General Elliot what mark of his favour he could bestow on his regiment equal to their merits. He answered that his regiment would be proud, if his majesty should think that, by their services, they were entitled to the distinction of royals. It was accordingly made a royal regiment, with this flattering title—"The 15th or king's royal regiment of light dragoons." At the same time the king expressed a desire to confer a mark of his favour on the brave general; but he declared that the honour and satisfaction of his majesty's approbation were his best reward.

During the peace between 1763 and 1775, General Elliot served for a time as commander of the forces in Ireland. Being recalled from this difficult post on his own solicitation, he was, in an hour fortunate for his country, appointed to the command of Gibraltar. In the ensuing war, which finally involved both the French and Spaniards, the latter instituted a most determined siege round his fortress, which lasted for three years, and was only unsuccessful through the extraordinary exertions, and, it may be added, the extraordinary qualifications of General Elliot. Both himself and his garrison, having been previously inured to every degree of abstinence and discipline, were fitted in a peculiar manner to endure the hardships of the siege, while at the same time his military and engineering movements were governed by such a clear judgment and skill, as to baffle the utmost efforts of the enemy. Collected within himself, he in no instance destroyed by premature attacks the labours which would cost the enemy time, patience, and expense to complete; he deliberately observed their approaches, and, with the keenest perception, seized on the proper moment in which to make his attack with success. He never spent his ammunition in useless parade or in unimportant attacks. He never relaxed from his

discipline by the appearance of security, nor hazarded the lives of his garrison by wild experiments. By a cool and temperate demeanour, with a mere handful of men, he maintained his station for three years of constant investment, in which all the powers of Spain were employed. All the eyes of Europe were upon his conduct, and his final triumph was universally allowed to be among the most brilliant military transactions of modern times.

On his return to England, General Elliot received the thanks of parliament, and was honoured by his sovereign, June 14, 1787, with a peerage, under the title of Lord Heathfield and Baron Gibraltar, besides being elected a Knight of the Bath. His lordship died at Aix-la-Chapelle, July 6, 1790, of a second stroke of palsy, while endeavouring to reach Gibraltar, where he was anxious to close his life. He left, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Drake, a son, who succeeded him in the peerage.

ELLIOT MURRAY KYNNYNMOND, GILBERT, first Earl of Minto, a distinguished statesman, was born at Edinburgh, April 23, 1751. He was the eldest son of Gilbert Elliot, Esq., advocate, younger of Minto, by Mrs. Agnes Murray Kynnynmond, of Melgund and Kynnynmond.

The Earl of Minto was descended from a race of very eminent persons. His father, who became Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, baronet, was conspicuous as a parliamentary orator, and in 1763 held the office of treasurer of the navy. He subsequently obtained the reversion of the office of keeper of the signet in Scotland. In the literary annals of his country he is the well-known author of several excellent poetical compositions, particularly the popular song, *My Sheep I neglected*. He also carried on a philosophical correspondence with David Hume, which is quoted with marks of approbation by Mr. Dugald Stewart, in his *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, and in his *Dissertation* prefixed to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Sir Gilbert was the eldest son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, lord justice-clerk, a respectable judge and most accomplished man, especially in music. Lord Minto, as he was called, is said to have been the first to introduce the German flute into Scotland, about the year 1725. In the history of Scotland, during the early part of the eighteenth century, he is distinguished by his zealous and useful exertions as a friend of the Protestant succession, and also by his patriotic enthusiasm in every measure that tended to the improvement and advantage of his country.

The father of Lord Minto was Gilbert Elliot, popularly called "Gibbie Elliot," at first a writer in Edinburgh, and in that capacity employed by the celebrated Mr. Veitch to rescue him from the tyrannical government of Charles II. in Scotland; a duty in which he succeeded, though it led to his own denunciation by the Scottish privy-council. Gilbert Elliot contrived to make his escape to Holland, but, nevertheless, was tried in his absence for high treason to King James VII., for which he was condemned and forfeited. After the Revolution he returned to his native country; and being recommended, both by his sufferings and his sagacity and expertness in business, was made clerk of the privy-council. He subsequently entered at the Scottish bar, and rose to the rank of a civil and criminal judge. It is related, that when he came to Dumfries in the course of the justiciary circuit, he never failed to visit his old friend Veitch, who was there settled minister; and the following dialogue used to pass between them: "Ah, Willie, Willie," Lord

Minto would say, "if it had not been for me, the pyets [magpies] would have been pyking your pow on the Netherbow Port." "Ah, Gibbie, Gibbie," Veitch would reply, in reference to the first impulse which his persecutions had given to the fortunes of Lord Minto, "if it had not been for me, you would have been writing papers yet, at a plack the page."

To return to the Earl of Minto: his first education was of a private nature; and, as his father had prospects of advancement for him in England, he was subsequently placed at a school in that country. In 1768 he entered as a gentleman commoner at Christ Church, Oxford; whence he was transferred to Lincoln's Inn, and in due time was called to the English bar. His health becoming delicate, he soon after commenced a tour of the Continent, with the view of acquiring a knowledge of the general state of European life and policy. While at Paris, he frequented the society of Madame du Defand, by whom he is justly praised in her correspondence. She calls him "ce petit Elliot," either in endearment, or in allusion to his youth and delicate person. In 1777 Mr. Elliot married Miss Amyand, daughter of Sir George Amyand, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. Soon after this period his father died, leaving him in possession of the baronetcy.

In 1774 Mr. Elliot was elected member of parliament for Morpeth; and, though he never became a very frequent speaker, he gave proofs on many occasions of his talents both as a debater and a man of business. In the deliberations of parliament on the American contest he warmly espoused the cause of ministers, until nearly the close of the war, when he joined the ranks of the opposition. Having attached himself to Mr. Fox, he gave his support to the coalition ministry, and after the dismissal of that party, adhered to it throughout its misfortunes and disgrace. In the endeavours of the party of the coalition to humble that of the new aristocracy, which seemed to have arisen in what was called the *India interest*; in their attempts to win the people back to their side, by swerving, to a certain length, into democratical Whiggism; in their hopes to strengthen themselves on the authority of the heir-apparent to the crown; in their opposition to a war on behalf of Turkey, with the power of Russia and its allies; in their efforts to maintain what was really the constitutional right of the Prince of Wales to the regency; and in all their other political measures, whether to serve their country or to restore themselves to official power, Sir Gilbert Elliot bore no undistinguished part.

The estimation in which he was held by his party is proved by the circumstance of his having been twice proposed as speaker; on one of which occasions he very nearly carried his election against the government. At the breaking out of the French revolution, he, like many others of his party, warmly adopted the views of the Tories, and became a warm supporter of ministers. In 1793 the town of Toulon, and other parts of the south of France, had declared for Louis XVII., and seemed likely to become of great service to the British arms in operating against the new republic. Sir Gilbert Elliot was then associated in a commission with Lord Hood and General O'Hara, respectively commanders of the naval and military force, to meet with the French royalists, and afford them all possible protection. On the recapture of Toulon by the republicans, December 18, 1793, he procured for such of the Toulonese as escaped a refuge in the island of Elba. The Corsicans having now also resolved to declare against the republic, Sir Gilbert was nominated to take them

under the protection of Great Britain. Early in 1794 all the fortified places of the island were put into his hands; and the king having accepted the proffered sovereignty of the island, Sir Gilbert presided as viceroy in a general assembly of the Corsicans, June 19, 1794, when a code of laws was adopted for the political arrangement of society in the island, being in substance somewhat similar to the constitution of Great Britain. In a speech of great wisdom, dignity, and conciliation, Sir Gilbert recommended to the Corsicans to live quietly under this constitution, and to value aright the advantages they had gained by putting themselves under the protection of the same sovereign who was the executor of the laws and the guardian of the liberties of Great Britain. Whatever could be done by prudence, moderation, energy, and vigilance, was done by Sir Gilbert in the government of this island; but, notwithstanding all his efforts, the French ultimately gained the ascendancy, and in October, 1796, the island was deserted by the British. George III. acknowledged his sense of Sir Gilbert's services by raising him to the peerage, under the title of Lord or Baron of Minto, in the shire of Roxburgh, with a special permission to adopt the arms of Corsica into the armorial bearings of his family.

Lord Minto's speech in the House of Lords in support of the union with Ireland, a measure which met his sincere support, was one of considerable effect, and much admired even by those with whom he differed on that occasion. Early in 1799 his lordship was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, where he resided, and ably executed the duties of his very important office, till the end of the year 1801. On the accession of the Whig administration in 1806, he filled for a short time the office of president of the Board of Control; but having soon after been appointed to the situation of Governor-general of India, he embarked for that distant region in February, 1807. As the Company, Board of Control, and ministers had differed about the filling of this office (vacant by the death of Marquis Cornwallis), the appointment of Lord Minto must be considered as a testimony of the general confidence in his abilities and integrity, more especially as he was at the time quite ignorant of Indian affairs. The result fully justified all that had been anticipated. Under the care of Lord Minto, the debts of the Company rapidly diminished, the animosities of the native princes were subdued, and the jealousy of the government was diminished. In quelling the mutiny of the coast army, he evinced much prudence, temper, and firmness; but his administration was rendered more conspicuously brilliant by his well-concerted and triumphant expeditions against the Isles of France and Bourbon in 1810, and that of Java in 1811. Although these enterprises were in conformity to the general instructions, yet the British ministers candidly allowed, in honour of Lord Minto, that to him was due the whole merit of the plan, and also its successful termination. He himself accompanied the expedition against Java; and it is well known that his presence not only contributed materially to its early surrender, but also to the maintenance of harmony in all departments of the expedition, and tended materially to conciliate the inhabitants after the surrender. For these eminent services Lord Minto received the thanks of both houses of parliament; and in February, 1813, as a proof of his majesty's continued approbation, he was promoted to an earldom, with the additional title of Viscount Melgund. His lordship returned to England in 1814, in apparent health; but after a short residence in London,

alarming symptoms of decline began to show themselves, and he died June 21st, at Stevenage, on his way to Scotland. Lord Minto's general abilities are best seen in his acts. His manners were mild and pleasant, his conversation naturally playful—but he could make it serious and instructive. He displayed, both in speaking and writing, great purity of language, and an uncommon degree of perspicuity in his mode of expression and narration. He was an elegant scholar, a good linguist, and well versed both in ancient and modern history. With all these qualifications, he possessed one which gives a charm to all others—modesty. In short, it is rare that a person appears with such a perfect balance of good qualities as the Earl of Minto.

ELPHINSTONE, THE HON. MOUNTSTUART.

This distinguished civil servant of the East India Company, who won for himself such a high name in the history of our Indian empire, was the fourth son of John, eleventh Lord Elphinstone, by Anne, daughter of James, third Lord Ruthven, and granddaughter of James, second Earl of Bute. The Elphinstone family is one of great antiquity in Scotland; several of its members held responsible situations in the political events of their day; and John Lord Elphinstone, the father of the subject of the present memoir, was a general officer, held for some time the office of governor of Edinburgh Castle, and was one of the representative peers of Scotland.

Mountstuart Elphinstone was born in the year 1779. Until his twelfth year, his education was conducted in his father's house at Cumbernauld, and in 1791-92 he attended the high-school of Edinburgh. At this time he gave little promise either of talents or scholarship, having selected for himself a different class of teachers from those of the high-school. These were French prisoners of war, who had been captured in the early part of the revolution, and retained in the castle of Edinburgh; and as his father was governor of the castle, young Mountstuart, who was a Whig of the Charles Fox school, fraternized with these hot republicans, wore his hair long after their fashion, and learned to sing their revolutionary war-songs, chiefly the *Marseillaise* and *Ça ira*. After this unpromising training he was sent to a school in Kensington, taught by Dr. Thompson, where his education, such as it was, was completed in two short years. Thus he owed little to schools, and was of too volatile a disposition for serious application. It was only when he went out in early life to India, and was obliged to rely upon his own energy and resources, that he became a self-taught accomplished scholar. The place of his career was probably decided from the circumstance of his uncle, Mr. Fullerton Elphinstone, having been for many years a director of the East India Company. Having obtained a cadetship in the Company's civil service, he embarked for India in July, 1795, when only sixteen years of age. It was a dangerous ordeal for one so young to undergo. No literary tests were required of him; he was freed from the usual restraints of youth; and if he punctually discharged the duties of his office, no further questions were asked. But these circumstances, which might have corrupted and debased an inferior mind, only strengthened that of young Elphinstone, and made him brave, considerate, and self-reliant.

Almost immediately on his arrival in India he was appointed assistant to the magistrate at Benares. Here, however, his life glided silently onward for some years, with the exception of one important incident. In January, 1799, Vizier Ali, the deposed Nawab of Oude, who was detained in a sort

of honourable captivity at Benares, visited the British resident Mr. Cherry, and during the interview, either from design or under the influence of sudden passion, aimed a blow at him with his sword. As if this had been a preconcerted signal, the nabab's followers attacked the British officers present at the interview, and a massacre commenced which seemed to have for its object the extirpation of all the Europeans in Benares. But the gallant resistance of Mr. Davis, who with spear in hand defended the narrow stair leading to the roof of his house, on which his family had taken shelter, gave time for the arrival of British troops, by whom the sudden mutiny was quelled. In this wild uproar the situation of Mr. Elphinstone was truly critical. He was sitting with his friend Sir R. Houston, then on a visit to Benares, and they were engaged in conversation, unconscious of the murders going on in the streets, until nearly all the English were destroyed or had fled. They had only time to mount their horses, when they were pursued by the enemy's cavalry; and their escape was owing to a sugar plantation into which they dashed, and where they were hid by the tall sugar-canes. It was a lesson of political wariness against the sudden outbursts of Asiatic passion, which, among other lessons, Elphinstone was careful to lay to heart. Two years after this event he was transferred to the diplomatic service at the Mahratta court, under Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close, and here it was that Elphinstone might be properly said to commence in earnest the career that led him to fame and distinction.

This new sphere of action, to which he was appointed in 1801, presented a complication of difficulties seldom to be paralleled in the politics of Europe. The Mahratta empire had risen on that of the Mogul, and succeeded to the same ascendancy in India; but at the end of the eighteenth century had fallen into the same state of anarchy as its predecessor. Although the form of its government and the prestige of its name still survived, the real power had been usurped by the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy, who after paying a merely nominal homage to the peshwa or representative of the sovereign—an official who under that subsidiary title had ruled with regal authority—governed their own territories with unrestricted sway. Thus there were two sovereigns and a double court at Poona—a pageant king, with the title and show of royalty, and a mayor of the palace, who enjoyed the real authority. This last functionary was impersonated in Bajee Rao, a Mahratta prince of great cunning and showy accomplishments, but no soldier, who, although he had usurped for the time the chief power of the state, was controlled by whatever warlike Mahratta chieftain might happen for the time to be uppermost. In this confusion of parties, where sovereign, peshwa, and factious princes were all striving for supremacy, and the Mahratta empire was about to be torn to pieces, a power greater than them all stepped in, either to compose or profit by the confusion. Need we add that this power was the British empire in India? Lord Wellesley, the governor-general, proposed a military alliance with the peshwa, and although the terms were those of a superior, the peshwa was constrained to submit to them. It was into this Mahratta court, or rather political chaos, that Elphinstone was sent, and he had arrived in time to witness the struggles that overthrew the peshwa's authority, and the British interference by which his rule was re-established.

A treaty, however, by which the ambition of so many was thwarted could not be of long endurance, and it was found necessary by the governor-general

to send a mission to the great Mahratta chiefs, Scindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, to reconcile them to the change. The mission, however, failed, although Arthur Wellesley, the future hero of Waterloo, was at the head of it. That final argument of force was necessary which none knew better how to apply, and the unsuccessful negotiator was soon after to be the conqueror of Assaye. During his mission, General Wellesley, who had come in contact with our promising diplomatist at Poona, and marked his abilities, requested the resident "to give him young Elphinstone." This at the time was declined; but afterwards, when the sickness of Sir John Malcolm, Wellesley's secretary, had disabled him from duty, Elphinstone was sent to supply his place. He joined the general at Ahmednuggur early in August, 1803, and was present with him through the whole of that Mahratta campaign in which Sir Arthur's great military achievements were commenced. And here it was that Elphinstone showed the courage, the energy, and coolness of an approved soldier, with that military enthusiasm which so largely enters into the composition of a hero. At Assaye, though suffering from sickness, he quitted his palanquin to follow the general through the dangers of the fight, on which occasion, as he wrote after the battle, he was "well dusted;" and at Argum he was again at Sir Arthur's side, when our troops were thrown into momentary disorder by the unexpected fire of the enemy's guns. At the siege of Unawighur, with which the campaign terminated, Wellesley was so pleased with the conduct of his young secretary throughout the whole war, that he said, "You have mistaken your profession; you ought to have been a soldier." Nor were his official services less appreciated, as was shown by the general's letter recommending him to the important post of representative of British interests at the court of Berar, when peace was concluded. "Upon the occasion," he writes to the governor-general, "of mentioning Mr. Elphinstone, it is but justice to that gentleman to inform your excellency that I have received the greatest assistance from him since he has been with me. He is well versed in the language, has experience and a knowledge of the Mahratta powers, and their relations with each other, and with the British government and its allies. He has been present in all the actions which have been fought in this quarter during the war, and at all the sieges. He is acquainted with every transaction that has taken place, and with my sentiments upon all subjects. I therefore take the liberty of recommending him to your excellency." This was high praise, especially from a quarter so chary of commendations. It was a trying situation for which Elphinstone was recommended, as the Rajah of Berar, an independent sovereign, had just been deprived of some of his provinces by the British, and might at any time renew the war to recover them, and be revenged for his recent discomfiture. And extraordinary was the merit of one only twenty-five years old who was appointed to watch and control such a potentate.

Contrary to all expectation the rajah remained quiet, having been appeased by the restoration of part of his conquered territory; and Elphinstone, after holding peaceful office in the country, was transferred, in March, 1808, to the temporary charge of our relations with the court of Scindia, and in the following August to the charge of an embassy to Cabul. In consequence, however, of changes which had occurred at the court of Cabul after he had set out, and instructions sent to him from headquarters to conclude no alliance that was not purely defensive, the mission produced no important conse-

quences. This was a bitter disappointment to Mr. Elphinstone, after the great preparations that had been made for the embassy, and the important results which were expected to flow from it. "From the embassy of General Gardanne to Persia," he writes, "and other circumstances, it appeared as if the French intended to carry the war into Asia, and it was thought expedient by the British government in India to send a mission to the King of Cabul; and I was ordered on that duty." This otherwise fruitless mission, however, sufficed to reveal the disappointed diplomatist in a new character. During his stay in that country, hitherto unknown to the British, he had noted everything with an observant eye; and on his return to Calcutta he wrote his work entitled *Account of the Kingdom of Cabul*. This production, by which he stood out to the world as an author, gives a minute and valuable account of the country, in its geography, natural history, &c.; as well as a history of the embassy; and as such it was a valuable boon to our Indian government, who, on this occasion, had a *terra incognita* laid open to their view, with all its capabilities and resources. It was intended originally as an official report, but Sir J. Macintosh, at that time in the civil employment of the East India Company, happened to read the work in manuscript, and recommended its publication. It was not committed to the press, however, until 1815. The travels of Sir Alexander Burnes, and the national disasters which befell our arms in Cabul, recalled the attention of the British public to the work, and in consequence of the growing demand, a third edition of it was published, thirty years after it was written, by which the literary fame of its author enjoyed a reduplicated existence.

In 1810 Mountstuart Elphinstone was appointed resident at the court of Poona. Although the country had considerably improved during his absence, the government was still unsettled; and although Bajee Rao had been replaced in the office of peshwa by British influence, and retained in it by British bayonets, he was restless under the ascendancy of his benefactors, and plotting for rule independent of their aid. Then, too, he had a minister and confidant, one Trimbukjee Danglia, whose character for energy and cunning resembled his own, and who was ready to second the views of his master, however unreasonable or unjust. It was this dangerous pair whom Elphinstone had to watch, to soothe, and to coerce at the court of Poona, while they hated his presence, and cared not by what means they might be rid of him. A peaceful agreement between such parties could not be lasting, and an act of violence perpetrated by the peshwa and his minister hastened the inevitable rupture. An ambassador, who was also a Brahmin, and therefore protected both by political and religious sanctions, had been sent by the government of Baroda to the court of Poona; but having mortally offended the peshwa, he was assassinated in open day and the public street, by hired murderers in the employ of Trimbukjee Danglia. The deed was an insult to every nation, and as such could not be passed over; the British government in India was the only authority that had the power as well as the right to vindicate the universal law of nations; and Elphinstone, as its commissioned resident, insisted upon the apprehension of Trimbukjee and his agents, and if found guilty, that they should be punished. "A foreign ambassador," he said to the peshwa, "has been murdered in the midst of your highness' court. A Brahmin has been massacred almost in the temple during one of the highest solemnities of your religion; and I must not conceal from your highness, the impunity of the per-

petrators of this enormity has led to imputations, not to be thought of, against your highness' government. Nobody is more convinced of the falsehood of such insinuations than I am; but I think it my duty to state them, that your highness may see the necessity of refuting calumnies so injurious to your reputation. I beg you also to observe, that while Trimbukjee remains at large, his situation enables him to commit further acts of rashness, which he may undertake on purpose to embroil your highness with the British government." The remonstrance was closed with a threat that communications would be closed between the British government and the court of Poona, unless Trimbukjee was brought to trial. After much demur on the part of the peshwa, the offender was delivered to the British government, and placed in close custody. But now came the British part of the difficulty. A trial that revealed the guilt of Trimbukjee might also betray the complicity of the peshwa, and to proceed against the latter might involve the wholesale evils of a Mahratta war. Satisfied also with having reduced the peshwa to submission, and compelled him to surrender his prime minister to justice, they here stopped short, and allowed Trimbukjee to escape from prison. It was a dangerous case of lenity, the effects of which were to recoil upon their own heads. The fugitive fled to his old master, and plans were concerted secretly between them to throw off their connection with the British, and tempt the hazards of a new Mahratta war. Into these plots Elphinstone penetrated, although the peshwa declared that Trimbukjee had not returned to Poona; nay, he even provided large sums to assist in his capture. Under these and other such devices, the conspiracy was so secretly matured, that even when it broke out into open warfare, the British in Poona were unaware of the danger. It was well, therefore, that Elphinstone from the beginning had suspected the mischief and prepared the remedy. Under his own responsibility he had drawn several bodies of British troops to the neighbourhood of the capital, and was thus prepared to repel violence by force. Hostilities were commenced by a sudden attack on the British residency; but Elphinstone, whose military eye detected the difficulty of defending it, had previously withdrawn the troops to a well-chosen position about four miles distant from the city, so that all which the insurgents could do was to seize and destroy the building. The military commander of the small British force was Colonel Barr, a brave old officer, but now half-crippled by paralysis, who intended to stand merely on the defensive; but Elphinstone, who was well acquainted with the nature of Mahratta warfare, which he had learned under Wellington, and who, as British resident, had a superior voice in the direction of the troops, ordered an advance to meet the enemy mid-way. This boldness daunted the Mahrattas, so that they fought with only half their usual spirit, and after a short fight their huge masses recoiled in broken and tumultuary heaps. To Colonel Barr, as military commander, this victory was officially ascribed; but the plan, and the excellent movements of the troops, by which the battle was won, were generally and justly attributed to the civilian Elphinstone. The campaign which followed lasted only a few months, and the desultory resistance of the Mahrattas was finally closed by their utter defeat at Ashtee. Much of this success was owing to Elphinstone's counsel, who advised that the troops should be employed in the capturing and occupation of forts, instead of a useless pursuit after a flying enemy, who was too nimble to be reached. The greater part of the conquered territory was an-

nexed to the dominions of the East India Company, and the rest placed under the rule of the descendants of a former sovereign. As for the defeated and now deposed Bajee Rao, he surrendered to the British, and passed the rest of his days in obscurity in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore. But insignificant though he personally was, he left behind him a fearful inheritance both to the British and his own countrymen, by means of his adopted son, Nana Sahib, and the wealth with which he endowed him. Strange that such a man as this imbecile and forgotten peshwa should have been the remote source of such a terrible tragedy as the Indian mutiny of 1857! In a parliamentary speech of Mr. Canning, descriptive of the state of India at the close of the Pindaree war, the following attestation to the worth of Mountstuart Elphinstone was as honourable as it was justly merited:—"In the midst of this unsuspecting tranquillity, at a moment now known to have been concerted with other Mahratta chieftains, the peshwa manifested his real intentions by an unprovoked attack upon the residency (the house of the British resident) at Poona. Mr. Elphinstone (a name distinguished in the literature as well as the politics of the East) exhibited, on that trying occasion, military courage and skill which, though valuable accessories to diplomatic talents, we are not entitled to require as necessary qualifications for civil employment. On that, and not on that occasion only, but on many others in the course of this singular campaign, Mr. Elphinstone displayed talents and resources which would have rendered him no mean general, in a country where generals are of no mean excellence and reputation."

Mr. Elphinstone was now elevated to the responsible office of governor and administrator of the conquered territories of the deposed peshwa, which had been annexed to the British rule. But when the difficulties of conquest had ended, those of government only began. The first of these arose from the predominance of a religious order. The late peshwa being a Brahmin, had largely favoured those of his own caste; and although the new governor endeavoured to conciliate them, they attributed all his concessions to fear and pusillanimity. They accordingly formed an infamous conspiracy, which had for its object the murder of all the Europeans at Poona and Suttara, and the restoration of the Mahratta dominion. Nothing, however, could escape the penetrating eye of Elphinstone; and having detected the conspiracy, he caused the ringleaders to be blown from the mouths of cannon—marking that while this was the most terrible of punishments in the sight of the beholders, it was the quickest and least painful to the criminals. This terrible instance of justice, which he undertook upon his own responsibility, and which was then an innovation in British India, so completely dismayed the Brahmins that they abandoned all such intrigues for the future. His friend, the governor of Bombay, astounded at this daring proceeding, and fearful of the consequences to Elphinstone himself, advised him to provide himself with an act of indemnity, which the other proudly refused. "If I have done wrong," he said, "I ought to be punished; if I have done right, I don't want any act of indemnity." The military chiefs were next to be restored to obedience. As they were numerically powerful, and held possession of the hill-forts, their hostility to a foreign dominion was only natural, and their rebellion a danger to be apprehended. In this state of things the policy of Elphinstone was wise and conciliatory. He did not attempt to overlay the people with European systems of law and justice, which they

neither could understand nor tolerate. He did not depose these powerful feudal chiefs, and with a stroke of the pen convert them into dangerous rebels. Such had been too much the policy of our Indian government, and was productive of disappointment and failure. Instead of this, the changes he introduced were gradual and easy to be borne; and the people were insensibly assimilated, as far as their nationality would permit, to the simple principles of law and order which prevail in every civilized country, and felt themselves happier and better by the change. It would not suit our limits to enter into a detail of Elphinstone's administration of the affairs of the province, but its effects we may briefly state. The example introduced a beneficial change in the government of the conquered provinces of India. With new conquests and annexations, a more simple form of administration, with less disturbance of native institutions, a more liberal employment of natives, larger powers given to British officers, combined with a more careful selection of them, were now introduced into the rule of India. With regard to his own province, Grant Duff, in his history, states, "More was done for the tranquillity of the Deccan in eighteen months than had ever followed a revolution in that disturbed country after a period of many years. The name of Elphinstone was deservedly associated with the acts of the British government, and the memory of benefits conferred by him on the inhabitants of Maharashtra will probably survive future revolutions, and will do much in the meantime to preserve the existence of British India." Nor was this an empty or merely oratorical eulogy. Its truth was tested to the letter in the terrible trial of the Indian revolt in 1857, when the name of Elphinstone was cherished by the Mahrattas, and when it acted like a conciliatory spell long after he had left the country. Even when he died, his kinsman and successor in the government of Bombay could point to a whole pile of letters which he had received from the Mahratta chiefs, eulogizing the virtues and bewailing the decease of their never-forgotten benefactor.

After the administration of Mountstuart at Poona had lasted from 1817 to 1819, he was called to occupy a still more elevated sphere. The government of the presidency of Bombay was vacant; and, departing from the usual routine of promotion, Mr. Canning, then president of the Board of Control, recommended that some person distinguished by superior talents and services, irrespective of leanings to rank or seniority, should be elected to the office. He then mentioned the names of Malcolm, Munro, and Elphinstone; and the last, although the youngest of the three, was preferred to be governor of Bombay.

Although Elphinstone held this new office during eight years—an unwonted period of arrest in his career of many changes—the events were not of that particular character which occupy a limited biography. The period was one of profound peace, and his course was that of a wise, just, and benevolent ruler, whose administration resembles the dew of heaven, rather than the whirlwind or the thunder-shower; and the influence of which is seen upon the aspect of a rich happy country, although its descent is so silent and unnoticed. And yet his incessant activity, his watchfulness, his temperate wisdom in the administration of the government of Bombay, and the zeal with which he furthered every attempt to elevate and improve the millions of native subjects over which he ruled, have made every one acknowledge that this was the brightest and best portion of his history. The numerous sketches of his manifold qualities given by his friends during this period, show

how well they were adapted to make his people happy, and how effectually such a sequel followed. Of these, however, we can only quote from the amiable, accomplished, and apostolic Bishop Heber, who thus describes him:—

“Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect, an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for, and application to, public business, a love of literature, and a degree of almost universal information, such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political, and sometimes military, duties since the age of eighteen, he has found time not only to cultivate the languages of Hindostan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular history of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society, and it is a common subject of surprise, in what hours of the day or night he finds time for the acquisition of knowledge.”

Such were the accomplishments of the frolicsome school-boy, who arrived in India with “small Latin and less Greek,” and who, at a period when the education of others is ended, was obliged to commence his almost from the beginning. Let us now see the bishop’s account of the public character of Governor Elphinstone:—“His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal, and he is evidently attached to and thinks well of the country and its inhabitants. His public measures, in their general tendency, evince a steady wish to improve their present condition. No government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter; and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own languages, in the establishment of panchayets, in the degree in which he employs the natives in official situations, and the countenance and familiarity which he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern empire which I had previously visited. His popularity (though to such a feeling there may be individual exceptions) appears little less remarkable than his talents and acquirements, and I was struck by the remark I once heard, that ‘all other public men had their enemies and their friends, their admirers and their aspersors, but that of Mr. Elphinstone everybody spoke highly.’ Of his munificence, for his liberality amounts to this, I had heard much, and knew some instances myself.”

We shall venture from Heber’s description of a perfect governor realized only one extract more. It is upon Elphinstone’s religious character and sentiments, upon which the authority of the worthy prelate may be considered as conclusive. “A charge has been brought against Mr. Elphinstone by the indiscreet zeal of an amiable but not well-judging man—the ‘field officer of cavalry,’ who published his Indian travels—that he is ‘devoid of religion, and blinded to all spiritual truth.’ I can only say that I saw no reason to think so. On the contrary, after this character which I had read of him, I was most agreeably surprised to find that his conduct and con-

versation, so far as I could learn, had always been moral and decorous, that he was regular in his attendance on public worship, and not only well-informed on religious topics, but well-pleased and forward to discuss them; that his views appeared to me, on all essential subjects, doctrinally correct, and his feelings serious and reverential; and that he was not only inclined to do, but actually did, more for the encouragement of Christianity, and the suppression or diminution of suttees, than any other Indian governor has ventured on. That he may have differed in some respects from the peculiar views of the author in question I can easily believe, though he could hardly know himself in what this difference consisted, since I am assured that he had taken his opinion at second-hand, and not from anything which Mr. Elphinstone had either said or done. But I have been unable to refrain from giving this slight and imperfect account of the character of Mr. Elphinstone as it appeared to me, since I should be sorry to have it thought that one of the ablest and most amiable men I ever met with were either a profligate or an unbeliever.”

After having thus lived and laboured in India for a long course of thirty-two years, during which he applied for no leave of absence, and scarcely enjoyed even a partial intermission, his stay in the country was terminated in 1827, when he resigned the governorship of Bombay. Although only in his forty-eighth year, and of temperate habits and a strong constitution, even a bow of steel will be relaxed by long and constant tension, and his health was so broken that he could no longer act with his former vigour. It was doubtful if even a return to Europe and a long sojourn there would string his energies anew, and again fit him for the trials of public life either in India or elsewhere. The tidings that he had resigned his government spread sorrow and consternation over Bombay, and an address expressive of their deep regret, headed by the signatures of the princes, chiefs, and native inhabitants, testified the keenness of their feelings. “Until you became commissioner in the Deccan and governor of Bombay,” they said in the opening paragraph of the address, “never had we been enabled to appreciate correctly the invaluable benefit which the British dominion is calculated to diffuse throughout the whole of India;” and after detailing the advantages they had enjoyed under his administration, they concluded with the following touching assurance: “The name of Elphinstone shall be the first our children shall learn to lisp, and it will be our proudest duty to preserve indelibly unto the latest posterity the name of so pre-eminent a benefactor to our country.” To gratify their request, a portrait of him, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, was sent to adorn the chief room of the Native Education Society; and his statue, by Chantrey, placed in the town-hall. But a more useful and enduring monument to his fame was the foundation of the Elphinstone College by the natives themselves, for the purpose of carrying out his plan of education for India, and the announcement of which he prized so highly, that he exclaimed on hearing of it, *Hoc potius mille signis!* For this institution 272,000 rupees were collected for the foundation of professorships for the instruction of the natives in the English language, and the arts, sciences, and literature of Europe; the chairs to be held in the first instance by learned men invited from Great Britain, until natives should be found competent to fill them.

On quitting India, Mr. Elphinstone, instead of returning directly home, spent eighteen months in travelling through Egypt, Syria and Palestine, Asia

Minor, Greece, and Italy, so that he did not arrive in England until May, 1829. Although so far advanced in years, the proficiency he had already made in scholarship by self-education had only increased his desire for further acquirements, so that he now settled down as a student in earnest. Seeking to perfect himself in classical knowledge, he resided in London, and occasionally visited Italy; but his more common practice was to retire with a collection of books to some quiet watering-place, where he could study some months of each year undisturbed. On his first return to London, he had been so painfully struck, in consequence of associating with the great scholars of the age, with his still defective knowledge of the Greek tongue, that he took up his abode for many months at a roadside inn, and laboured over the grammars and dictionaries of the language, while the political world marvelled as to where he had hid himself, and how he was employed. As public events went onward, the complication of affairs in our Indian government became so difficult, that the want of such a master intellect as that of Elphinstone to disentangle them was felt by our leading statesmen. Accordingly, in 1836, the governor-generalship of India was offered to him by Lord Ellenborough, on the part of Sir Robert Peel's administration, and renewed by the government which succeeded; but each offer he felt himself compelled to decline. The general regret in consequence of these refusals was expressed by Lord Ellenborough, when he declared at a public meeting, that had Mr. Elphinstone accepted the office of governor-general there would have been no Afghan war, an event with which the subsequent disasters of India were more or less nearly connected. But the health of the ex-governor of Bombay had been too rudely shaken to recover its former soundness, and his modesty may have been conscious that he had no longer the endurance and active energy that were needed for such a trying position. He was now also living in that studious peaceful atmosphere which was more congenial to the condition of an invalid. It was not, however, as a mere literary epicure that he settled down into such a mode of life. The knowledge which his active mind acquired he must reproduce, and that, too, not in conversation or correspondence, but in the laborious form of a book. This being certain, it was easy to guess what direction his authorship would assume. With India his life had been identified. It was there that he chiefly had learned what he knew, and performed those deeds which would give him a lasting name; with that region also his affections were interwoven, so that the welfare of its people was as dear to him as if they had been his countrymen and his brethren. He would write a history of India, and enlist the sympathies of Europe in its behalf.

Having resolved upon this feat, Mr. Elphinstone, in 1834, commenced the work in earnest. As the history of India necessarily divides itself into separate portions, in consequence of the successive conquests it has undergone, and the different nations by whom it has been ruled, he commenced with the Hindu period, when the original natives lived under the institutes of their great lawgiver, Menu. Both the Hindu and Mahometan portions were finished in 1839, after which he advanced to the history of India under the domination of the European races who have successively prevailed there until the country became a portion of the British empire. It was a very complex subject, but this was not his only difficulty. Admirable as he had always been in conversation, in letter-writing, and the drawing up of official reports—proceedings in which his whole life had hitherto been

spent, and which had become to him a second nature—he felt that it was a very different matter to commit himself to the press and the inspection of the world at large, more especially in old age, and with the confirmed habits of another life than that of authorship. There were also public claims upon his time and attention, and the visits of friends to interrupt his working hours; as well as the state of his health, which required his abandonment of labour, and a migration to milder climates. Beyond the Hindu and Mahometan periods he was unable to advance, and in 1842 he was obliged to give up the attempt. But notwithstanding these drawbacks, the unfinished history, which was published by instalments, was appreciated as a most valuable addition to our knowledge of India. "If it fail," adds his biographer, "to be a popular work, this springs mainly from the nature of the subject with which it deals. The history of a race so deficient in historical records as the Hindus, resolves itself into a series of historical disquisitions that cannot interest the many; while that of the Mahometan period, important as it is in its bearing on modern history, becomes insipid from the sameness of the revelations that it records. Mr. Elphinstone's narrative introduces as much of philosophical reflection as the subject admits of, and his remarks have a direct bearing on the important events with which the European reader is interested, and to which the early narrative is only regarded as an introduction. Nothing, too, can be more graphic and masterly than the account of the manners and character of the different races of India, to which some interesting chapters are devoted." A still higher praise than this was accorded, when Elphinstone was termed by the literary world the "Tacitus of Indian historians."

What remains to be told of this distinguished personage may be comprised within a few sentences. So conscious was he of the necessity of retirement, and so enamoured of his student life, that he not only once and again refused the governor-generalship of India, but also the governor-generalship of Canada, and a peerage. At the accession of her majesty he was also offered the order of the Bath, and a seat in the privy-council, but these tempting offers he also respectfully declined. His last years were spent in Hookwood, Kent, which was recommended to him by its healthiness and the beauty of its scenery; but here about the same time (1847) he was attacked by a malady the most trying to a lover of books; this was a weakness of eye-sight, which prevented him from reading, so that for this he was obliged to use the assistance of others. But his resignation and cheerfulness of spirit were still unbroken, and the last twelve years of his protracted life were like the close of a summer's day. This blessing he could also appreciate and enjoy to the full, and writing to a valued friend a few days before his death, he thus expressed himself:—"It is wonderful how my health improves as I advance in years, and I have much to thank God for in being in so much better health of late than I have been for years." A few months before he died he was conscious of the decline of his faculties, and occasionally haunted by the dread of outliving them, but from this melancholy termination he was mercifully spared. On Friday, the 18th of November, 1859, he had passed his evening as usual, listening to "his reader," and retired to rest about eleven o'clock. Early on the following morning, in consequence of hearing an unusual sound in his room, the servants went in, and found him suffering under a stroke of paralysis. On rallying, he dressed himself, and sat in a chair until his medical attendant came, who advised him to return to bed. During

Saturday he seemed at times to be conscious, but could not speak distinctly; and on the following day he expired, apparently without pain.

ELPHINSTON, WILLIAM, a celebrated Scottish prelate, and founder of the university of Aberdeen, was born in the city of Glasgow in the year 1431. His father, William Elphinston, was a younger brother of the noble family of Elphinston, who took up his residence in Glasgow during the reign of James I., and was the first of its citizens who became eminent and acquired a fortune as a general merchant. His mother was Margaret Douglas, a daughter of the laird of Drumlanrick. His earliest youth was marked by a decided turn for the exercises of devotion, and he seems to have been by his parents, at a very early period of his life, devoted to the church, which was in these days the only road to preferment. In the seventh year of his age he was sent to the grammar-school, and having gone through the prescribed course, afterwards studied philosophy in the university of his native city, then newly founded by Bishop Turnbull, and obtained the degree of *Artium Magister* in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He then entered into holy orders, and was appointed priest of the church of St. Michael's, situated in St. Enoch's Gate, now the Tron-gate, where he officiated for the space of four years. Being strongly attached to the study both of the civil and canon law, he was advised by his uncle, Lawrence Elphinston, to repair to the Continent, where these branches of knowledge were taught in perfection. Accordingly, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, he went over to France, where he applied himself to the study of law for the space of three years, at the end of which he was called to fill a professional chair in the university of Paris, and afterwards at Orleans, in both of which places he taught the science of law with the highest applause. Having in this manner spent nine years abroad, he was, at the request of his friends, especially of Andrew Muirhead, his principal patron (who, from being rector of Cadzow, had been promoted to the bishopric of Glasgow), persuaded to return to his native country, where he was made parson of Glasgow, and official or commissary of the diocese. As a mark of respect, too, the university of Glasgow elected him lord-rector the same year. On the death of Bishop Muirhead, which took place only two years after his return, he was nominated by Schevez, Bishop of St. Andrews, official of Lothian; an office which he discharged so much to the satisfaction of all concerned, that James III. sent for him to parliament, and appointed him one of the lords of his privy-council. It may be noticed here, as a curious fact, that at this period men of various degrees sat and deliberated and voted in parliament without any other authority than being summoned by his majesty as wise and good men, whose advice might be useful in the management of public affairs. So little, indeed, was the privilege of sitting and voting in parliament then understood, or desired, that neither the warrant of their fellow-subjects, nor the call of the king, was sufficient to secure their attendance, and penalties for non-attendance had before that period been exacted.

Elphinston was now in the way of preferment; and being a man both of talents and address, was ready to profit by every opportunity. Some differences having arisen between the French and Scottish courts, the latter, alarmed for the stability of the ancient alliance of the two countries, thought fit to send out an embassy for its preservation. This embassy consisted of the Earl of Buchan, Lord-chamberlain Livingston, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Elphinston, the subject of this memoir, who so managed matters

as to have the success of the embassy wholly attributed to him. As the reward of such an important service, he was on his return, in 1479, made archdeacon of Argyle; and as this was not considered as at all adequate to his merits, the bishopric of Ross was shortly after added. The election of the chapter of Ross being speedily confirmed by the king's letters-patent under the great seal, Elphinston took his seat in parliament, under the title of *electus et confirmatus*, in the year 1482. It does not appear, however, that he was ever anything more than bishop elect of Ross; and in the following year, 1483, Robert Blackadder, Bishop of Aberdeen, being promoted to the see of Glasgow, Elphinston was removed to that of Aberdeen. He was next year nominated, along with Colin Earl of Argyle, John Lord Drummond, Lord Oliphant, Robert Lord Lyle, Archibald White-law, archdeacon of Loudon, and Duncan Dundas, lord lyon king-at-arms, to meet with commissioners from Richard III. of England for settling all disputes between the two countries. The commissioners met at Nottingham on the 7th of September, 1484, and, after many conferences, concluded a peace betwixt the two nations for the space of three years, commencing at sunrise September 29th, 1484, and to end at sunset on the 29th of September, 1487. Anxious to secure himself from the enmity of James at any future period, Richard, in addition to this treaty, proposed to marry his niece, Anne de la Pool, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, to the eldest son of King James. This proposal met with the hearty approbation of James; and Bishop Elphinston with several noblemen were despatched back again to Nottingham to conclude the affair. Circumstances, however, rendered all the articles that had been agreed upon to no purpose, and on the fatal field of Bosworth Richard shortly after closed his guilty career. The truce concluded with Richard for three years does not appear to have been very strictly observed, and on the accession of Henry VII. Bishop Elphinston, with Sir John Ramsay and others, went again into England, where they met with commissioners on the part of that country, and on the 3d of July, 1486, more than a year of the former truce being still to run, concluded a peace or rather a cessation of arms, which was to continue till the 3d of July, 1489. Several disputed points were by this treaty referred to the Scottish parliament, which it was agreed should assemble in the month of January following. A meeting of the two kings, it was also stipulated, should take place in the following summer, when they would, face to face, talk over all that related to their personal interests, and those of their realms. Owing to the confusion that speedily ensued this meeting never took place.

Bishop Elphinston, in the debates betwixt the king and his nobles, adhered steadfastly to the king, and exerted himself to the utmost to reconcile them, though without effect. Finding the nobles nowise disposed to listen to what he considered reason, the bishop made another journey to England, to solicit in behalf of his master the assistance of Henry. In this also he was unsuccessful; yet James was so well pleased with his conduct, that on his return he constituted him lord high-chancellor of Scotland, the principal state office in the country. This the bishop held till the death of the king, which happened a little more than three months after. On that event the bishop retired to his diocese, and applied himself to the faithful discharge of his episcopal functions. He was particularly careful to reform such abuses as he found to exist among his clergy, and for their benefit composed a book of canons, taken from the canons of the primitive church. He was, however,

called to attend the parliament held at Edinburgh in the month of October, 1488, where he was present at the crowning of the young prince James, then in his sixteenth year. Scarcely any but the conspirators against the late king attended this parliament, and aware that the bishop might refuse to concur with them in the measures they meant to pursue, they contrived to send him on a mission to Germany, to the Emperor Maximilian, to demand in marriage for the young king his daughter Margaret. Before he could reach Vienna, the lady in question had been promised to the heir-apparent of the King of Spain. Though he failed in the object for which he had been specially sent out, his journey was not unprofitable to his country; for, taking Holland in his way home, he concluded a treaty of peace and amity with the States, who had, to the great loss of Scotland, long been its enemies. The benefits of this treaty were so generally felt, that it was acknowledged by all to have been a much more important service than the accomplishment of the marriage, though all the expected advantages had followed it. On his return from this embassy in 1492, Bishop Elphinston was made lord privy-seal, in place of Bishop Hepburn removed. The same year he was again appointed a commissioner, along with several others, for renewing the truce with England, which was done at Edinburgh in the month of June, the truce being settled to last till the end of April, 1501.

Tranquillity being now restored, Bishop Elphinston turned his attention to the state of learning and of morals among his countrymen. For the improvement of the latter he compiled the lives of Scottish saints, which he ordered to be read on solemn occasions among his clergy; and for the improvement of the former he applied to Pope Alexander VI. to grant him a bull for erecting a university in Aberdeen. This request Pope Alexander, from the reputation of the bishop, readily complied with, and sent him a bull to that effect in the year 1494. The college, however, was not founded till the year 1506, when it was dedicated to St. Mary; but the king, at the request of the bishop, having taken upon himself and his successors the protection of it, and contributed to its endowment, St. Mary was compelled to give place to his more efficient patronage, and it has ever since been called King's College. By the bull of erection this university was endowed with privileges as ample as any in Europe, and it was chiefly formed upon the excellent models of Paris and Bononia. The persons originally endowed were a doctor of theology (principal), a doctor of the canon law, a doctor of the civil law, a doctor of physic, a professor of humanity to teach grammar, a sub-principal to teach philosophy, a chanter, a sacrist, six students of theology, three students of the laws, thirteen students of philosophy, an organist, and five singing boys, who were students of humanity. By the united efforts of the king and the bishop ample provision was made for the subsistence of both teachers and taught, and to this day a regular education can be obtained at less expense in Aberdeen than anywhere else in the united kingdoms of Great Britain. The Bishop of Aberdeen for the time was constituted chancellor of the university; but upon the abolition of that office at the Reformation, the patronage became vested in the crown. Of this college the celebrated Hector Boece was the first principal. He was recalled from Paris, where he had a professorial chair, for the express purpose of filling the office, which had a yearly salary of forty merks attached to it—two pounds three shillings and four pence sterling. While the worthy bishop was thus laying a foundation for supplying the church and the state with a regular

series of learned men, he was not inattentive to other duties belonging to his office. His magnificent cathedral, founded by Bishop Kinnimonth in the year 1357, but not completed till the year 1447, he was at great pains and considerable expense to adorn. The great steeple he furnished with bells, which were supposed to have peculiar efficacy in driving off evil spirits. He was also careful to add to the gold, the silver, and the jewels, with which the cathedral was liberally furnished, and particularly to the rich wardrobe for the officiating clergy. He also added largely to the library. While he was attending to the spiritual wants of his diocese, the worthy bishop was not forgetful of its temporal comforts; and especially, for the accommodation of the good town of Aberdeen, was at the expense of erecting an excellent stone bridge over the Dee—a structure which continued to be a public benefit for many ages.

In consequence of his profuse expenditure, James IV. had totally exhausted his treasury, when, by the advice of the subject of this memoir, he had recourse to the revival of an old law that was supposed to have become obsolete. Among the tenures of land used in Scotland there was one by which the landlord held his estate on the terms that if he died and left his son and heir under age, his tutelage belonged to the king or some other lord superior, who uplifted all the rents of the estate till the heir reached the years of majority, while he bestowed upon his ward only what he thought necessary. By the same species of holding, if the possessor sold more than the half of his estate without consent of his superior, the whole reverted to the superior. There were also lands held with clauses called *irritant*, of which some examples we believe may be found still, by which, if two terms of feu-duty run unpaid into the third, the land reverts to the superior. From the troubled state of the country during the two former reigns, these laws had not been enforced; so that now, when inquiry began to be made, they had a wide operation, and many were under the necessity of compounding for their estates. Had the bishop been aware of the use the king was to make of the very seasonable supply, he would most probably have been the last man to have suggested it.

In 1513 occurred the conflict of Flodden, one of the most fatal that had ever befallen the Scots, in which James IV. and his principal nobles were slain, and the whole country left defenceless to the victorious enemy. The news of this most disastrous battle so deeply affected the gentle spirit of Bishop Elphinston, that he never was seen to smile afterwards. He, however, attended in parliament to give his advice in the deplorable state to which the nation was reduced. The queen had been by the late king named as regent so long as she remained unmarried; and this, though contrary to the practice of the country, which had never hitherto admitted of a female exercising regal authority, was, from the scarcity of men qualified either by rank or talents for filling the situation, acquiesced in, especially by those who wished for peace, which they supposed, and justly, as the event proved, she might have some influence in procuring. It was but a few months, however, till she was married, and the question then came to be discussed anew, and with still greater violence.

Such a man as Elphinston was not to be spared to his country in this desperate crisis; for, as he was on his journey to Edinburgh to attend a meeting of parliament, he was taken ill by the way, and died on the 25th of October, 1514, being in the eighty-third year of his age. He was, according to his own directions, buried in the collegiate church of Aberdeen.

Bishop Elphinston is one of those ornaments of the

Catholic church who sometimes appear in spite of the errors of that faith. He seems to have been a really good and amiable man. He wrote, as has been already remarked, the *Lives of Scottish Saints*, which are now lost. He composed also a history of Scotland, from the earliest period of her history down to his own time, which is still preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is said to consist of eleven books, occupying three hundred and eighty-four pages in folio, written in a small hand, and full of contractions, and to be nearly the same as Fordun, so that we should suppose it scarcely worthy of the trouble it would take to read it. Of all our Scottish bishops, however, no one has been by our historians more highly commended than Bishop Elphinstone. He has been celebrated as a great statesman, a learned and pious churchman, and one who gained the reverence and the love of all men. He certainly left behind him many noble instances of his piety and public spirit; and it is highly to his honour that, notwithstanding his liberality in building and endowing his college, providing materials for a bridge over the Dee, the large alms that he gave daily to the poor and religious of all sorts, besides the help that he afforded to his own kindred, he used solely the rents of his own bishopric, having never held any place in commendam, as the general practice then was; and he left behind him at his death £10,000 in gold and silver, which he bequeathed to the college, and to the finishing and repairing of his bridge over the Dee. As he was thus conspicuous, continues his biographer, for piety and charity, so he was no less so for his having composed several elaborate treatises that were destroyed at the Reformation. This panegyrist goes on to say "that there never was a man known to be of greater integrity of life and manners, it being observed of him that, after he entered into holy orders, he was never known to do or say an unseemly thing. But the respect and veneration that he was held in may appear from what is related to have happened at the time of his burial by the historians who lived near his time; for they write that the day his corpse was brought forth to be interred, the pastoral staff, which was all of silver, and carried by Alexander Lauder, a priest, broke in two pieces, one part thereof falling into the grave where the corpse was to be laid, and a voice was heard to cry, *Tecum, GULIELME, Mitra sepelienda*—With thee the mitre and glory thereof is buried."

ERSKINE, DAVID STEWART, Earl of Buchan, Lord Cardross, was born on the 1st of June, 1742, o.s., and was the eldest surviving son of Henry David, the tenth earl, and Agnes, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, his majesty's solicitor-general for Scotland. He was educated "in all manner of useful learning, and in the habits of rigid honour and virtue," under the care of James Buchanan, a relation of the poet and historian, and learned the elements of the mathematics, history, and politics from his father, who had been a scholar of the celebrated Colin Maclaurin. At the university of Glasgow he engaged ardently in "every ingenious and liberal study;" but what will be better remembered, was his connection with the unfortunate academy of Foulis the printer, which he attended, and of his labours at which he has left us a specimen, in an etching of the abbey of Icolmkill, inserted in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Scottish Antiquaries*.

On the completion of his education, Lord Cardross entered the army, but never rose higher than the rank of lieutenant. Forsaking the military life, he

went to London, to pursue the study of diplomacy under Lord Chatham; and, while there, was elected a fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. In the following year, 1766, his lordship was appointed secretary to the British embassy in Spain; but his father having died thirteen months afterwards, he returned to his native country, determined to devote the remainder of his life to the cultivation of literature and the encouragement of literary men.

The education of his younger brothers, Thomas, afterwards the illustrious lord-chancellor, and Henry, no less celebrated for his wit, seems to have occupied a large portion of Lord Buchan's thoughts. To accomplish these objects, he for years submitted to considerable privations. The family estate had been squandered by former lords, and it is no small credit to the earl that he paid off debts for which he was not legally responsible; a course of conduct which should lead us to overlook parsimonious habits acquired under very disadvantageous circumstances.

Lord Buchan's favourite study was the history, literature, and antiquities of his native country. It had long been regretted that no society had been formed in Scotland for the promotion of these pursuits; and with a view to supplying this desideratum, he called a meeting of the most eminent persons resident in Edinburgh, on the 14th of November, 1780. Fourteen assembled at his house in St. Andrew Square, and an essay, which will be found in Smellie's *Account of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, p. 4-18, was read by his lordship. At a meeting held at the same place on the 28th, it was determined, that upon the 18th of December a society should be formed upon the proposed model; and, accordingly, on the day fixed, the Earl of Bute was elected president, and the Earl of Buchan first of five vice-presidents. In 1792 the first volume of their *Transactions* was published; and the following discourses by the earl appear in it:—"Memoirs of the Life of Sir James Stewart Denham;" "Account of the Parish of Uphall;" "Account of the Island of Icolmkill;" and a "Life of Mr. James Short, optician." Besides these, he had printed, in conjunction with Dr. Walter Minto, 1787, *An Account of the Life, Writings, and Inventions of Napier of Merchiston*.

In the same year his lordship retired from Edinburgh to reside at Dryburgh Abbey on account of his health. Here he pursued his favourite studies. He instituted an annual festive commemoration of Thomson at that poet's native place; and this occasion produced from the pen of Burns the beautiful "Address" to the shade of the bard of Ednam. The eulogy pronounced by the illustrious earl on the first of these meetings, in 1791, is remarkable. "I think myself happy to have this day the honour of endeavouring to do honour to the memory of Thomson, which has been profanely touched by the rude hand of Samuel Johnson, whose fame and reputation indicate the decline of taste in a country that, after having produced an Alfred, a Wallace, a Bacon, a Napier, a Newton, a Buchanan, a Milton, a Hampden, a Fletcher, and a Thomson, can submit to be bullied by an overbearing pedant!" In the following year his lordship published an "*Essay on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher of Saltoun and the Poet Thomson, Biographical, Critical, and Political*;" with some pieces of Thomson's never before published," 8vo.¹

Lord Buchan had contributed to several periodical

¹ "Biographical Notice of the Earl of Buchan" in the *New Scots Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 49. From this article most of the facts here mentioned are extracted.

publications. In 1784 he communicated to the *Gentleman's Magazine* "Remarks on the Progress of the Roman Arms in Scotland during the Sixth Campaign of Agricola," afterwards printed, with plates and additions, by Dr. Jamieson, in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*. To Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland* he gave a description of Dryburgh, with views, taken in 1787 and 1789. But his most frequent assistance was given to *The Bee*, generally under fictitious signatures. The last work which he meditated was the collection of these anonymous communications. Accordingly, in 1812, *The Anonymous and Fugitive Essays of the Earl of Buchan, collected from various Periodical Works*, appeared at Edinburgh in 12mo. It contains the following short preface: "The Earl of Buchan, considering his advanced age, has thought proper to publish this volume, and meditate the publication of others, containing his anonymous writings, that no person may hereafter ascribe to him any others than are by him, in this manner, avowed, described, or enumerated." The volume is wholly filled with his contributions to *The Bee*; among which, in the department of Scottish history, are "Sketches of the Lives of Sir J. Stewart Denham, George Heriot, John Earl of Marr (his ancestor), and Remarks on the Character and Writings of William Drummond of Hawthornden." The second volume did not appear.

His death did not, however, take place till seventeen years after this period; but he was for several years before it in a state of dotage. Few men have devoted themselves so long and so exclusively to literature; his correspondence, both with foreigners and his own countrymen, was very extensive, and comprehended a period of almost three generations. But his services were principally valuable, not as an author, but as a patron: his fortune did not warrant a very expensive exhibition of good offices; but in all cases where his own knowledge, which was by no means limited, or letters of recommendation, could avail, they were frankly and generously offered. One of the works proposed by him was, *A Commercium Epistolarum and Literary History of Scotland, during the period of Last Century*, including the correspondence of "antiquaries, typographers, and bibliographers," in which he had the assistance of Dr. Robert Anderson. It is exceedingly to be regretted that such a work, and referring to so remarkable a period, should not have been presented to the public. It might probably have had a considerable portion of the garrulity of age; but, from his lordship's very extensive acquaintance with the period, it cannot be doubted that it would have contained many facts which are now irretrievably lost.

ERSKINE, REV. EBENEZER, a celebrated divine, and founder of the Secession Church in Scotland, was son to the Rev. Henry Erskine, who was settled minister at Cornhill, in Northumberland, about the year 1649; whence he was ejected by the Bartholomew act in the year 1662, and, after suffering many hardships for his attachment to the cause of Presbytery, was, shortly after the Revolution, 1688, settled pastor of the parish of Chirnside, Berwickshire, where he finished his course, in the month of August, 1696, in the seventy-second year of his age. The Rev. Henry Erskine was of the ancient family of Shielfield, in the Merse, descended from the noble family of Marr, and Ebenezer was one of his younger sons by his second wife, Margaret Halcro, a native of Orkney, the founder of whose family was Halcro, Prince of Denmark, and whose great-grandmother was the Lady Barbara Stuart, daughter to Robert, Earl of Orkney, son to James V. of Scotland; so

that his parentage was in every respect what the world calls highly respectable. The place of his birth has been variously stated. One account says it was the village of Dryburgh, where the house occupied by his father is still pointed out, and has been carefully preserved, as a relic of the family; another says it was the Bass, where his father was at the time a prisoner for nonconformity. Be the place of his birth as it may, the date has been ascertained to have been the 22d day of June, 1680; and the name Ebenezer, "a stone of assistance," was given him by his pious parents in testimony of their gratitude for that goodness and mercy with which, amidst all their persecutions, they had been unceasingly preserved. Of his early youth nothing particular has been recorded. The elements of literature he received at Chirnside, under the immediate superintendence of his father, after which he went through a regular course of study at the university of Edinburgh.¹ During the most part of the time that he was a student, he acted as tutor and chaplain to the Earl of Rothes, at Leslie House, within the presbytery of Kirkcaldy, by which court he was taken upon trials, and licensed to preach the gospel in the year 1702.

The abilities and the excellent character of Mr. Erskine soon brought him into notice; and in the month of May, 1703, he received a unanimous call to the parish of Portmoak, to the pastoral care of which he was ordained in the month of September following. During the year succeeding his settlement, he was united in marriage to Alison Turpie, a young woman of more than ordinary talents, and of undoubted piety. To the experience of this excellent woman he was accustomed to acknowledge to his friends, that he was indebted for much of that accuracy of view by which he was so greatly distinguished, and to which much of that success which attended his ministry is doubtless to be ascribed. In the discharge of his ministerial duties he had always been most exemplary. Besides the usual services of the Sabbath, he had, as was a very general practice in the Church of Scotland at that period, a weekly lecture on the Thursdays; but now his diligence seemed to be doubled, and his object much more pointedly to preach Christ in his person, offices, and grace, as at once wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption to all who truly receive and rest upon him. Even in his external manners there appeared, from this time forward, a great and important improvement. In public speaking he had felt considerable embarrassment, and in venturing to change his attitude was in danger of losing his ideas; but now he was at once master of his mind, his voice, and his gestures, and by a manner most dignified and engaging, as well as by the weight and the importance of his matter, commanded deep and reverential attention. The impulse he had thus received was manifested in the new ardour with which he discharged his ministerial duties not only in preaching, but in visiting from house to house, comforting the sick, instructing the ignorant, and catechising the young; and the effects of his diligence, instead of being confined to his own locality, diffused a sympathetic ardour over the surrounding parishes, so that Portmoak was regarded as their centre and exemplar.

In the midst of his labours an attempt was made to remove Mr. Erskine from Portmoak to Kinross. Though the call, however, was unanimous and urgent, the affectionate efforts of the people of Portmoak

¹ From the records of the town-council of Edinburgh it appears that, in 1668, he was a bursar in the university, being presented by Pringle of Torwoodlee.

were successful in preventing the desired translation. Shortly after this Mr. Erskine received an equally unanimous call to the parish of Kirkcaldy, which he also refused, but a third minister being wanted at Stirling, the Rev. Mr. Alexander Hamilton, with the whole population, gave him a pressing and unanimous call, of which, after having maturely deliberated on the circumstances attending it, he felt it his duty to accept. He was accordingly, with the concurrence of the courts, translated to Stirling in the autumn of the year 1731, having discharged the pastoral office in Portmoak for twenty-eight years. So strong was the affection of the people of Portmoak to Mr. Erskine, that several individuals removed to Stirling along with him, that they might still enjoy the benefit of his ministry; he was also in the habit of visiting them and preaching to them occasionally, till, through the melancholy state of matters in the church, the pulpits of all the parishes in Scotland were shut against him.

In the new and enlarged sphere of action which Mr. Erskine now occupied, he seemed to exert even more than his usual ability. His labours here met with singular acceptance, and appeared to be as singularly blessed; when an attempt was made, certainly little anticipated by his friends, and perhaps as little by himself, to paralyze his efforts, to narrow the sphere of his influence, and to circumscribe his expression of thought and feeling; an expression which had long been painful and was now thought to be dangerous to the party that had long been dominant in the Scottish church, and were charged with corrupting her doctrines and labouring to make a sacrifice of her liberties at the shrine of civil authority. That they were guilty of the first of these charges was alleged to be proved beyond the possibility of contradiction, by their conduct towards the presbytery of Auchterarder, with regard to what has since been denominated the Auchterarder creed, so far back as the year 1717; by their conduct towards the twelve brethren known by the name of "Marrow men," along with their acts against the doctrines of the book entitled *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, in the years 1720 and 1721; and, more recently still, by the leniency of their dealings with Professor John Simpson of Glasgow, who, though found to have, in his prelections to the divinity students, taught a system of Deism rather than Christian theology, met with no higher censure than simple suspension. In the contests occasioned by these different questions, Mr. Erskine had been early engaged. He had refused the oath of abjuration, and it was owing to a charge preferred against him by the Rev. Mr. Anderson of St. Andrews, before the commission of the General Assembly, for having spoken against such as had taken it, that his first printed sermon, *God's Little Remnant Keeping their Garments Clean*, was, along with some others, given to the public in the year 1725, many years after it had been preached. In the defence of the doctrine of the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, he had a principal hand in the representation and petition presented to the assembly on the subject, May the 11th, 1721; which, though originally composed by Mr. Boston, was revised and perfected by him. He also drew up the original draught of the answers to the twelve queries that were put to the twelve brethren, which was afterwards perfected by Mr. Gabriel Wilson of Maxton, one of the most luminous pieces of theology to be found in any language. Along with his brethren, for his share in this good work, he was by the General Assembly solemnly rebuked and admonished, and was along with them reviled in many scurrilous publications of the day, as a man of wild antinomian

principles, an innovator in religion, an impugner of the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, an enemy to Christian morality, a troubler of Israel, and puffed up with vanity in the pride and arrogance of his heart, anxious to be exalted above his brethren. These uncharitable assumptions found their way even into the pulpits, and frequently figured in synod sermons and other public discourses. Owing to the vehemence of Principal Haddow of St. Andrews, who, from personal pique at Mr. Hogg of Carnock, the original publisher of the *Marrow* in Scotland, took the lead in impugning the doctrines of that book, Mr. Ebenezer Erskine and his four representing brethren in that quarter, James Hogg, James Bathgate, James Wardlaw, and Ralph Erskine, were treated with marked severity. At several meetings of synod they were openly accused and subjected to the most inquisitorial examinations. Attempts were also repeatedly made to compel them to sign anew the Confession of Faith, not as it was originally received by the Church of Scotland in the year 1647, but as it was explained by the obnoxious act of 1722. These attempts, however, had utterly failed, and the publication of so many of Mr. Erskine's sermons had not only refuted the foolish calumnies that had been so industriously set afloat, but had prodigiously increased his reputation and his general usefulness.

The same year in which Mr. Erskine was removed to Stirling, a paper was given in to the General Assembly, complaining of the violent settlements that were so generally taking place throughout the country, which was not so much as allowed a hearing. This induced upwards of fifty-two ministers, of whom the subject of this memoir was one, to draw up at large a representation of the almost innumerable evils under which the Church of Scotland was groaning, and which threatened to subvert her very foundations. To prevent all objections on the formality of this representation, it was carefully signed and respectfully presented, according to the order pointed out in such cases; but neither could this obtain so much as a hearing. So far was the assembly from being in the least degree affected with the mournful state of the church, and listening to the groans of an afflicted but submissive people, that they sustained the settlement of Mr. Stark at Kinross, one of the most palpable intrusions ever made upon a Christian congregation, and they enjoined the presbytery who had refused to receive him as a brother, to enrol his name on their list, and to grant no church privileges to any individual of the parish of Kinross, but upon Mr. Stark's letter of recommendation requiring or allowing them so to do, and this in the face of the presbytery's declaration that Mr. Stark had been imposed on the parish of Kinross, and upon them, by the simple fiat of the patron. Against this decision protests and dissents were presented by many individuals, but by a previous law they had provided that nothing of the kind should henceforth be entered upon the journals of the courts, whether supreme or subordinate, thus leaving no room for individuals to exonerate their own consciences, nor any legitimate record of the opposition that had been made to departures from established and fundamental laws, or innovations upon tacitly acknowledged rules of propriety and good order.

This same assembly, as if anxious to extinguish the possibility of popular claims being at any future period revived, proceeded to enact into a standing law an overture of last assembly, for establishing a uniform method of planting vacant churches, when at any time the right of doing so should fall into the hands of presbyteries, *tantum jure devoluto*, or by the consent of the parties in-

terested in the settlement. This uniform method was simply the conferring the power of suffrage, in country parishes, on heritors being Protestant, no matter though they were Episcopalians, and elders; in burghs, on magistrates, town-council, and elders; —and in burghs with landward parishes joined, on magistrates, town-council, heritors, and elders joined; and this to continue "till it should please God in his providence to relieve this church from the grievances arising from the act restoring patronages." This act was unquestionably planned by men to whom patronage presented no real grievances, and it was itself nothing but patronage modified very little for the better. But the authors of it had the art to pass it off upon many simple well-meaning men, as containing all that the constitution of the Scottish church had ever at any time allowed to the body of the people, and as so moderately worded that the government could not but be amply satisfied that no danger could arise from its exercise, and of course would give up its claims upon patronage without a murmur. In consequence of this, the act passed through the assembly with less opposition than even in the decayed state of the church might have been expected. In fact it passed through the court at the expense of its very constitution. By the barrier act, it has been wisely provided, that no law shall be enacted by the assembly, till, in the shape of an overture, it has been transmitted to every presbytery in the church, a majority of whose views in its favour must be obtained before it be made the subject of deliberation. In this case it had been transmitted; but eighteen presbyteries had not made the required return, eighteen approved of it with material alterations, and thirty-one were absolutely against it; so that the conduct of the party who pushed this act into law was barefaced in the extreme. Nor was the attempt to persuade the people that it contained the true meaning and spirit of the standards of the church less so. The first *Book of Discipline*, compiled in the year 1560, and ratified by act of parliament in the year 1567, says expressly, "No man should enter in the ministry without a lawful vocation: the lawful vocation standeth in the election of the people, examination of the ministry, and admission by both." And as if the above were not plain enough, it is added, "No minister should be intruded upon any particular kirk without their consent." The second *Book of Discipline*, agreed upon in the General Assembly, 1578, inserted in their registers 1581, sworn to in the national covenant the same year, revived and ratified by the famous assembly at Glasgow in the year 1638, and according to which the government of the church was established first in the year 1592, and again in the year 1640, is equally explicit on this head: "Vocation or calling is common to all that should bear office within the kirk, which is a lawful way by the which qualified persons are promoted to spiritual office within the kirk of God. Without this lawful calling, it was never leisome to any to meddle with any function ecclesiastical." After speaking of vocation as extraordinary and ordinary, the compilers state "this ordinary and outward calling" to consist of "two parts, election and ordination." Election they state to be "the choosing out of a person or persons most able to the office that vakes, by the judgment of the eldership [the presbytery], and consent of the congregation to which the person or persons shall be appointed. In the order of election is to be eschewed, that any person be intruded in any office of the kirk, contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed, or without the voice of the eldership," not the eldership or session of the congregation to which the person is to

be appointed, as has been often ignorantly assumed; but the eldership or presbytery in whose bounds the vacant congregation lies, and under whose charge it is necessarily placed in a peculiar manner, by its being vacant, or without a public teacher. In perfect union with the above, when the articles to be reformed are enumerated in a following chapter, patronage is one of the most prominent, is declared to have "flowed from the pope and corruption of the canon law, in so far as thereby any person was intruded or placed over kirks having *curam animarum*; and forasmuch as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the said liberty of election, they ought not now to have place in this light of reformation; and, therefore, whosoever will embrace God's word, and desire the kingdom of his Son Christ Jesus to be advanced, they will also embrace and receive that policy and order, which the word of God and upright state of this kirk crave; otherwise it is in vain that they have professed the same." Though the church had thus clearly delivered her opinion with regard to patronages, she had never been able to shake herself perfectly free from them, excepting for a few years previous to the restoration of Charles II., when they were restored in all their mischievous power and tendencies; and the revolution church being set down, not upon the attainments of the second, but upon the less clear and determinate ones of the first reformation, patronage somewhat modified, with other evils, was entailed on the country. Something of the light and heat of the more recent, as well as more brilliant period still, however, remained; and in the settlement of the church made by the parliament in the year 1690, patronage in its direct form was set aside, not as an antichristian abomination, and incompatible with Christian liberty, as it ought to have been, but as "inconvenient and subject to abuse." Though this act, however, was the act only of a civil court, it was less remote from Scripture and common sense, than this act of the highest ecclesiastical court in the nation. By that act "upon a vacancy, the heritors, being Protestants" (by a subsequent act it was provided that they should be qualified Protestants), "and the elders, are to name and propose the person to the whole congregation, to be either approved or disapproved by them; and if they disapprove, the disapprovers to give in their reasons, to the effect the affair may be cognosed by the presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination the calling and entry of a particular minister is to be ordered and concluded." By this act, which we by no means admire, the heritors, it would appear, might have proposed one candidate to the congregation, and the elders another; nor whether there was but one candidate or two, had the election been completed till the congregation had given their voice. But by the assembly's act, the heritors and the elders elected as one body; the work was by them completed; and, however much the congregation might be dissatisfied, except they could prove the elected person immoral in conduct or erroneous in doctrine, they had no resource but to submit quietly to the choice of their superiors, the heritors and the elders.

The act of 1690 was liable to great abuse; yet, by the prudent conduct of presbyteries, complaints were for many years comparatively few, and but for the restoration of patrons to their antichristian power, might have continued to be so long enough. For ten or twelve years previous to this period (1732) patrons had been gaining ground every year, and this act was unquestionably intended to accommodate any little appearance of liberty which remained in the

Scottish church to the genius of patronage, which was now by the leaders of the dominant party declared the only sure if not legitimate door of entrance to the benefice, whatever it might be to the affections and the spiritual edification of the people. The measure, however, was incautious and premature. There was a spirit abroad which the ruling faction wanted the means to break, and which their frequent attempts to bend ought to have taught them was already far beyond their strength. As an overture and an interim act, it had been almost universally condemned; and now that it was made a standing law, without having gone through the usual forms, and neither protest, dissent, nor remonstrance allowed to be entered against it, nothing remained for its opponents but, as occasion offered, to testify against it from the pulpit or the press, which many embraced the earliest opportunity of doing. Scarcely, indeed, had the members of assembly reached their respective homes with the report of their proceedings, when, in the evening of the Sabbath, June 4th, in a sermon from Isaiah ix. 6, the subject of this memoir attacked the obnoxious act with such force of argument as was highly gratifying to its opponents, but peculiarly galling to its abettors, who were everywhere, in the course of a few days, by the loud voice of general report, informed of the circumstance, with manifold exaggerations. Public, however, as this condemnation of the act of assembly was, Mr. Erskine did not think it enough. Having occasion, as late moderator, to open the synod of Perth on the 10th day of October, the same year, taking for his text Psalm cxviii. 22, "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the head stone of the corner," he delivered himself on the disputed points more at large, and with still greater freedom. In this sermon Mr. Erskine asserted, in its full breadth, the doctrine which we have above proved, from her standards, to have all along been the doctrine of the Church of Scotland—that the election of a minister belonged to the whole body of the people. "The promise," said he, keeping up the figure in the text, "of conduct and counsel in the choice of men that are to build is not made to patrons and heritors, or any other set of men, but to the church, the body of Christ, to whom apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers are given. As it is a natural privilege of every house or society of men to have the choice of their own servants or officer, so it is the privilege of the house of God in a particular manner. What a miserable bondage would it be reckoned for any family to have stewards or servants imposed on them by strangers, who might give the children a stone for bread, or a scorpion instead of a fish, poison instead of medicine; and shall we suppose that our God granted a power to any set of men, patrons, heritors, or whatever they be—a power to impose servants on his family, they being the purest society in the world!"

This very plain and homely passage, which, for the truth it contains, and the noble spirit of liberty which it breathes, deserves to be written with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever, gave great offence to many members of synod, and particularly to Mr. Mercer of Aberdalgie, who moved that Mr. Erskine should be rebuked for his freedom of speech, and admonished to be more circumspect for the future. This produced the appointment of a committee to draw out the passages complained of; which being done, and Mr. Erskine refusing to retract anything he had said, the whole was laid before the synod. The synod, after a debate of three days, found, by a plurality of six voices, Mr. Erskine censurable, and ordered him to be rebuked and admon-

ished at their bar accordingly. The presbytery of Stirling was also instructed to notice his behaviour in time coming at their privy censures, and report to the next meeting of synod. Against this sentence Mr. Erskine entered his protest, and appealed to the General Assembly. Mr. Alexander Moncrief of Abernethy also protested against this sentence, in which he was joined by a number of his brethren, only two of whom, Mr. William Wilson of Perth, and Mr. Fisher of Kinclaven, Mr. Erskine's son-in-law, became eventually seceders. Firm to their purpose, the synod, on the last sederunt of their meeting, called Mr. Erskine up to be rebuked; and he not appearing, it was resolved that he should be rebuked at their next meeting in April. Personal pique against Mr. Erskine, and envy of his extensive popularity, were unfortunately at the bottom of this procedure, which, as it increased that popularity in a tenfold degree, heightened proportionally the angry feelings of his opponents, and rendered them incapable of improving the few months that elapsed between the meeting of synod for taking a more cool and dispassionate view of the subject. The synod met in April under the same excitation of feeling; and though the presbytery and the kirk-session of Stirling exerted themselves to the utmost in order to bring about an accommodation, it was in vain: the representations of the first were disregarded, and the petition of the other was not so much as read. Mr. Erskine being called, and comparing, simply told them that he adhered to his appeal. There cannot be a doubt but that the synod was encouraged to persevere in its wayward course by the leaders of the assembly, who were now resolved to lay prostrate every shadow of opposition to their measures. Accordingly, when the assembly met in the month of May following, 1733, they commenced proceedings by taking up the case of Mr. Stark, the intruder into the parish of Kinross and the presbytery of Dunfermline, which they finished in the highest style of authority, probably, in part, for the very purpose of intimidating such as might be disposed to befriend Mr. Erskine on this momentous occasion. Multitudes, it was well known, approved of every word Mr. Erskine had said; but when it was made apparent with what a high hand they were to be treated, if they took any part in the matter, even those who wished him a safe deliverance might be afraid to take his part. Probably he himself was not without painful misgivings when he beheld the tide of authority thus rolling resistlessly along; but he had committed himself, and neither honour nor conscience would allow him to desert the prominence on which, in the exercise of his duty, he had come to be placed, though, for the time, it was covered with darkness, and seemed to be surrounded with danger. His appeal to the assembly he supported by reasons alike admirable, whether we consider their pointed bearing on the subject, the piety that runs through them, or the noble spirit of independence which they breathe. The reasons of his appeal were five, of which we can only give a feeble outline. 1st, The embittered spirit of the greater part of the synod, by which they were evidently incapable of giving an impartial judgment. 2d, The tendency of such procedure to gag the mouths of those who, by their commission, must use all boldness and freedom in dealing with the consciences of men. 3d, Because, though the synod had found him censurable, they had condescended on no one part of the truth of God's word, or the standards of this church, from which he had receded. 4th, The censured expressions, viewed abstractly from the committee's remarks, which the synod disowned, are not only inoffensive, but either scriptural

or natively founded on Scripture. The fifth reason regarded the obnoxious act of assembly, against which he could not retract his testimony, and which the synod, by their procedure, had made a term of ministerial communion, which, for various reasons, he showed could not be so to him. On all these accounts he claimed, "from the equity of the venerable assembly," a reversal of the sentence of the synod. To Mr. Erskine's appeal Mr. James Fisher gave in his name as adhering. Reasons of protest were also given in by Mr. Alexander Moncrief and a number of ministers and elders adhering to him, fraught with the most cogent arguments, though couched in the modest form of supplication rather than assertion. But they had all one fate, viz. were considered great aggravations of Mr. Erskine's original offence. The sentence of the synod was confirmed, and, to terminate the process, Mr. Erskine appointed to be rebuked and admonished by the moderator at the bar of the assembly, which was done accordingly. Mr. Erskine, however, declared that he could not submit to the rebuke and admonition, and gave in a protest for himself, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Moncrief, and Mr. Fisher, each of whom demanded to be heard on their reasons of appeal, but were refused—Mr. Moncrief and Mr. Wilson immediately by the assembly, and Mr. Fisher by the committee of bills refusing to transmit his reasons, which were, in consequence, left upon the table of the house. The paper was titled "Protest by Mr. Ebenezer Erskine and others, given into the assembly, 1733." "Although I have a very great and dutiful regard to the judicatures of this church, to whom I own subjection in the Lord, yet, in respect the assembly has found me censurable, and have tendered a rebuke and admonition to me for things I conceive agreeable to the Word of God and our approved standards, I find myself obliged to protest against the foresaid censure, as importing that I have, in my doctrine, at the opening of the synod of Perth, in October last, departed from the Word of God and the foresaid standards, and that I shall be at liberty to preach the same truths of God, and to testify against the same or like defections of this church upon all proper occasions. And I do hereby adhere unto the testimonies I have formerly emitted against the act of assembly, 1732, whether in the protest entered against it in open assembly, or yet in my synodical sermon, craving this my protest and declaration be inserted in the records of assembly, and that I be allowed extracts thereof: Ebenezer Erskine." "We, undersigned subscribers, dissenters from the sentence of the synod of Perth and Stirling, do hereby adhere to the above protestation and declaration, containing a testimony against the act of assembly, 1732, and asserting our privilege and duty to testify publicly against the same or like defections upon all proper occasions: William Wilson, Alexander Moncrief." "I, Mr. James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven, appellant against the synod of Perth in this question, although the committee of bills did not think fit to transmit my reasons of appeal, find myself obliged to adhere unto the foresaid protestation and declaration: James Fisher." This paper being referred to a committee, that committee returned it with the following overture, which by a great majority of the assembly was instantly turned into an act:—"The General Assembly ordains that the four brethren aforesaid appear before the commission in August next, and then show their sorrow for their conduct and misbehaviour in offering to protest, and in giving in to this assembly the paper by them subscribed, and that they then retract the same. And in case they do not appear before the said commission in August, and then show

their sorrow, and retract as said is, the commission is hereby empowered and appointed to suspend the said brethren, or such of them as shall not obey, from the exercise of their ministry. And farther, in case the said brethren shall be suspended by the said commission, and that they shall act contrary to the said sentence of suspension, the commission is hereby empowered and appointed, at their meeting in November, or any subsequent meeting, to proceed to a higher censure against the said four brethren, or such of them as shall continue to offend by transgressing this act. And the General Assembly do appoint the several presbyteries of which the said brethren are members to report to the commission in August and subsequent meetings of it, their conduct and behaviour with respect to this act." The four brethren, on this sentence being intimated to them, offered to read the following as their joint speech:—"In regard the venerable assembly have come to a positive sentence without hearing our defence, and have appointed the commission to execute the sentence in August, in case we do not retract what we have done, we cannot but complain of this uncommon procedure, and declare that we are not at liberty to take this affair into *avisandum*." The assembly, however, would not hear them, and they left their paper on the table under form of instrument.

This sentence excited a deep sensation in every corner of the country, and when the four brethren, as they were now called, appeared before the commission in the month of August, numerous representations were presented in their behalf, stating the evils that were likely to result from persevering in the measures that had been adopted towards them, and recommending caution and delay as the only means whereby matters might be accommodated, and the peace of the church preserved. On Mr. Erskine's behalf, especially, the petitions were urgent, and the testimonials to his character strong. "Mr. Erskine's character," say the presbytery of Stirling in their representation to the commission, "is so established amongst the body of professors of this part of the church, that we believe even the authority of an assembly condemning him cannot lessen it, yea, the condemnation itself, in the present case, will tend to heighten it, and in his case, should the sentence be executed, most lamentable consequences would ensue, and most melancholy divisions will be increased; the success of the gospel in our bounds hindered; reproach, clamour, and noise will take place; our congregations be torn in pieces; ministers of Christ will be deserted and misrepresented; and our enemies will rejoice over us. The same evils were apprehended by the kirk session of Stirling, and the observations of both presbytery and session were confirmed by the town council.—"We beg leave," say they, "briefly to represent that Mr. Erskine was settled as an ordained minister amongst us for the greater edification of the place, and that with no small trouble and expense—that we have always lived in good friendship with him, after now two full years' acquaintance—that we find him to be of a peaceable disposition of mind, and of a religious walk and conversation, and to be every way fitted and qualified for discharging the office of the ministry amongst us, and that he has accordingly discharged the same to our great satisfaction—that, therefore, our being deprived of his ministerial performances must undoubtedly be very moving and afflictive to us, and that the putting the foresaid act (the act of suspension) into execution, we are afraid, will in all likelihood be attended with very lamentable circumstances, confusions, and disorders, too numerous and tedious to be here rehearsed, and that not only in this place in

particular, but also in the church in general." The kirk session and town council of Perth presented each a representation in favour of Mr. Wilson, as did the presbyteries of Dunblane and Ellon, praying the commission to wait at least for the instructions of another assembly. Full of the spirit of the assembly which had appointed it, however, the commission was deaf to all admonitions, refusing to read, or even to allow any of these representations to be read, with the exception of a small portion of that from the presbytery of Stirling, which might be done as a mark of respect to Mr. Erskine's character, or it might be intended to awaken the envy and rage of his enemies. Mr. Erskine prepared himself a pretty full representation, as an appellant from the sentence of the synod of Perth and Stirling, as did also Mr. James Fisher. Messrs. Wilson and Moncrief, as protestors against that sentence, gave in papers, under form of instrument, insisting upon it as their right to chose their own mode of defence, which was by writing. Mr. Erskine was allowed, with some difficulty, to read his paper, but none of the others could obtain the like indulgence, so they delivered the substance of them in speeches at the bar. They did not differ in substance from those formerly given in, and of which we have already given the reader as liberal specimens as our limits will permit. "In regard they were not convicted of departing from any of the received principles of the Church of Scotland, or of counteracting their ordination vows and engagements; they protested that it should be lawful and warrantable for them to exercise their ministry as heretofore they had done; and that they should not be chargeable with any of the lamentable effects that might follow upon the course taken with them." The commission, without any hesitation, suspended them from the exercise of the ministerial function in all its parts. Against this sentence they renewed their protestations, and paid no regard to it, as all of them confessed when brought before the commission in the month of November. Applications in their behalf were more numerous at the meeting of the commission in November, than they had been in August, and they had the advantage of those of August, in that they were read. The prayer of them all was delay; and it carried in the commission, to proceed to a higher censure only by the casting vote of Mr. Goldie (or Gowdie), the moderator. The sentence was pronounced on the 16th day of November, 1733, to the following effect:—"The commission of the General Assembly did, and hereby do, loose the pastoral relation of Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Stirling, Mr. William Wilson, minister at Perth, Mr. Alexander Moncrief, minister at Abernethy, and Mr. James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven, to their said respective charges; and do declare them no longer ministers of this church. And do hereby prohibit all ministers of this church to employ them, or any of them, in any ministerial function. And the commission do declare the churches of the said Messrs. Erskine, Wilson, Moncrief, and Fisher, vacant from and after the date of this sentence." Extracts were also, by the sentence, ordered to be sent with letters to the several presbyteries in whose bounds the said ministers had their charges, ordering intimation of the sentence to be made in the several vacant churches. Letters intimating the sentence were also ordered to the magistrates of Perth and Stirling, to the sheriff principal of Perth, and bailie of the regality of Abernethy. Against this sentence Mr. Erskine and his brethren took the following protestation, which may be considered as the basis, or constitution, of the Secession Church:—"We

hereby adhere to the protestation formerly entered before this court, both at their last meeting in August, and when we appeared before this meeting. And farther, we do protest, in our own name, and in the name of all and every one in our respective congregations adhering to us, that, notwithstanding of this sentence passed against us, our pastoral relation shall be held and reputed firm and valid. And, likewise, we protest that, notwithstanding of our being cast out from ministerial communion with the Established Church of Scotland, we still hold communion with all and every one who desire, with us, to adhere to the principles of the true Presbyterian Church of Scotland, in her doctrine, worship, government, and discipline, and particularly with all who are groaning under the evils, and who are afflicted with the grievances we have been complaining of, and who are, in their several spheres, wrestling against the same. But in regard the prevailing party in this Established Church, who have now cast us out from ministerial communion with them, are carrying on a course of defection from our reformed and covenanted principles, and particularly are suppressing ministerial freedom and faithfulness in testifying against the present backslidings, and inflicting censures upon ministers for witnessing, by protestations and otherwise, against the same: Therefore we do, for these and many other weighty reasons, to be laid open in due time, protest that we are obliged to make a secession from them, and that we can hold no ministerial communion with them till they see their sins and mistakes, and amend them; and in like manner we do protest that it shall be lawful and warrantable for us to exercise the keys of doctrine, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and Confession of Faith, and the principles and constitution of the covenanted Church of Scotland, as if no such censure had been passed upon us; upon all which we take instruments. And we do hereby appeal to the first free, faithful, and reforming General Assembly of the Church of Scotland." Mr. Gabriel Wilson, of Maxton, one of the eleven brethren who, thirteen years before this, had been joined with Mr. Erskine in the defence of the *Marrow*, took a protest against the sentence at the same time, which was adhered to by Ralph Erskine, Dunfermline; Thomas Muir, Orwell; John Maclaurin, Edinburgh; John Currie, Kinglassie, afterwards the most bitter enemy of the secession; James Wardlaw, Dunfermline, and Thomas Nairn, Abbotshall; the greater part of whom lived to advance the interests of the secession.

In this violent struggle for the church's and the people's liberties, Mr. Erskine was ably supported by his three brethren, Messrs. Wilson, Moncrief, and Fisher, and his popularity was extended beyond what might be supposed reasonable limits. His congregation clung to him with increasing fondness, and his worthy colleague, Mr. Alexander Hamilton, during the short time he lived after the rise of the secession, ceased not to show him the warmest regard by praying publicly both for him and the Associate presbytery. This presbytery was constituted with solemn prayer by Mr. Ebenezer Erskine at Gairny Bridge, near Kinross, on the 6th day of December, 1733, the greater part of that, and the whole of the preceding day having been spent in prayer. The Associate presbytery consisted at first only of the four brethren; for though Messrs. Ralph Erskine and Thomas Muir were both present at its constituting, they were only spectators. Though they had thus put themselves in a posture to work, they did not proceed for some years to any judicative acts, further than publishing papers relating to the public cause

in which they were engaged: these were a review of the narrative and state of the proceedings against them, issued by a committee of the commission of the General Assembly, published in March, 1734; and a testimony to the doctrine, worship, and government of the Church of Scotland, or reasons for their protestation entered before the commission of the General Assembly, in November, 1733, &c. This has been since known by the name of the extrajudicial testimony.

In these papers Mr. Erskine had his full share, and they had an effect upon the public mind which alarmed the ruling faction in the church not a little, and drove them upon measures which could hardly have been anticipated. The friends of the seceders indeed made an extraordinary bustle, many of them from no sincere motives, some of them anxious to heal the breach, and others of them only anxious for a pretext to stand by and do nothing in the matter. The leaders of the assembly, too, fearful of the consequences of a system that was untried, were willing to concede something at the present time to outraged orthodoxy, knowing well that though they could not recall the past, they might yet, by a semblance of moderation, preserve on their side a number of the more timid of the friends of the seceders who had not yet declared themselves, by which the schism, though not totally healed, might be greatly circumscribed. Accordingly, the next assembly when it met in the month of May, 1734, was found to be of a somewhat different complexion from a number that had preceded it. There was still, however, as one of its members and its great admirer has remarked, "the mighty opposition of great men, ruling elders, who had a strong party in the house to support them," and who took effectual care that nothing should be done in the way of reformation, further than might be justified by a calculating worldly policy. In passing the commission book, sundry reservations were made of a rather novel kind, and among others, the sentence passed against Mr. Erskine and his three brethren. The act of 1730, forbidding the registering of dissents, and the act of 1732, concerning the planting of vacant churches, were both declared to be no longer binding rules in the church. The synod of Perth and Stirling were also empowered to take up the case of Mr. Erskine, and without inquiring into the legality or justice of any of the steps that had been taken on either side, restore the harmony and peace of the church, and for this purpose they were to meet on the first Tuesday of July next.

Never had any synod before this such a task enjoined them. The preceding assembly had enjoined its commission to do all that had been done toward Mr. Erskine and his friends. This assembly enjoins the synod to reverse all that had been done by the commission, but with the express promise, that they shall not take it upon them to judge either of the legality or the formality of the proceedings they were thus ordered to reverse. Upon what principle was the synod to proceed? If the sentence of the commission was pronounced on proper grounds, and the subjects of it had given no signs of repentance, the assembly itself could not warrantably nor consistently take it off. This, "the great men, the ruling elders, who had a strong party in the house to support them," were perfectly aware of; but there were a few men, such as Willison, Currie, and Macintosh, who they knew had a hankering after the seceders, and whom they wished to secure upon their own side, and they served them by an act more absurd than any of those that had occasioned the secession; an act requiring a synod to reverse a sentence, that either was or

ought to have been pronounced in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, without inquiring into its validity, or presuming to give an opinion respecting it? The synod, however, hastened to perform the duty assigned them, and on the 2d of July, 1734, met at Perth, when, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, they took off the sentences from all the four brethren, restoring them to their standing in the church, and ordered their names to be placed upon the presbytery and synod rolls, as if there had never been act, sentence, or impediment in their way. The seceders had too much penetration to be gulled by this invention, and too much honesty to accept of the seeming boon; but it answered the main purpose that it was intended to serve: it afforded a handle for reviving a popular clamour against them, and proved an excellent excuse for their summer friends to desert them. The reforming fit was past in the meeting of next assembly in 1736, which was as violent in its proceedings as any that had preceded it. Mr. Erskine and his friends, now despairing of any speedy reformations in the judicatories, published their reasons for not acceding to them, and proceeded to prepare the judicial act and testimony, which, after many diets of fasting and prayer, was enacted at their twenty-fourth presbyterial meeting, in the month of December, 1736. Mr. Erskine continued all this time to occupy his own parish church, and was regarded with the same respectful attention as ever. In the year 1738 the assembly began to persecute Mr. Erskine and his friends, who were now considerably increased. In the year 1739 he, along with his brethren, was served with a libel to appear before the General Assembly, where they appeared as a constituted presbytery, and by their moderator gave in a paper declining the authority of the court. The assembly, however, delayed giving sentence against them till next year, 1740, when they were all deposed, and ordered to be ejected from their churches. On the Sabbath after this, Mr. Erskine retired with his congregation to a convenient place in the fields, where he continued to preach till a spacious meeting-house was prepared by his people, all of whom adhered to him, and in this house he continued to officiate when ability served till the day of his death.

In the year 1742 Mr. Erskine was employed, along with Mr. Alexander Moncrief, to enlarge the secession testimony, which they did by that most excellent and well-known little work, entitled *An Act aient the Doctrine of Grace*. About this period he had also some correspondence with Mr. George Whitefield, which terminated in a way that could not be pleasing to either party. Along with the doctrines of grace, the Associate presbytery took into consideration the propriety of renewing the national covenants. An overture to this purpose was approved of by the presbytery on the 21st of October, 1742, the same day that they passed the *Act aient the Doctrine of Grace*. That a work of so much solemnity might be gone about with all due deliberation, the presbytery agreed that there should be room left for all the members to state freely whatever difficulties they might have upon the subject, and it accordingly lay over till the 23d of December, 1743, when the overture, with sundry amendments and enlargements, was unanimously approved of and enacted. A solemn acknowledgment of sins being prepared for the occasion, and a solemn engagement to duties, on the 28th of December Mr. Erskine preached a sermon at Stirling, the day being observed as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, after which the confession of sins was read, and the engagement to duties sworn to and subscribed by fifteen ministers, of whom Ebenezer Erskine was the first that subscribed.

Shortly after, the same thing was done at Falkirk, where five ministers more subscribed. In this work no man of the body was more hearty than Mr. Ebenezer Erskine; and it went through a number of congregations, till a stop was put to it by the question that arose respecting the religious clause of some burgess oaths, which it was alleged were utterly inconsistent with the oath of the covenants, and with the secession testimony. The Associate presbytery had already determined the oaths of abjuration and allegiance to be sinful, as embracing the complex constitution, and was of course incompatible with the testimony which they had emitted against that complex constitution. At the last meeting of the Associate presbytery, Mr. Alexander Moncrief gave in a paper stating his scruples with regard to the religious clause of some burgess oaths, which he apprehended would be found, when examined, to be equally sinful with those they had already condemned. The dissolution of the Associate presbytery being determined on, the question was reserved for a first essay of the Associate synod. Accordingly, when the synod met in the month of March, 1745, it was among the first motions that came before them; and after much discussion the synod, in the month of April, 1746, found "that the swearing the religious clause in some burgess oaths—'Here I protest before God and your lordships, that I profess and allow within my heart, the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Romish religion, called papistry'—by any under their inspection, as the said clause comes necessarily in this period to be used and applied in a way that does not agree unto the present state and circumstances of the testimony for religion and reformation which this synod, with those under their inspection, are maintaining; particularly, that it does not agree unto nor consist with an entering into the bond for renewing our solemn covenants, and that, therefore, those seceding cannot farther, with safety of conscience and without sin, swear any burgess oath with the said religious clause, while matters, with reference to the profession and settlement of religion, continue in such circumstances as at present," &c. When this subject was first stated, it did not appear to be attended either with difficulty or danger. Questions of much more intricacy had been discussed at great length, and harmoniously disposed of by the Associate presbytery; and the above decision, we are persuaded every unbiassed reader, when he reflects that it was intended to bind only those who had already acceded to the secedent act and testimony, will think that it should have given entire satisfaction. This, however, was far from being the case. Some personal pique seems to have subsisted between two of the members of court, Mr. Moncrief and Mr. Fisher; in consequence of which the latter regarded the conduct of the former with some suspicion. Being son-in-law to Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, the latter, too, was supported by both the Erskines, who were the idols of the body, and on this occasion gave most humiliating evidence of the power of prejudice to darken the clearest intellects, and to pervert the purest and the warmest hearts. The question was simple—What was meant by those who framed and now imposed the oath? Was it the true religion, abstractly considered, that was to be acknowledged by the swearer? or was it not rather the true religion embodied in a particular form, and guaranteed by particular laws, to insure the integrity of which the oath was principally intended? Either this was the case, or the oath was superfluous and unmeaning,

and of course could not be lawfully sworn by any one, whatever might be his opinions, as in that case it would have been a taking of the name of God in vain. True, however, it is, that volumes were written, of which no small portion came from the pens of the venerable Ralph Erskine and the worthy Mr. James Fisher, to prove that nothing was sworn to in the oath but the true religion, abstracting from all the accompanying and qualifying clauses thereof. A protest against the above decision of synod was taken by Messrs. Ralph Erskine, James Fisher, William Hutton, Henry Erskine, and John M'Cara, in which they were joined by two elders, and by the time of next meeting of synod, the whole body was in a flame, every individual having committed himself on the one side or the other.

When the synod met on the 7th of April, 1747, the subject was resumed with a warmth that indicated not ardour, but absolute frenzy. The protesters against the former decision of the question, instead of bringing up their reasons of protest, as order and decency required, began by renewing the original question, Whether the act of synod was to be made a term of communion before it should be sent round in the form of an overture, to sessions and presbyteries for their judgment thereant; the members of synod in the meantime praying and conferring with one another for light upon the subject. To this it was opposed as a previous question—Call for the reasons of protest, and the answers thereunto, that they may be read and considered. The question being put, which of the two questions should be voted, it carried for the first; from this Mr. W. Campbell entered his dissent, to which Mr. Thomas Moir and Mr. Moncrief adhered. Next morning the protesters resumed the question with renewed ardour, or rather rage; Mr. Moir again entered his protest, followed by eleven ministers and ten elders. The protesters still insisting for their question, the whole day was wasted in shameful discussions; Mr. Gibb protesting against the proposal of the protesters in a new and somewhat startling form. Having adjourned one hour, the synod met again at eight, or between eight and nine o'clock p.m., when the war of words was renewed for several hours, the protesters still insisting upon having the vote put; a protest against it was again entered by Mr. Moncrief, which was adhered to by twelve ministers and ten elders. The moderator of course refused to put the vote, as did the clerk *pro tempore*; one of the party then called the roll, another marked the votes, the sum total of which was nine ministers and eleven elders, and of these, six ministers and one elder were protesters, and of course parties in the cause that had not the smallest right to vote on the subject. In this way twenty voters, and of these twenty only thirteen legal voters, carried a deed against twenty-three, standing before them in solemn opposition under cover of all legal forms that, in the circumstances in which they stood, it was possible for them to employ. In this most extraordinary crisis Mr. Moir, the moderator of the former meeting of synod, considering the present moderator as having ceased to act, claimed that place for himself, and the powers of the Associate synod for those who had stood firm under their protest against such disorderly procedure, whom he requested to meet in Mr. Gibb's house to-morrow, to transact the business of the Associate synod. They did so, and thus one part of the Associate synod was reconstituted. The other part met next day in the usual place, having the moderator, though he had deserted them the night before, along with them, and the clerk *pro tempore*; on which they returned themselves as being the true Associate synod. What-

ever superiority in point of order was between them, entirely belonged to the party that met in Mr. Gibb's house, and have since been known by the name of Antiburghers; and they showed some sense of shame by making open confession of the sad display which they had made of their own corruptions, in managing what they then and still considered to be the cause of God. The other party were certainly even in this respect the more culpable; but having the unfettered possession of their beloved oath, they seem to have been more at ease with themselves than their brethren. A more deplorable circumstance certainly never took place in any regularly constituted church, nor one that more completely demonstrated how little the wisest and the best of men are to be depended on when they are left to the influence of their own spirits. The very individual persons who, in a long and painful dispute with the Established judicature, upon points of the highest importance, had conducted themselves with singular judgment, prudence, and propriety, here, upon a very trifling question, and of easy solution, behaved in a manner not only disgraceful to the Christian but to the human character; violating in their case, to carry a point of very little moment, the first principles of order, without preserving which it is impossible to carry on rationally the affairs of ordinary society. In all this unhappy business we blush to be obliged to acknowledge that Ebenezer Erskine had an active hand; he stood in front of the list of the Burgher presbytery, and, if we may believe the report of some who boast of being his admirers, abated considerably after this of his zeal for the principles of the reformation. He certainly lost much of his respectability by the share he had in augmenting the storm which his age and his experience should have been employed to moderate, and it must have been but an unpleasant subject for his after-meditations. He was after this engaged in nothing of public importance. He lived indeed only seven years after this, and the better half of them under considerable infirmity. He died on the twenty-second of June, 1756, aged seventy-four years, saving one month. He was buried, by his own desire, in the middle of his meeting-house, where a large stone with a Latin inscription, recording the date of his death, his age, and the periods of his ministry at Portmouk and Stirling, still marks out the spot. Mr. Erskine was twice married; first, as we have already mentioned, to that excellent woman Alison Terpie, who died sometime in the year 1720. He married three years afterwards a daughter of the Rev. James Webster, Edinburgh, who also died before him. He left behind him several children, one of whom, a daughter, died so late as the year 1814. Of his character we have scarcely left ourselves room to speak. As a writer of sermons he is sound, savoury, and practical, abounding in clear views of the gospel, with its uses and influence in promoting holiness of life. As a preacher he was distinguished among the greatest men of his day. In learning and in compass of mind he was inferior to the author of *The Trust*, and, for keen and penetrating genius, to the author of *The Defence of the Reformation Principles of the Church of Scotland*; but for straightforward good sense, incorruptible integrity, and dauntless intrepidity, he was equal to any man of the age in which he lived.

ERSKINE, HENRY, third Lord Cardross, one of the most distinguished patriots of the seventeenth century, was the eldest son of the second Lord Cardross, who, in his turn, was grandson to John, seventh Earl of Marr, the eminent and faithful counsellor of

King James VI. By his mother, Anne Hope, the subject of our memoir was grandson to Sir Thomas Hope, king's advocate, the chief legal counsellor of the Covenanters in the early years of the civil war. It may also be mentioned that Colonel Erskine of Carnock, father to the author of *The Institutes*, was a half-brother of Lord Cardross.

The father of this eminent patriot was one of the seven Scottish lords who protested against the delivery of Charles I. to the English army, and he educated his son in the same principles of honour and fidelity to the laws, and to personal engagements, which inspired himself. Lord Henry was born about 1650, and succeeded his father in 1671. Having also succeeded to all the liberal principles of the family, he at once joined himself, on entering life, to the opposers of the Lauderdale administration. This soon exposed him to persecution, and in 1674 he was fined in £5000 because his lady had heard worship performed in his own house by a non-conforming chaplain. His lordship paid £1000 of this fine, and after attending the court for six months in the vain endeavour to procure a remission for the rest, was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, where he continued for four years. While he was thus suffering captivity, a party of soldiers visited his house, and, after treating his lady with the greatest incivility, and breaking up the closet in which he kept his papers, established a garrison, which continued there for eight years. Two years afterwards, while he was still in prison, his lady having been delivered of a child, whom she caused to be baptized (without his knowledge) by a non-conforming clergyman, another fine of £3000 was imposed upon him, being purposely thus severe, in order that he might be retained in prison through inability to pay it. So meanly revengeful was the feeling of the government, that, when the royal forces were on their march to Bothwell Bridge, in June, 1679, they were taken two miles out of their proper line of march, in order that they might quarter upon his lordship's estates of Kirkhill and Uphall, and do them all the mischief possible.

In July, 1679, Lord Cardross was released on giving bond for the amount of his fine. He went to court, to give an account of his sufferings, and solicit some redress. But the infamous privy-council of Scotland counteracted all his efforts. Finding no hope of further comfort in his own country, and that there was little probability of the British nation contriving to throw off the odious bondage in which it was kept, he resolved to seek refuge and freedom in a distant land. He perhaps acted upon the philosophical maxim thus laid down by Plato:—"If any one shall observe a great company run out into the rain every day, and delight to be wet in it, and if he judges that it will be to little purpose for him to go and persuade them to come into their houses and avoid the rain, so that all that can be expected from his going to speak to them, will be that he will be wet with them; would it not be much better for him to keep within doors, and preserve himself, since he cannot correct the folly of others?" Lord Cardross engaged with those who settled on Charles-town Neck, in South Carolina, where he established a plantation. From thence a few years afterwards he and his people were driven by the Spaniards, many of the colonists being killed and almost all their effects destroyed. Dispirited but not broken by his misfortunes, the Scottish patriot returned to Europe, and took up his abode at the Hague, where many others of his persecuted countrymen now found shelter. Entering into the service of Holland, he accompanied the Prince of Orange on his expedition to England, his son David commanding a company



THE HONOURABLE JOHN BURNES

in the same army. He was of great service in Scotland, under General Mackay, in promoting the Revolution settlement, which at length put an end to the miseries endured for many years by himself, and by his country at large. He was now restored to his estates, sworn a privy-councillor, and honoured with much of the friendship and confidence of King William. His health, however, previously much impaired by his imprisonment and the fatigue of his American plantation, sunk under his latter exertions, and he died at Edinburgh, May 21st, 1693, in the forty-fourth year of his age. The venerable Earl of Buchan, of whom we have given a memoir, and his two brothers, Henry and Thomas Erskine, were the great grandchildren of Lord Cardross.

ERSKINE, HONOURABLE HENRY, an eminent pleader, was the third son of Henry David, tenth Earl of Buchan, by Agnes, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Coltness and Goodtrees, Baronet. He was born at Edinburgh on the first of November, 1746 O.S. His fame has been eclipsed by that of his younger and more illustrious brother, Thomas Lord Erskine, who rose to the dignity of lord high-chancellor of Great Britain; but his name, nevertheless, holds a distinguished place in the annals of the Scottish bar, to which he was called in the year 1768, and of which he was long the brightest ornament.

Mr. Erskine's education was begun under the paternal roof. He was afterwards sent, with his two brothers, to the college of St. Andrews; whence they were subsequently transferred to the university of Edinburgh, and latterly to that of Glasgow. As his patrimony was small, Henry was taught to look forward to a profession as the only avenue to fortune; and he early decided on that of the bar, while his younger brother resolved to push his fortune in the army.

It was in the Forum, a promiscuous debating society established in Edinburgh, that young Erskine's oratorical powers first began to attract notice. While prosecuting his legal studies, and qualifying himself for the arduous duties of his profession, he found leisure to attend the Forum, and take an active part in its debates. It was in this school that he laid the foundation of those powers of extemporary speaking, by which in after-years he wielded at will the feelings of his auditors, and raised forensic practice, if not to the models of ancient oratory, at least to something immeasurably above the dull, cold, circumlocutory forms of speech in which the lords of council and session were then wont to be addressed. Another arena upon which Henry Erskine trained himself to exhibitions of higher oratory than had yet been dreamed of by his professional brethren, was the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, of which it was then said with greater truth than it would be now, that it afforded the best theatre for deliberative eloquence to be found in Scotland. Here his lineage, talents, and orthodox sentiments commanded respect; and accordingly he was always listened to by that venerable body with the greatest deference and attention.

Mr. Erskine was equalled, perhaps surpassed, in depth of legal knowledge, by one or two of his fellows at the bar; but none could boast of equal variety and extent of accomplishments; none surpassed him in knowledge of human character; and none equalled him in quickness of perception, playfulness of fancy, and professional tact. He was the Horace of the profession; and his *seria commixta joci* were long remembered with pleasure by his contemporaries. Yet while, by the unanimous suffrages of the public, Mr. Erskine found himself placed without a rival at

the head of a commanding profession, his general deportment was characterized by the most unaffected modesty and easy affability, and his talents were not less at the service of indigent but deserving clients, than they were to be commanded by those whose wealth or influence enabled them most liberally to remunerate his exertions. Indeed, his talents were never more conspicuous than when they were employed in protecting innocence from oppression, in vindicating the cause of the oppressed, or exposing the injustice of the oppressor. Henry Erskine was in an eminent sense the advocate of the people throughout the long course of his professional career; he was never known to turn his back upon the poor man; or to proportion his services to the ability of his employers to reward them. It is said that a poor man, in a remote district of Scotland, thus answered an acquaintance who wished to dissuade him from engaging in a lawsuit with a wealthy neighbour, by representing the hopelessness of his being able to meet the expense of litigation: "Ye dinna ken what ye're saying, maister; there's no a pur man in a' Scotland need to want a friend or fear an enemy sae lang as Harry Erskine lives!"

When Mr. Erskine deemed his independence secured, he married Christina, the only daughter of George Fullarton, Esq., collector of the customs at Leith. This lady brought him a handsome fortune; but with the prospect of a pretty numerous family before him, Mr. Erskine continued assiduously to practise his profession. By this lady he had three daughters: Elizabeth Frances, who died young; Elizabeth Crompton, afterwards Mrs. Callendar; and Henrietta, afterwards Mrs. Smith; together with two sons, Henry and George, the former of whom married the eldest daughter of Sir Charles Shipley in 1811, and became Earl of Buchan.

Mr. Erskine, like his elder brother, had early embraced the principles of Whiggism; and this distinguished family, during the progress of the American war, openly expressed their decided disapprobation of the course which ministers were pursuing in that unfortunate contest. Opposition was a more serious thing in these times than it has since become; to oppose ministers was considered tantamount to disaffection to the constitution, and often exposed a man to serious loss and inconvenience. Mr. Erskine's abilities, indeed, were beyond the reach of detraction; and his practice at the bar was founded upon a reputation too extensive to be easily shaken; but it cannot be doubted that in espousing the liberal side of politics, he was sacrificing to no small amount his prospects of preferment. At the conclusion, therefore, of the American war, and the accession of the Rockingham administration, Mr. Erskine's merits pointed him out as the fittest member of faculty for the important office of lord-advocate of Scotland, to which he was immediately appointed. But his opportunities to support the new administration were few, on account of its ephemeral existence; and on its retirement he was immediately stripped of his official dignity, and even some years afterwards deprived, by the vote of his brethren, on account of his obnoxious political sentiments, of the honourable office of dean of faculty. On the return of the liberal party to office, in 1806, Henry Erskine once more became lord-advocate, and was returned member for the Dumfries district of burghs, in the room of Major-general Dalrymple. This, however, like the former Whig administration, was not suffered to continue long in power, and with its dissolution Mr. Erskine again lost his office and seat in parliament. Amid these disappointments Mr. Erskine remained not less distinguished by inflexible steadiness to his

principles, than by invariable gentleness and urbanity in his manner of asserting them. "Such, indeed," says one of his most distinguished contemporaries, "was the habitual sweetness of his temper, and the fascination of his manners, that, though placed by his rank and talent in the obnoxious station of a leader of opposition, at a period when political animosities were carried to a lamentable height, no individual, it is believed, was ever known to speak or to think of him with anything approaching to personal hostility. In return it may be said, with equal correctness, that though baffled in some of his pursuits, and not quite handsomely disappointed of some of the honours to which his claim was universally admitted, he never allowed the slightest shade of discontent to rest upon his mind, nor the least drop of bitterness to mingle with his blood. He was so utterly incapable of rancour, that even the rancorous felt that he ought not to be made its victim."

Mr. Erskine's constitution began to give way under the pressure of disease about the year 1812; and he thereupon retired from professional life, to his beautiful villa of Ammondell in West Lothian, which originally formed part of the patrimonial estate, but was transferred to the subject of our memoir by his elder brother about the year 1795, to serve as a retreat from the fatigues of business during the vacation. "Passing thus," says the eloquent writer already quoted, "at once from all the bustle and excitement of a public life, to a scene of comparative inactivity, he never felt a moment of ennui or dejection; but retained unimpaired, till within a day or two of his death, not only all his intellectual activity and social affections, but, when not under the immediate affliction of a painful and incurable disease, all that gaiety of spirit, and all that playful and kindly sympathy with innocent enjoyment, which made him the idol of the young, and the object of cordial attachment and unenvying admiration to his friends of all ages." The five remaining years of his life were consumed by a complication of maladies; and he expired at his country-seat on the 8th of October, 1817, when he had nearly completed the 71st year of his age.

In person Mr. Henry Erskine was above the middle size; he was taller than either of his brothers, and well-proportioned, but slender; and in the bloom of manhood was considered handsome in no common degree. In early life his carriage was remarkably graceful; and so persuasive was his address, that he never failed to attract attention, and by the spell of irresistible fascination to fix and enchain it. His features were all character—his voice was powerful and melodious—his enunciation uncommonly accurate and distinct—and there was a peculiar grace in his utterance, which enhanced the value of all he said, and engraved the remembrance of his eloquence indelibly on the minds of his hearers. His habits were domestic in an eminent degree. It has been said of men of wit in general, that they delight and fascinate everywhere but at home; this observation, however, though too generally true, could not be applied to him; for no man delighted more in the enjoyment of home, or felt more truly happy in the bosom of his family, while at the same time none were more capable of entering into the gaieties of polished society, or more courted for the brilliancy of his wit, and the ease and polish of his manners.

"The character of Mr. Erskine's eloquence," says another friend, well capable of estimating his merits, "bore a strong resemblance to that of his noble brother; but being much less diffuse, it was better calculated to leave a forcible impression. He had

the art of concentrating his ideas, and presenting them at once in so luminous and irresistible a form, as to render his hearers master of the view he took of his subject, which, however dry or complex in its nature, never failed to become entertaining and instructive in his hands; for to professional knowledge of the highest order he united a most extensive acquaintance with history, literature, and science, and a thorough conversancy with human life." His oratory was of that comprehensive species which can address itself to every audience, and to every circumstance, and touch every chord of human emotion. Fervid and affecting in the extreme degree, when the occasion called for it, it was no less powerful in opposite circumstances, by the potency of wit and the irresistible force of comic humour which he could make use of at all times, and in perfect subordination to his judgment. "In his profession, indeed, all his art was argument, and each of his delightful illustrations a material step in his reasoning. To himself it seemed always as if they were recommended rather for their use than their beauty; and unquestionably they often enabled him to state a fine argument, or a nice distinction, not only in a more striking and pleasing way, but actually with greater precision than could have been obtained by the severer forms of reasoning. In this extraordinary talent, as well as in the charming facility of his eloquence, and the constant radiance of good humour and gaiety which encircled his manners in debate, he had no rival in his own times, and as yet has no successor. That part of eloquence is now mute, that honour in abeyance."

There exists a bust of Mr. Erskine from the chisel of Turnerelli, and also a portrait of him by Sir Henry Raeburn.

ERSKINE, JOHN, of Dun, knight, and the second in importance of the lay supporters of the Scottish Reformation, is said to have been born about the year 1508, at the family seat of Dun, in the county of Forfar. His family was descended from that which afterwards acceded to the title of Marr, while his mother was a daughter of William, first Lord Ruthven. In early life he travelled for some time upon the Continent, from which he returned in 1534, bringing with him a Frenchman capable of teaching the Greek language, whom he established in the town of Montrose. Hitherto this noble tongue was almost unknown in Scotland, and an acquaintance with it was deemed to imply a tendency to heresy. Erskine of Dun was the first man who made a decided attempt to overcome this prejudice, thereby foretelling his own fitness to burst through moral clouds of still greater density, and far more pernicious. Previous to 1540 he was one of the limited number of persons who, notwithstanding the persecuting disposition of James V., had embraced the Protestant religion: in doing so, far from being led by mercenary motives, as many afterwards were, he and his friends were inspired solely with a love of what they considered the truth, and, for that sake, encountered very great dangers. His house of Dun, near Montrose, was constantly open to the itinerant preachers of the reformed doctrines, who, though liable to persecution in other places, seem to have always enjoyed, through the respectability of his personal character, as well as his wealth and baronial influence, immunity while they resided with him. Though he must have been unfavourable to the war with England, commenced by the Catholic party in 1547, he appears to have been too much of a patriot to endure the devastations committed upon his native country by the enemy. His biographers dwell with

pride on a very successful attack which he made, with a small party, upon a band of English who had landed near Montrose for the purpose of laying waste the country. On this occasion, out of eighty invaders hardly a third of them got back to their ships. When John Knox returned to Scotland, in 1555, Erskine of Dun was among those who repaired to hear his private ministrations in the house of a citizen of Edinburgh. The reformer soon after followed him to Dun, where he preached daily for a month to the people of the neighbourhood; next year he renewed his visit, and succeeded in converting nearly all the gentry of the district.

In 1557 Erskine was one of the few influential persons who signed the first covenant, and established what was called the Congregation. In the succeeding year he was one of the commissioners sent by the queen-regent, Mary of Lorraine, to witness the marriage of her daughter Mary to the dauphin. While he was absent the cause of the Reformation received a great impulse from the execution of Walter Mill, an aged priest, who was dragged to the stake to expiate his attachment to the new doctrines. The people were inflamed with resentment at this outrage, and now longed for more decisive measures being taken on the subject of religion. To counteract this enthusiasm, the queen-regent summoned the preachers to appear at Stirling, and undergo trial for their heretical doctrines. The Protestant gentry, having resolved to protect them, met at Perth, and Erskine of Dun was employed to go to Stirling to seek an accommodation with the queen. It is well known that he succeeded in obtaining a respite for the ministers, though not of long continuance. In the sterner measures which were afterwards taken to protect the reformed religion, he bore an equally distinguished part.

On the establishment of Protestantism in 1560, Erskine of Dun resolved to assume the clerical office, for which he was fitted in a peculiar manner by his mild and benignant character. He was accordingly appointed by the estates of the kingdom to be one of the five superintendents of the church—an office somewhat akin to that of bishop, though subject to the control of the principal church court. Erskine became superintendent of the counties of Angus and Mearns, which he had already been the principal means of converting to the new faith. He was installed in 1562 by John Knox, and it would appear that he not only superintended the proceedings of the inferior clergy, but performed himself the usual duties of a clergyman. In everything that he did his amiable character was discernible: far from being inspired with those fierce and uncompromising sentiments which were perhaps necessary in some of his brethren for the hard work they had to perform, he was always the counsellor of moderate and conciliatory measures, and thus even the opponents of the reformed doctrines could not help according him their esteem. When Knox had his celebrated interview with Queen Mary respecting her intended marriage with Darnley, and brought tears into her eyes by the freedom of his speech, Erskine, who was present, endeavoured with his characteristic gentleness to soothe those feelings which the severity of his friend had irritated. Knox stood silent and unrelenting while the superintendent was engaged in this courteous office. Erskine appears to have thus made a very favourable impression upon the mind of the youthful queen. When she deemed it necessary to show some respect to the Protestant doctrines, in order to facilitate her marriage, she sent for the superintendents of Fife, Glasgow, and Lothian, to whom she said that she was not yet persuaded of the truth of their religion, but

she was willing to hear conference upon the subject, and would gladly listen to some of their sermons. Above all others, she said she would gladly hear the superintendent of Angus, "for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness."

For many years after this period the superintendent discharged his various duties in an irreproachable manner, being elected no fewer than five times to be moderator of the General Assembly. Some encroachments made on the liberties of the church in 1571 drew from him two letters addressed to his chief, the Regent Marr, which, according to Dr. M'Crie, "are written in a clear, spirited, and forcible style, contain an accurate statement of the essential distinction between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and should be read by all who wish to know the early sentiments of the Church of Scotland on this subject." Some years afterwards he was engaged with some other distinguished ornaments of the church in compiling what is called the *Second Book of Discipline*. At length, after a long and useful life, he died, March 12, 1591, leaving behind him a character which has been thus depicted by Archbishop Spottiswoode: "He was a man famous for the services performed to his prince and country, and worthy to be remembered for his travails in the church, which, out of the zeal he had for the truth, he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. A baron he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage; who, for diverse resemblances, may well be said to have been another Ambrose."

ERSKINE, JOHN, of Carnock, afterwards of Cardross, professor of Scots law in the university of Edinburgh, was born in the year 1695. His father was the Honourable Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, the third son of Lord Cardross, whose family now holds the title of Earl of Buchan.

The subject of this memoir having been educated for the profession of the law, became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in the year 1719, and continued for some years to discharge the duties of his profession without having been remarkably distinguished. In 1737, on the death of Alexander Bain, professor of Scots law in the university of Edinburgh, Mr. Erskine became a candidate for that chair. The patronage of this professorship is nominally in the town-council of Edinburgh, but virtually in the Faculty of Advocates; the election, under an act of parliament passed in the reign of George I., being made in the following manner:—The faculty, by open suffrage of all the members, send a *lect* (as it is called), or *list*, containing the names of two of their number, to the town-council; one of whom the patrons must choose. The candidate favoured by his brother is of course joined in the *lect* with another member of the body, who, it is known, will not accept; and although, in case of collision, this arrangement might occasion embarrassment, practically the effect is, to place the nomination to this chair in the body best qualified to judge of the qualifications of the candidates. Hence this preferment is, generally speaking, a very fair test of the estimation in which the successful candidate is held by his brethren; and their choice has seldom been more creditable to themselves than it was in the case of Mr. Erskine. The list presented to the town-council contained the names of Erskine and of Mr. James Balfour, advocate, a gentleman who had no desire for the appointment, and Mr. Erskine was consequently named professor. The emoluments of the office consist of a salary of £100 per annum, payable from the revenue of the town, in addition to the fees paid by the students.

Mr. Erskine entered on the discharge of his academical duties with great ardour; and, from the ability which he displayed as a lecturer, his class was much more numerously attended than the Scots law class had been at any former period. The text-book which he used for many years was Sir George Mackenzie's *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*; but, in the year 1754, Mr. Erskine published his own *Principles of the Law of Scotland*, 8vo, which he intended chiefly for the use of his students, and which, from that time forward, he made his text-book. In this work Mr. Erskine follows the order of Sir George Mackenzie's *Institutions*, supplying those omissions into which Sir George was betrayed by his desire for extreme brevity, and making such farther additions as the progress of the law since Sir George's time rendered necessary. The book is still very highly esteemed on account of the precision and accuracy, and, at the same time, the conciseness, with which the principles of the law are stated; nor is it an inconsiderable proof of its merit, that, notwithstanding the very limited circulation of Scottish law books, this work has already gone through numerous editions.

After having taught the Scots law class with great reputation for twenty-eight years, Mr. Erskine, in 1765, resigned his professorship, and retired from public life. For three years after his resignation he occupied himself chiefly in preparing for publication his larger work, *The Institutes of the Law of Scotland*. It was not published, however, nor, indeed, completed, during his life. The work, in the state in which Mr. Erskine left it, was put into the hands of a legal friend, who, after taking the aid of some of his associates at the bar, published it in 1773, in folio. Although marked with some of the defects incident to a posthumous publication, Erskine's *Institutes* has been for the last eighty years a book of the very highest authority in the law of Scotland. It is remarkable for the same accuracy and caution which distinguish the *Principles*; and as additions have been made in every successive impression, suitable to the progressive changes in the law, there is perhaps no authority which is more frequently cited in the Scottish courts, or which has been more resorted to as the groundwork of the several treatises on subordinate branches of the law, which have appeared within the last fifty years. It has been said that the *Institutes* partakes somewhat of the academical seclusion in which it was written, and indicates occasionally that the author was not familiar with the every-day practice of the law. But this is a defect which, if it exists at all, would require keener eyes than ours to discover. On the contrary, without presuming to dogmatize on such a subject, we should be inclined to say that we have met with no Scottish law book which appears to us to contain a more clear and intelligible exposition, both of the theory and practice of the law, or in which the authorities cited are digested and analyzed with more care and success.

Mr. Erskine died at Cardross on the 1st of March, 1768, in the seventy-third year of his age. He had been twice married; first to Miss Melville, of the noble family of Leven and Melville, by whom he left the celebrated John Erskine, D.D., one of the ministers of Edinburgh; secondly, to Anne, second daughter of Mr. Stirling of Keir, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. In the year 1746 Mr. Erskine had purchased, at a judicial sale, the estate of Cardross, which formerly had belonged to his grandfather, Lord Cardross, and he was possessed, besides, of very considerable landed property, the greater part of which devolved on James Erskine of Cardross, the eldest son of his second marriage, who died at Cardross on the 27th of March, 1802.

ERSKINE, REV. DR. JOHN, was born on the 2d of June, 1721. He was the eldest son of John Erskine of Carnock, the celebrated author of the *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, a younger branch of the noble family of Buchan. His mother was Margaret, daughter of the Honourable James Melville of Bargarvie, of the family of Leven and Melville. Young Erskine was taught the elementary branches of his education by private tuition, and was placed, towards the close of the year 1734, at the university of Edinburgh, where he acquired a great fund of classical knowledge, and made himself master of the principles of philosophy and law. He was originally intended for the profession of the law, in which his father had been so much distinguished; but a natural meditative and religious disposition inclined him towards the church. This peculiar turn of mind had displayed itself at a very early age, when, instead of joining in the games and amusements suitable to the period of boyhood, he was retired and solitary, and preferred the more exalted pleasures of religious meditation; so that, while his companions were pursuing their youthful sports, he would be found shut up in his closet, employed in the study of the Scriptures, and in exercises of devotion. Although his taste thus led him towards the sacred profession, yet, in compliance with the wishes of his parents, he repressed his own inclinations, and passed through the greater part of that course of discipline prescribed in Scotland, in former times, as preparatory to entering the faculty of advocates. But at length, deeply impressed with the conviction that it was his duty to devote himself to the service of religion, he communicated to his father his intention to study divinity. This resolution met with the decided opposition of his family. They conceived that the clerical office was at best but ill suited for the display of those talents which they knew him to possess, while the very moderate provision made for the clergy of the Church of Scotland, has always been a prudential obstacle with the parents and guardians of young men of family or consideration in this country. In spite, however, of every opposition, Erskine persevered in the prosecution of his theological studies, and on their completion, in the year 1743, he was licensed to preach, by the presbytery of Dunblane.

Prior to the commencement of Dr. Erskine's classical education, an ardent desire to cultivate literature and philosophy had manifested itself in Scotland, and the professors of the college of Edinburgh, some of them men of the most distinguished talents, had contributed greatly to promote and cherish the spirit which animated the nation. Among those early benefactors of Scottish literature, the most conspicuous were Sir John Pringle and Mr. Stevenson, professors of moral philosophy and of logic in the university of Edinburgh. One mode which these eminent men adopted in order to stimulate the exertions of their students, was to prescribe topics connected with the subject of their respective prelections, on which their pupils were required to write short dissertations; when these exercises were to be read, numbers attended from the different classes, and we are informed by Dr. Erskine, that Dr. William Wishart, principal of the college, "that great encourager of the study of the classics, and of moral and political sciences, would often honour those discourses with his presence, listen to them with attention, criticize them with candour; and when he observed indications of good dispositions, and discerned the blossoms of genius, on these occasions, and afterwards, as he had opportunity, testified his esteem and regard." Professor Stevenson selected

a number of the best of the essays which were read in his class, and bound them up in a volume, which is now preserved in the college library. They are in the handwriting of their authors; and in this curious repository are to be found the productions of Erskine and Robertson, together with those of many young men who afterwards rose to eminence in their several paths of life. We have Dr. Erskine's authority for saying, that during the time he was at the university, "Edinburgh college then abounded with young men of conspicuous talents, and indefatigable application to study; many of whom afterwards rose to high eminence in the state, in the army, and in the learned professions, especially in the law department." Amongst these we may name as his intimate friends, Sir Thomas Miller of Glenclie, afterwards lord-president of the Court of Session, and those distinguished lawyers who were promoted to the bench under the titles of Lords Eliock, Alva, Kennet, Gardenston, and Braxfield.

In May, 1744, Dr. Erskine was ordained minister of Kirkintilloch, in the presbytery of Glasgow, where he remained until the year 1753, when he was presented to the parish of Culross, in the presbytery of Dunfermline. In June, 1758, he was translated to the new Greyfriars, one of the churches of Edinburgh. In November, 1766, the university of Glasgow conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, and in July, 1767, he was promoted to the collegiate charge of old Greyfriars, where he had for his colleague Dr. Robertson.

In the different parishes in which Dr. Erskine had ministered he had enjoyed the esteem and affection of his parishioners. They were proud of him for his piety, learning, and rank; they were delighted and improved by his public and private instructions, and they deeply lamented his removal when called from them to undertake the more important charges to which his merit successively promoted him. His attention to the duties of the pastoral office was most exemplary, and his benevolent consolation and advice, which were at the service of all who required them, secured him the respect and affection of his flock, who long remembered him with feelings of the warmest gratitude. No man ever had a keener relish for the pleasures of conversation; but in these he considered that he ought not to indulge, conceiving his time and talents to be entirely the property of his parishioners. At college he had made great attainments in classical learning, and through life he retained a fondness for the cultivation of literature and philosophy, in which his great talents fitted him to excel; he refrained, however, from their pursuit, restricting himself in a great measure to the discharge of his important religious duties. But although literature was not allowed to engross a large share of his attention, nor to interfere with his more sacred avocations, still, by much exertion, and by economizing his time, he was enabled to maintain a perfect acquaintance with the progress of the arts and sciences.

Perhaps no country in the world ever made more rapid progress in literature than Scotland did during the last half of the eighteenth century. And it is to Dr. Erskine chiefly that the nation is indebted for that improvement which took place in our theological writings, and in the manner in which the services of the pulpit were performed. Previous to the time when he was licensed, sermons abounded with discursive and diffuse illustrations, and were deformed by colloquial familiarities and vulgar provincialisms; and although the discourses of such men as Robertson, Home, and Logan, and others of their contemporaries, were conspicuous for their beauty, still it is to the published sermons of Dr. Erskine that the

perspicuity and good taste subsequently displayed in the addresses from the pulpit have been justly traced. Even before the publication of his sermons, however, Dr. Erskine had been favourably known to the public. His first publication was a pamphlet against certain of the doctrines contained in Dr. Campbell's work on the *Necessity of Revelation*. In this production Erskine had occasion to advocate some of the opinions maintained in Dr. Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*; and having presented that distinguished prelate with a copy of the pamphlet, a correspondence ensued, highly creditable to Erskine from the terms in which Warburton addresses him, more particularly when it is considered that at this time Erskine had not attained his twenty-first year.¹

¹ The works written by Dr. Erskine are:—

1. The Law of Nature sufficiently promulgated to the Heathen World; or, an Inquiry into the Ability of the Heathens to discover the Being of a God, and the Immortality of Human Souls, in some Miscellaneous Reflections occasioned by Dr. Campbell's (Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews) Treatise on the Necessity of Revelation. Edinburgh, 1741. Republished in "Theological Dissertations." London, 1765.

2. The Signs of the Times considered; or, the High Probability that the Present Appearances in New England and the West of Scotland are a Prelude to the Glorious Things promised to the Church in the Latter Ages. Edinburgh, 1742. Anonymous.

3. The People of God considered as All Righteous; or, Three Sermons, preached at Glasgow, April, 1745. Edinburgh, 1745. Republished in the first volume of Dr. Erskine's Discourses.

4. Meditations and Letters of a Pious Youth, lately deceased (James Hall, Esq. son of the late Sir John Hall, Bart. of Dunglass); to which are prefixed, Reflections on his Death and Character, by a Friend in the Country. Edinburgh, 1746.

5. An Account of the Debate in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, October 6th, 1748; respecting the Employment of Mr. Whitefield to preach in the pulpits of the Synod. Edinburgh, 1748. Anonymous.

6. An Humble Attempt to promote Frequent Communication. Glasgow, 1749. Republished in "Theological Dissertations."

7. The Qualifications necessary for Teachers of Christianity; a Sermon before the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, 2d October, 1750. Glasgow, 1750. Republished in Discourses, vol. II.

8. The Influence of Religion on National Happiness; a Sermon preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, in the High Church of Edinburgh, January, 1755.

9. Ministers of the Gospel cautioned against giving Offence; a Sermon before the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, November 3d, 1763; to which is added, a Charge at the Ordination of the late Mr. Robertson, Minister of Ratho. Edinburgh, 1764. Republished in Discourses, vol. I.

10. Mr. Wesley's Principles Detected; or, a Defence of the Preface to the Edinburgh Edition of "Aspasio Vindicated," written by Dr. Erskine in answer to Mr. Kershaw's Appeal—to which is prefixed the Preface itself. Edinburgh, 1765.

11. Theological Dissertations, (1) On the Nature of the Sinai Covenant; (2) On the Character and Privileges of the Apostolic Churches; (3) On the Nature of Saving Faith; (4) See 1; (5) See 6. London, 1765.

12. Shall I go to War with my American Brethren? A Discourse on Judges xx. 28, addressed to all concerned in determining that Important Question. London, 1769. Anonymous. Reprinted in Edinburgh with a Preface and Appendix, and the author's name, 1776.

13. The Education of the Poor Children Recommended; a Sermon before the Managers of the Orphan Hospital, 1774.

14. Reflections on the Rise and Progress, and Probable Consequences of the present Contentions with the Colonies: by a Freeholder. Edinburgh, 1776.

15. The Equity and Wisdom of the Administration, on Measures that have unhappily occasioned the American Revolt—tried by the Sacred Oracles. Edinburgh, 1776.

16. Considerations on the Spirit of Popery, and the intended Bill for the Relief of the Papists in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1778.

17. A Narrative of the Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 23th, 1779. Occasioned by the apprehensions of an intended Repeal of the Penal Statutes against Papists. With a Dedication to Dr. George Campbell, Principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh, 1780.

18. Prayer for those in Civil and Military Offices recommended, from a View of the Influence of Providence on their Character, Conduct, and Success; a Sermon preached before the Election of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, October 5th, 1779, and published at the request of the Magistrates and Town Council.

About the time when Dr. Erskine obtained his license a remarkable concern for religion had been exhibited in the British colonies of North America. In order to obtain the earliest and most authentic religious intelligence from those provinces, he commenced a correspondence with those chiefly concerned in bringing about this change; nor was this correspondence confined to America. He also opened a communication with several divines of the most distinguished piety on the continent of Europe. This intercourse he assiduously cultivated and carried on during the whole of his life. One bad consequence of it was the toil which it necessarily entailed on him, not only in answering his numerous correspondents, but in being called upon by the friends of deceased divines to correct and superintend the publication of posthumous works. To his voluntary labours in this way the religious world is indebted for the greater part of the works of President Edwards, and Dickson, and of Stoddart, and Fraser of Alness. Such was Dr. Erskine's thirst for information concerning the state of religion, morality, and learning on the Continent, that in his old age he undertook and acquired a knowledge of the Dutch and German languages. The fruits of the rich field which was thus thrown open to him appeared in *The Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy*, chiefly translated and abridged from *Modern Foreign Writers*. Edinburgh, vol. i. 1790, vol. ii. 1799. These volumes contained the most extensive and interesting body of information respecting the state of religion on the Continent which had been presented to the world.

One of the objects professed by the promoters of those revolutionary principles which towards the close

of the last century threatened the subversion of social order in Europe, was the destruction of all Christian church establishments; and an association was actually formed on the Continent for this purpose. Dr. Erskine, however, having in the course of his researches into the state of religion discovered the existence of this association, gave the alarm to his countrymen; and Professor Robinson and the Abbe Barruel soon after investigated its rise and progress, and unfolded its dangers. The patriotic exertions of those good men were crowned with success. Many of those who had been imposed upon by the specious arguments then in vogue were recalled to a sense of reason and duty; and even the multitude were awakened to a sense of the impending danger when the true character of the religion and morality of those political regenerators, who would have made them their dupes, were disclosed and illustrated by the practical commentary which the state of France afforded. The consideration that he had assisted to save this country from the horrors to which the French nation had been subjected, was one of the many gratifying reflections which solaced Dr. Erskine on looking back, in his old age, on his laborious and well-spent life.

Dr. Erskine's zeal in the cause of religion led him to take a large share in the business of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge; and even when, through the infirmities of bad health and old age, he was unable to attend the meetings of that body, such was the dependence of the directors on his information and sound judgment, that on any difficulty occurring in the management of their affairs, they were in the habit of consulting him at his own house. In the General Assembly of the Church

19. *Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy*, chiefly translated and abridged from *Modern Foreign Writers*, vol. I. Edinburgh, 1790.

20. Letters, chiefly written for Comforting those Bereaved of Children and Friends. Collected from Books and Manuscripts. Edinburgh, 1790. 2d edition, with additions. Edinburgh, 1800.

21. *The Fatal Consequences and the General Sources of Anarchy*: a Discourse on Isaiah xxiv. 1, 5; the substance of which was preached before the Magistrates of Edinburgh, September, 1792; published at their request, and that of the Members of the Old Greyfriars Kirk Session. Edinburgh, 1793.

22. *A Supplement to Two Volumes*, published in 1754, of Historical Collections, chiefly containing late Remarkable Instances of Faith working by Love; published from the Manuscript of the late Dr. John Gillies, one of the Ministers of Glasgow. With an Account of the Pious Compiler, and other Additions. Edinburgh, 1796.

23. *Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy*, chiefly translated and abridged from *Modern Foreign Writers*, vol. II. Edinburgh, 1797.

24. Discourses preached on several occasions, vol. I. 2d edition, 1798. Volume II. posthumous, prepared for the press and published by Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood, 1804.

25. Dr. Erskine's Reply to a Printed Letter, directed to him by A. C., in which the Gross Misrepresentations in said Letter of his *Sketches of Church History*, in promoting the designs of the infamous sect of the Illuminati, are considered. Edinburgh, 1798.

Those Works which were edited by Dr. Erskine, or for which he wrote prefaces, are—

1. *Aspasio Vindicated*, or the Scripture Doctrine of Imputed Righteousness Defended against the Animadversions, &c. of Mr. Wesley; with a Preface of ten pages by Dr. Erskine. Edinburgh, 1765.

2. *An Account of the Life of the late Rev. Mr. David Brainerd*, &c., by Jonathan Edwards. Edinburgh, 1765.

3. *An Essay on the Continuance of Immediate Revelations of Facts and Future Events in the Christian Church*, by the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, Minister of the Gospel at Dunfermline; together with a Letter by the late Mr. Cuthbert, Minister of Culross, on the Danger of Considering the Influence of the Spirit as a Rule of Duty; with a Preface by Dr. Erskine. Edinburgh, 1774.

4. *A Treatise on Temptation*, by the Rev. Thomas Gillespie. Prefaced by Dr. Erskine, 1771.

5. *A History of the Work of Redemption*, by the late Jonathan Edwards, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1774.

6. *Sermons on Various Important Subjects*, by Jonathan Edwards, 12mo. Edinburgh, 1785.

7. *Dying Exercises of Mrs. Deborah Prince*, and *Devout Meditations of Mrs. Sarah Gill*, Daughters of the late Rev. Thomas Prince, Minister of South Church, Boston, New England. 1785.

8. *Six Sermons*, by the late Rev. Thomas Prince, A.M., one of the Ministers in the South Church, Boston. Published from his Manuscript, with a Preface by Dr. Erskine, containing a very interesting Account of the Author, of his Son who pre-deceased him, and of three of his Daughters.

9. *Practical Sermons*, by the Rev. Thomas Prince, 8vo, 1788.

10. *Twenty Sermons*, by the Rev. Thomas Prince, on various Subjects. Edinburgh, 1789.

11. *A Reply to the Religious Scruples against Inoculating the Small-pox*, in a Letter to a Friend, by the late Rev. William Cooper of Boston, New England. Edinburgh, 1791.

12. *The Safety of Appearing at the Day of Judgment in the Righteousness of Christ*, opened and applied, by Solomon Stoddart, Pastor to the Church of Northampton, in New England, the Grandfather and Predecessor of Mr. Jonathan Edwards. Edinburgh, 1792. Fourth edition, with a Preface, containing some account of him, and an Acknowledgment of the Unscripturalness of some of his Sentiments.

13. *Miscellaneous Observations on Important Theological Subjects*. By the late Jonathan Edwards. Edinburgh, 1793. 14. *Sermons and Tracts*, separately published at Boston, Philadelphia, and now first collected into one volume, by Jonathan Dickinson, A.M., late President of the College of New Jersey. Edinburgh, 1793.

15. *A Sermon preached on the Fast Day, 28th February, 1794*, at the French Chapel Royal, at St. James's, and at the Royal Crown Court, Soho, by Mr. Gilbert. Translated from the French by a Young Lady, Dr. Erskine's Grand-daughter (daughter of Charles Stuart, M.D.), with a short Preface by Dr. Erskine. Edinburgh, 1794.

16. *Remarks on Important Theological Controversies*, by Mr. Jonathan Edwards, 1796.

17. *Select Discourses*, by Eminent Ministers in America. Two volumes. Edinburgh, 1796.

18. *Religious Intelligence and Seasonable Advice from Abroad*, concerning Lay Preaching and Exhortation, in four separate Pamphlets. Edinburgh, 1802.

19. *Discourses on the Christian Temper*, by J. Evans, D.D., with an Account of the Life of the Author, by Dr. Erskine. Edinburgh, 1802.

20. *New Religious Intelligence*, chiefly from the American States. Edinburgh, 1802.

of Scotland he was for many years the leader of the popular party; there the openness and integrity of his character secured him the confidence and affection of his friends, and the esteem and respect of his opponents. The friendship which subsisted between him and Principal Robertson, the leader of the moderate party, has been objected to by some of his more rigid admirers, as displaying too great a degree of liberality—a fact strongly illustrative of the rancour which existed in former times among the High Church party. The courtesy which marked Dr. Erskine's conduct to Principal Robertson throughout their lives, and the candour which led him to bear testimony to the high talents and many estimable qualities of the historian in the funeral sermon which he preached on the death of that great man, did equal honour to Dr. Erskine's head and his heart. The following anecdote has been told of one rupture of the friendship which subsisted in early life between Principal Robertson and Dr. Erskine. Mr. Whitefield, who was sent by the English Methodists as a missionary into Scotland, at first formed a connection with the *Scedders*, the body which had left the Established church; but when he refused to confine his ministrations to them, they denounced him, and his character became a controversial topic. Mr. Erskine, some time before he obtained the living of Kirkintilloch, appears to have been a great admirer of the character of this celebrated preacher, and to have been strongly impressed with the force of his powerful eloquence, and the usefulness and efficacy of his evangelical doctrines. It unfortunately happened that at the time when the friends and enemies of Mr. Whitefield were keenly engaged in discussing his merits, the question as to his character and usefulness was made the subject of debate in a literary society which Robertson and Erskine had formed. Conflicting opinions were expressed, and the debate was conducted with so much zeal and asperity that it occasioned not only the dissolution of the society, but it is said to have led to a temporary interruption of the private friendship and intercourse which subsisted between Erskine and Robertson. There is another anecdote of these two great men, which tells more favourably for Dr. Erskine's moderation and command of temper, and at the same time shows the influence which he had acquired over the Edinburgh mob. During the disturbances in Edinburgh in the years 1778 and 1779, occasioned by the celebrated bill proposed at that time to be introduced into parliament for the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics in Scotland, the populace of Edinburgh assembled in the college court with the intention of demolishing the house of Principal Robertson, who had taken an active part in advocating the abolition of these penal laws; and there seems to be little doubt that the mob would have attempted to carry their threats into execution in defiance of the military, which had been called out, had not Dr. Erskine appeared, and by his presence and exhortations dispersed them.

Dr. Erskine's opinions, both in church and state politics, will be best understood from the following short account of the part he took on several of the important discussions which divided the country during his life. In the year 1769, on the occasion of the breach with America, he entered into a controversy with Mr. Wesley, and published more than one pamphlet deprecating the contest. He was an enemy to the new constitution given to Canada, by which he considered the Catholic religion to be too much favoured. In 1778, when the attempt was made to repeal certain of the penal enactments against the Roman Catholics of Great Britain, he testified his

apprehensions of the consequences in a correspondence between him and Mr. Burke, which was published. And finally, we have already seen that he took an active and prominent part, in his old age, in support of constitutional principles, when threatened by the French revolution.

Having attained to the eighty-second year of his age, Dr. Erskine was suddenly struck with a mortal disease, and died at his house in Lauriston Lane, Edinburgh, on the 19th of January, 1803, after a few hours' illness. He had been from his youth of a feeble constitution, and for many years previous to his death, his appearance had been that of one in the last stage of existence; and during many winters he had been unable to perform his sacred duties with regularity; nor did he once preach during the last sixteen months of his life. Before he was entirely incapacitated for public duty, his voice had become too weak to be distinctly heard by his congregation. Still, however, the vivacity of his look and the energy of his manner bespoke the warmth of his heart and the vigour of his mind. His mental faculties remained unimpaired to the last; and, unaffected by his bodily decay, his memory was as good, his judgment as sound, his imagination as lively, and his inclination for study as strong, as during his most vigorous years, and to the last he was actively engaged in those pursuits which had formed the business and pleasure of his life. Even the week before his death, he had sent notice to his publisher that he had collected materials for the 6th number of the periodical pamphlet he was then publishing, entitled *Religious Intelligence from Abroad*.

In his temper Dr. Erskine was ardent and benevolent, his affections were warm, his attachments lasting, and his piety constant and most sincere. He was remarkable for the simplicity of his manners, and for that genuine humility which is frequently the concomitant and brightest ornament of high talents. In his beneficence, which was great, but unostentatious, he religiously observed the Scripture precept in the distribution of his charity and in the performance of his many good and friendly offices. We cannot close this short sketch of Dr. Erskine more appropriately than in the graphic words of our great novelist, who, in his *Guy Mannering*, has presented us, as it were, with a living picture of this eminent divine. "The colleague of Dr. Robertson ascended the pulpit. His external appearance was not prepossessing. A remarkably fair complexion, strangely contrasted with a black wig, without a grain of powder; a narrow chest and a stooping posture; hands which, placed like props on either side of the pulpit, seemed necessary rather to support the person than to assist the gesticulation of the preacher,—no gown, not even that of Geneva, a tumbled band, and a gesture which seemed scarcely voluntary, were the first circumstances which struck a stranger. 'The preacher seems a very ungainly person,' whispered Mannering to his new friend.

"'Never fear, he is the son of an excellent Scotch lawyer, he'll show blood, I'll warrant him.'

"The learned counsellor predicted truly. A lecture was delivered, fraught with new, striking, and entertaining views of Scripture history—a sermon in which the Calvinism of the Kirk of Scotland was ably supported, yet made the basis of a sound system of practical morals, which should neither shelter the sinner under the cloak of speculative faith or of peculiarity of opinion, nor leave him loose to the waves of unbelief and schism. Something there was of an antiquated turn of argument and metaphor, but it only served to give zest and peculiarity to the style of elocution. The sermon was not read—a scrap of

paper, containing the heads of the discourse was occasionally referred to, and the enunciation, which at first seemed imperfect and embarrassed, became, as the preacher warmed in his progress, animated and distinct: and although the discourse could not be quoted as a correct specimen of pulpit eloquence, yet Mannering had seldom heard so much learning, metaphysical acuteness, and energy of argument brought into the service of Christianity. 'Such,' he said, going out of the church, 'must have been the preachers to whose unfearing minds, and acute though sometimes rudely exercised talents, we owe the Reformation.'

"'And yet that reverend gentleman,' said Pleydell, 'whom I love for his father's sake and his own, has nothing of the sour or pharisaical pride which has been imputed to some of the early fathers of the Calvinistic Kirk of Scotland. His colleague and he differ, and head different parties in the kirk, about particular points of church discipline; but without for a moment losing personal regard or respect for each other, or suffering malignity to interfere in an opposition, steady, constant, and apparently conscientious on both sides.'"

Dr. Erskine was married to Christian Mackay, third daughter of George, third Lord Ray, by whom he had a family of fourteen children, but of whom only four survived him, David Erskine, Esq. of Carnock, and three daughters.

ERSKINE, RALPH, the well-known author of *Gospel Sonnets*, and other highly esteemed writings, was a younger son of Henry Erskine, some time minister of Cornhill in Northumberland, and, after the Revolution, at Chirside, Berwickshire, and was born at Monilaws, in Northumberland, on the 18th day of March, 1685. Of his earlier studies we know nothing. Like his brother, Ebenezer, he probably learned his letters under the immediate eye of his father, and, like his brother, he went through a regular course of study in the university of Edinburgh. During the later years of his studentship he resided as tutor and chaplain in the house of Colonel Erskine, near Culross, where he was gratified with the evangelical preaching, and very often the edifying conversation, of the Rev. Mr. Cuthbert, then minister of Culross. He had here also frequent opportunities of visiting his brother Ebenezer; but though younger in years, and less liberally endowed with the gifts of nature, he was a more advanced scholar in the school of Christ, and his brother, if we may believe his own report, was more benefited by him than he was by his brother. Residing within its bounds, he was, by the presbytery of Dunfermline, licensed as a preacher, on the 8th day of June, 1709. He continued to be a probationer nearly two years, a somewhat lengthened period in the then desolate state of the church, when he received a unanimous call from the parish of Dunfermline, to serve as colleague and successor to the Rev. Mr. Buchanan, which he accepted, and to which he was ordained in the month of August, 1711, his friend Mr. Cuthbert of Culross presiding on the occasion. In common with all the churches of the Reformation, the Church of Scotland was from her earliest dawn of returning light distinguished for her attachment to the doctrines of grace. There, as elsewhere, it was the doctrine of grace in giving thorough righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord, preached in its purity, freedom, and fulness, by Hamilton, Wishart, and Knox, which shook from his firm base the dagon of idolatry, and levelled the towers of papal superstition; and it was in the faith of the same doctrines that the illustrious list of martyrs and confessors

under the two Charleses, and the Jameses sixth and seventh, endured such a great fight of affliction and resisted unto blood. At the happy deliverance from persecution in the year 1688, the ecclesiastical constitution of the country was happily restored, with the whole system of doctrine entire. When her scattered ministry began to be assembled, however, it was found that the sword of persecution or the scythe of time had cut off the chief of her strength. The few that had escaped were men, generally speaking, of inferior attainments. Some of them had been protected purely by their insignificance of character, some by compliances, real or affected, with the system of prelacy, and not a few of them had actually officiated as the bishops' underlings, but for the sake of the benefice were induced to transfer their respect and obedience from the bishop to the presbytery, and to sign the Confession of Faith as a proof of their sincerity. This was the more unfortunate that there was among them no commanding spirit, who, imbued with the love of truth, might have breathed through the body an amalgamating influence, and have insensibly assimilated the whole into its own likeness. In consequence of this state of matters, there was less attention paid both to doctrine and discipline than might have been expected; and even with the better and more serious part of the clergy considerable confusion of ideas on the great subject of the gospel, with no inconsiderable portion of legalism, were prevalent. A spirit of inquiry was, however, at this time awakened, and the diffusion of Trail's works, with the works of some of the more eminent of the English Nonconformists, had a powerful effect in correcting and enlarging the views of not a few of the Scottish clergy, among whom was the subject of this memoir, who from a very early period of life seems to have felt strongly, and apprehended clearly, the great scheme of the gospel. Mr. Ralph Erskine had been a most diligent student, and had made very considerable progress in the different branches of science which were commonly studied at that time; and he continued to be a hard student even to his old age, generally writing out his sermons in full, and for the most part in the delivery keeping pretty close to what he had written. For the pulpit he possessed excellent talents, having a pleasant voice and an agreeable winning manner. He peculiarly excelled in the full and free offers of Christ which he made to his hearers, and in the persuasive and winning manner in which he urged their acceptance of the offer so graciously made to them on the authority of the divine Word. He possessed also, from his own varied and extensive experience, a great knowledge of the human heart, and had a singular gift of speaking to the varied circumstances of his hearers, which rendered him more than ordinarily popular. On sacramental occasions he was always waited upon by large audiences, who listened to his discourses with more than ordinary earnestness. During his incumbency Dunfermline, at the time of dispensing the sacrament, was crowded by strangers from all parts of the kingdom, many of whom, to the day of their death, spoke with transport of the enlargement of heart they had there experienced. To all the other duties of the ministry he was equally attentive as to those of the pulpit. His diligence in exhorting from house to house was most unwearied, his diets of public catechizing, regular; and he was never wanting at the side of the sick-bed when his presence was desired. Ardently attached to divine truth, he was on all occasions its dauntless advocate. In the case of Professor Simpson he stood up manfully for the regular exercise of discipline, both in

his first and second process; and in the case of the *Marrow*, had his own share of the toil, trouble, and opprobrium cast upon the few ministers who at that time had the hardihood to make an open appearance for the genuine faith of the gospel. Before the commencement of the secession he was engaged, along with his co-presbyters of the presbytery of Dunfermline, in a dispute with the General Assembly, in behalf of the liberties of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, in which, however, they failed. This was in the case of Mr. Stark, who had been most shamefully intruded upon the burgh and parish of Kinross, and whom, in consequence, the presbytery of Dunfermline refused to admit as one of their members. The case was brought before the assembly, 1732, and summarily decided by ordering the presbytery to assemble immediately, and enrol Mr. Stark as one of their members, give him the right hand of fellowship, and by all means in their power to strengthen his hands, and hold him up against the opposition that was raised against him by the parish, under the pain of being visited with the church's highest displeasure. Against this decision protests were offered by Mr. Ralph Erskine and others, but they were peremptorily refused. Another act of the same assembly became the ostensible cause of the secession. In this controversy, however, Mr. Ralph Erskine had no share, farther than that he adhered to the protests that were offered in behalf of the four brethren who carried it on, took their part on all occasions, attended many of their meetings, and maintained the closest communion with them, both Christian and ministerial; but he did not withdraw from the judicatures of the Established church till the month of February, 1737, when, seeing no hope of any reformation in that quarter, he gave in a declaration of secession to the presbytery of Dunfermline, and joined the Associate presbytery.

The fame of Mr. Ralph Erskine was now, by his taking part with the secession, considerably extended; for the circumstances attending it were making a great noise in every corner of the country. It particularly attracted the notice of Wesley and Whitefield, who at this time were laying the foundations of Methodism in England. The latter of these gentlemen entered shortly after this period into correspondence with Mr. Ralph Erskine, in consequence of which he came to Scotland, paid a visit to him, and preached the first sermon he delivered in this country from that gentleman's pulpit in Dunfermline. The professed object of Mr. Whitefield was the same as that of the secession, namely, the reformation of the church, and the promoting of the interests of holiness; and one mode of doing so he held in common with seceders, which was the preaching of the doctrines of the cross; in everything else they were directly opposed to each other. Equally or even more decidedly attached to the doctrines of free grace, the seceders considered the settlement of nations and churches as of the last importance for preserving, promoting, and perpetuating true and undefiled religion. Nations, in consequence of the baptismal engagements of the individuals of which they may be composed, they held to be under indispensable obligations to make a national profession of religion; to cause that all their laws be made to accord with its spirit, and to provide for the due celebration of all its ordinances. Oaths, bonds, and civil associations they held to be, in their own proper places, legitimate means of attaining, promoting, and preserving reformation. Hence they maintained the inviolable obligations of the national covenant of Scotland, and of the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms, and issued their testimony as

a declaration for the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland. Of all these matters Whitefield was utterly ignorant, and utterly careless. He had received priest's orders in the English church, and had sworn the oath of supremacy, which one would suppose a pretty strong declaration of his being episcopal in his views. Of government in the church, however, he made little account, for he wandered about from land to land, acknowledging no superior, and seems to have regarded all the forms in which Christianity has been embodied with equal favour, or rather, perhaps, with equal contempt. Of course Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Erskine had no sooner met and begun to explain their views, than they were mutually disgusted, and they parted in a manner which, we think, has left no credit to either of the parties.

The Associate presbytery was at this time preparing for what they considered the practical completion of their testimony, the renewal of the national covenants, in a bond suited to their circumstances, which they did at Stirling, in the month of December, 1743; Mr. Ralph Erskine being the second name that was subscribed to the bond. The swearing of this bond necessarily introduced the discussion of the religious clause of some burgess oaths, which led to a breach in the secession body, an account of which the reader will find in a previous article [the life of Ebenezer Erskine]. In this controversy Mr. Ralph Erskine took a decided part, being a violent advocate for the lawfulness of the oath. He, however, did not long survive that unhappy rupture, being seized with a nervous fever, of which he died after eight days' illness, on the 6th of November, 1752, being in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-second of his ministry.

Mr. Ralph Erskine was twice married; first, to Margaret Dewar, daughter to the laird of Lassodie, who died in the month of November, 1730; having lived with him sixteen years, and borne him ten children. He married, secondly, Margaret Simpson, daughter to Mr. Simpson, writer to the signet, Edinburgh, who bore him four children, and survived him several years. Three of his sons lived to be ministers of the secession church, but they all died in the prime of life, to the grief of their relatives and friends, who had formed the highest expectations of their future usefulness.

Of the character of Mr. Ralph Erskine there can be, and, in fact, we believe there is, but one opinion. Few greater names belong to the Church of Scotland, of which, notwithstanding of his secession, he considered himself, and must by every fair and impartial man, be considered to have been a most dutiful son to the day of his death. During the days of Ralph Erskine, dissentism was a name and thing unknown in the secession. Seceders had dissented from some unconstitutional acts of the judicature of the Established church, and were compelled to secede, but they held fast her whole constitution, entered their appeal to her first free and reforming assembly, to which every genuine seceder long looked forward with deep anxiety, ready to plead his cause before it, and willing to stand or fall by its judgment. Of Mr. Ralph Erskine's writings it is scarcely necessary to speak, any more than of his character. They have already, several of them, stood a century of criticism, and are just as much valued by pious and discerning readers, as they were on the day when they were first published. Models of composition they are not, nor do we believe that they ever were; but they are rich with the ore of divine truth, and contain many passages that are uncommonly vigorous and happy. Of his poetical works we have not room

to say much; some of them are all that the author intended, which is more than can be said of many poetical productions that have a much higher reputation in the world. His *Gospel Sonnets*, by far the best of his poems, he composed when he had but newly entered on his ministry, as a compend of the scheme of the gospel, and we know few books that in a smaller compass contain one more perfect. The composition is very homely, but it is just so much better fitted for the serious and not highly instructed reader, whose benefit alone the author had in view. Of his versions of the Song of Solomon, of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and of the Book of Job, it must be admitted that they are utterly unworthy of the gloriously divine originals; but it ought to be remembered, that he was put upon these labours by the urgency of his brethren, with a view to their being added to the psalmody, and that in this case, plainness and simplicity has always been aimed at, to a degree bordering on the bold, not to say the profane. Nor are these attempts, after all, beneath several of the same kind by the greatest names in English poetry.

ERSKINE, THOMAS ALEXANDER, sixth Earl of Kellie, a distinguished musical genius, was born on September 1st, 1732. He was the eldest son of Alexander, fifth Earl of Kellie, by Janet Pitcairn, daughter of the celebrated physician and poet. The Earls of Kellie were a branch of the Marr family, ennobled through the favour of James VI., which was acquired by the services of Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar, in protecting his majesty from the Earl of Gowrie and his brother. The father of the subject of this memoir, though possessed of a kind of rude wit, was always deemed a person of imperfect intellect, of which he seems to have been himself aware. Being confined in Edinburgh Castle for his concern in the insurrection of 1745, he one morning came into the room occupied by his brethren in misfortune, showing a paper in his hand. This was a list of persons whom the government had resolved to prosecute no further, and while his lordship's name stood at the head, on account of his rank, it was closed by the name of a Mr. William Fidler, who had been an auditor in the Scottish exchequer. "Oh, is not this a wise government?" cried the earl, "to begin wi' a fule and end wi' a fiddler!" On his lordship's death, in 1756, he was succeeded by his eldest son, who seems to have inherited the wit of his father, along with the more brilliant genius of his mother's family.

The Earl of Kellie displayed, at an early period of life, a considerable share of ability; and it was anticipated that he would distinguish himself in some public employment worthy of his exalted rank. He was led, however, by an overmastering propensity to music, to devote himself almost exclusively to that art. We are informed by Dr. Burney, in his *History of Music*, that "the Earl of Kellie, who was possessed of more musical science than any dilettante with whom I was ever acquainted, and who, according to Pinto, before he travelled into Germany, could scarcely tune his fiddle, shut himself up at Mannheim with the elder Stamitz, and studied composition, and practised the violin with such serious application, that, at his return to England, there was no part of theoretical or practical music in which he was not equally well versed with the greatest professors of his time. Indeed, he had a strength of hand on the violin, and a genius for composition, with which few professors are gifted." In the age during which the Earl of Kellie flourished, it was unfortunately deemed an almost indispensable mark

of a man of genius, either in literature or music, to devote himself much to the service of Bacchus. Hence this young nobleman, whose talents might have adorned almost any walk of life, identified himself with the dissolute fraternity who haunted the British metropolis, and of whom there was a considerable offshoot even in Edinburgh. Thus he spent, in low buffooneries and debaucheries, time which might have been employed to the general advantage of his country. He, nevertheless, composed a considerable quantity of music, which, in its day, enjoyed a high degree of celebrity, though it is generally deemed, in the present age, to be deficient in taste and feeling. "In his works," says a late writer, "the *fervidum ingenium* of his country bursts forth, and elegance is mingled with fire. From the singular ardour and impetuosity of his temperament, joined to his German education, under the celebrated Stamitz, and at a time when the German overture, or symphony, consisting of a grand chorus of violins and wind-instruments, was in its highest vogue, this great composer has employed himself chiefly in symphonies, but in a style peculiar to himself. While others please and amuse, it is his province to rouse and almost overset his hearer. Loudness, rapidity, enthusiasm, announced the Earl of Kellie. His harmonies are acknowledged to be accurate and ingenious, admirably calculated for the effect in view, and discovering a thorough knowledge of music. From some specimens, it appears that his talents were not confined to a single style, which has made his admirers regret that he did not apply himself to a greater variety of subjects. He is said to have composed only one song, but that an excellent one. What appears singularly peculiar in this musician, is what may be called the velocity of his talents, by which he composed whole pieces of the most excellent music in one night. Part of his works are still unpublished, and not a little is probably lost. Being always remarkably fond of a concert of wind-instruments, whenever he met with a good band of them he was seized with a fit of composition, and wrote pieces in the moment, which he gave away to the performers, and never saw again; and these, in his own judgment, were the best he ever composed."

Having much impaired his constitution by hard living, the Earl of Kellie visited Spa, from which he was returning to England, when he was struck with a paralytic shock upon the road. Being advised to stop a few days at Brussels, he was attacked by a putrid fever, of which he died at that city, on the 9th of October, 1781, in the fifty-first year of his age.

ERSKINE, THOMAS, Lord Erskine, was the youngest son of David Henry, tenth Earl of Buchan. He was born in the year 1750, and, after having passed through the high-school classes at Edinburgh, was sent to the university of St. Andrews to finish his education. At a very early age he had imbibed a strong predilection for a naval life; and the limited means of his family rendering an early adoption of some profession necessary, he was allowed to enter the service as a midshipman, under Sir John Lindsay, nephew to the celebrated Earl of Mansfield. Young Erskine embarked at Leith, and did not put foot again on his native soil until a few years before his death. He never, it is believed, held the commission of lieutenant, although he acted for some time in that capacity by the special appointment of his captain, whose kindness in this instance ultimately led to his élève's abandoning the service altogether,

¹ Robertson of Dalmeny's *Inquiry into the Fine Arts*, vol. i.

when required to resume the inferior station of a midshipman. After a service of four years, he quitted the navy, and entered the army as an ensign, in the royals, or first regiment of foot, in 1768. In 1770 he married an amiable and accomplished woman, and shortly afterwards went with his regiment to Minorca, where he spent three years. While in the army, he acquired great reputation for the versatility and acuteness of his conversational powers. Boswell, who met with the young officer in a mixed company in London, mentions the pleasure which Dr. Johnson condescended to express on hearing him—an approbation which assures us that the young Scotsman's colloquial talents were of no ordinary kind, and possessed something more than mere brilliancy or fluency, even at that early period of life. It was the knowledge of these qualities of mind, probably, which induced his mother—a lady whose uncommon acquirements we have already had occasion to eulogize in a memoir of another son—to urge him to devote the great energies of his mind to the study of the law and jurisprudence of his country. Her advice, seconded by the counsel of a few judicious friends, was adopted; and, in his 27th year, Thomas Erskine renounced the glittering profession of arms for the graver studies of law.

He entered as a fellow-commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the year 1777, merely to obtain a degree, to which he was entitled as the son of a nobleman, and thereby shorten his passage to the bar; and, at the same time, he inserted his name in the books of Lincoln's Inn, as a student at law. One of his college declamations is still extant, as it was delivered in Trinity College chapel. The thesis was the revolution of 1688, and the first prize was awarded to its author; but, with that nobleness of feeling which always characterized him, he refused to accept of the reward, alleging as an excuse, that he had merely declaimed in conformity with the rules of college, and, not being a resident student, was not entitled to any honorary distinction. A burlesque parody of *Gray's Bard* which appeared about this time in the *Monthly Magazine*, was generally attributed to Mr. Erskine. The origin of this production was a circumstance of a humorous nature. The author had been prevented from taking his place at dinner in the college-hall, by the neglect of his barber, who failed to present himself in proper time. In the moment of supposed disappointment, hunger, and irritation, the bard pours forth a violent malediction against the whole tribe of hair-dressers, and, in a strain of prophetic denunciation, foretells the overthrow of their craft in the future taste for cropped hair and unpowdered heads. The ode is little remarkable for poetical excellence, but displays a lively fancy and keen perception of the ludicrous. In order to acquire that knowledge of the technical part of his profession, without which a barrister finds himself hampered at every step, Mr. Erskine became a pupil of Mr. (afterwards Judge) Buller, then an eminent special pleader, and discharged his laborious and servile avocation at the desk with all the persevering industry of a common attorney's clerk. Upon the promotion of his preceptor to the bench, he entered the office of Mr. (afterwards Baron) Wood, where he continued for some months after he had obtained considerable business at the bar.

At this time his evenings were often spent in a celebrated debating association then held in Coachmakers' Hall. These spouting clubs, at the period of which we speak, were regarded with a jealous eye by the government; and it was considered discreditable, or at least prejudicial to the interests of

any young man who looked forward to patronage at the bar, to be connected with them. The subjects usually discussed were of a political nature, and the harangues, delivered in a motley assembly of men of all ranks and principles, were often highly inflammatory in sentiment, and unguarded in expression. But it was in such schools as these that the talents of a Burke, a Pitt, and an Erskine, were nursed into that surpassing strength and activity which afterwards enabled them to "wield at will" not the "fierce democracy," but even the senate of Great Britain. While engaged in these preparatory studies, Mr. Erskine was obliged to adhere to the most rigid economy in the use of his very limited finances—a privation which the unvarying cheerfulness and strong good sense of his amiable consort enabled him to bear with comparative ease.

Mr. Erskine, having completed the probationary period allotted to his attendance in the Inns of Court, was called to the bar in 1778; and in the very outset of his legal career, while yet of only one term's standing, made a most brilliant display of professional talent in the case of Captain Baillie, against whom the attorney-general had moved for leave to file a criminal information in the Court of King's Bench, for a libel on the Earl of Sandwich. In the course of this his first speech Mr. Erskine displayed the same undaunted spirit which marked his whole career. He attacked the noble earl in a strain of severe invective. Lord Mansfield, observing the young counsel heated with his subject, and growing personal on the first lord of the admiralty, told him that Lord Sandwich was not before the court; "I know," replied the undaunted orator, "that he is not formally before the court; but for that very reason I will bring him before the court. He has placed there men in the front of the battle, in hopes to escape under their shelter; but I will not join in battle with them; *their* vices, though screwed up to the highest pitch of human depravity, are not of dignity enough to vindicate the combat with *me*; I will drag *him* to light who is the dark mover behind this scene of iniquity. I assert that the Earl of Sandwich has but one road to escape out of this business without pollution and disgrace: and that is, by publicly disavowing the acts of the prosecutors, and restoring Captain Baillie to his command."

Mr. Erskine's next speech was for Mr. Carnan, a bookseller, at the bar of the House of Commons, against the monopoly of the two universities in printing almanacs. Lord North, then prime minister and chancellor of Oxford, had introduced a bill into the House of Commons for revesting the universities in their monopoly, which had fallen to the ground by certain judgments which Carnan had obtained in the courts of law; the opposition to the premier's measure was considered a desperate attempt, but, to the honour of the house, the bill was rejected by a majority of 45 votes.

Not long after having gained this original triumph, Mr. Erskine made a most splendid appearance for the man of the people, Lord George Gordon, at the Old Bailey. This great speech, and the acquittal which it secured to the object of it, have been pronounced by a competent judge the death-blow of the tremendous doctrine of constructive treason. The monster, indeed, manifested symptoms of returning life at an after-period; but we shall see with what noble indignation its extirpator launched a second irresistible shaft at the reviving reptile. Lord George's impeachment arose out of the following circumstances. Sir. George Savile had introduced a bill into parliament for the relief of the Roman Catholics of England from some of the penalties they

were subject to by the test laws. The good effects of this measure, which only applied to England, were immediately felt, and in the next session it was proposed to extend the operation of similar measures to Scotland. This produced many popular tumults in Scotland, particularly in Edinburgh, where the mob destroyed some Popish chapels. The irritation of the public mind in Scotland soon extended itself to England, and produced a reaction of feeling in that country also. A number of Protestant societies were formed in both parts of the kingdom for the purpose of obtaining the repeal of Saville's act, as a measure fraught with danger to the constitution, both of church and state. In November, 1779, Lord George Gordon, the younger brother of the Duke of Gordon, and at that time a member of the House of Commons, became president of the associated Protestants of London; and on the memorable 2d of June, 1780, while proceeding to present a petition against concession to Roman Catholics, signed by 120,000 Protestants, was attended by a mob so numerous, and who conducted themselves so outrageously, as for a moment to extinguish all police and government in the city of London. For this indignity offered to the person of royalty itself, Lord George and several others were committed to the Tower. Upon his trial, Mr. Erskine delivered a speech less remarkable, perhaps, for dazzling eloquence, than for the clear texture of the whole argument maintained in it. A singularly daring passage occurs in this speech, which the feeling of the moment alone could prompt the orator to utter; after reciting a variety of circumstances in Lord George Gordon's conduct, which tended to prove that the idea of resorting to absolute force and compulsion by armed violence never was contemplated by the prisoner, he breaks out with this extraordinary exclamation: "I say, BY GOD, that man is a ruffian who shall, after this, presume to build upon such honest, artless conduct as an evidence of guilt!" But for the sympathy which the orator must have felt to exist at the moment between himself and his audience, this singular effort must have been fatal to the cause it was designed to support; as it was, however, the sensation produced by these words, and the look, voice, gesture, and whole manner of the speaker, were tremendous. The result is well known; but it may not be equally well known that Dr. Johnson himself, notwithstanding his hostility to the test laws, was highly gratified by the verdict which was obtained: "I am glad," said he, "that Lord George Gordon has escaped, rather than a precedent should be established of hanging a man for constructive treason."

In 1783 Mr. Erskine received the honour of a silk gown, his majesty's letter of precedence being conferred upon him at the suggestion of the venerable Lord Mansfield. In the same year he was elected member of parliament for Portsmouth.

The defence of John Stockdale, who was tried for publishing a libel against the commons house of parliament, has been pronounced the first in oratorical talent, and is certainly not the last in importance of Mr. Erskine's speeches. This trial may be termed the case of libels, and the doctrine maintained and expounded in it by Stockdale's counsel is the foundation of that liberty which the press enjoys in this country. When the House of Commons ordered the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the articles were drawn up by Mr. Burke, who infused into them all that fervour of thought and expression which ever characterized his compositions. The articles, so prepared, instead of being confined to the records of the house until they were carried up to the lords for

trial, were printed and allowed to be sold in every bookseller's shop in the kingdom before the accused was placed upon his trial; and undoubtedly, from the style and manner of their composition, made a deep and general impression upon the public mind against Mr. Hastings. To repel or neutralize the effect of the publication of the charges, Mr. Logan, one of the ministers of Leith, wrote a pamphlet, which Stockdale published, containing several severe and unguarded reflections upon the conduct of the managers of the impeachments, which the House of Commons deemed highly contemptuous and libellous. The publisher was accordingly tried, on an information filed by the attorney-general. In the speech delivered by Mr. Erskine upon this occasion the very highest efforts of the orator and the rhetorician were united to all the coolness and precision of the *nisi prius* lawyer. It was this rare faculty of combining the highest genius with the minutest attention to whatever might put his case in the safest position, which rendered Mr. Erskine the most consummate advocate of the age. To estimate the mightiness of that effort by which he defeated his powerful antagonists in this case, we must remember the imposing circumstances of Mr. Hastings' trial—the "terrible, unceasing, exhaustless artillery of warm zeal, matchless vigour of understanding, consuming and devouring eloquence, united with the highest dignity," to use the orator's own language—which was then daily pouring forth upon the man in whose defence Logan had written and Stockdale published. It was "amidst the blaze of passion and prejudice" that Mr. Erskine extorted that verdict, which rescued his client from the punishment which a whole people seemed interested in awarding against the reviler of its collective majesty. And be it remembered, that in defending Stockdale the advocate by no means identified his cause with a defence of Hastings. He did not attempt to palliate the enormities of the governor-general's administration; he avowed that he was neither his counsel, nor desired to have anything to do with his guilt or innocence; although in the collateral defence of his client, he was driven to state matters which might be considered by many as hostile to the impeachment. Our gifted countryman never perverted his transcendent talents by devoting them to screen villany from justice, or to the support of any cause which he did not conscientiously approve. His speech for the defendant at the trial of a case of adultery in the Court of King's Bench, may be considered as an exception to this remark. It must not be forgotten that it was delivered in behalf of a gentleman of high family who had been attached to a young lady, his equal in years and birth, but was prevented from marrying her by the sordid interference of her relatives, who induced or rather constrained her to an alliance with a nobler house. The marriage was, as might have been anticipated, a most unhappy one, and the original attachment seems never to have been replaced by any other, and ultimately produced the elopement which occasioned the action. Mr. Erskine does not affect to palliate the crime of seduction; on the contrary, he dwells at length on the miserable consequences occasioned by this crime; but, after having adverted with exquisite delicacy to the sacrifice of affection and enjoyment which had been made in this case, he charges the plaintiff with being the original seducer of a woman, whose affections he knew to be irretrievably bestowed upon and pledged to another.

In 1807 Mr. Erskine was exalted to the peerage by the title of Lord Erskine of Restormal Castle, in Cornwall, and accepted of the seals as lord high-chancellor; but resigned them on the dissolution of

the short-lived administration of that period, and retired upon a pension of £4000 per annum. Since that time to the period of his death, his lordship steadily devoted himself to his duties in parliament, and never ceased to support, in his high station, those measures and principles which he had advocated in his younger years. It is deeply to be regretted that, by an unhappy second marriage and some eccentricities of conduct, very incompatible with his years and honours, this nobleman should have at once embittered the declining years of his own life, and tarnished that high and unsullied character which he had formerly borne in public estimation. His death was produced by an inflammation of the chest, with which he was seized while on the voyage betwixt London and Edinburgh. He was landed at Scarborough, and proceeded to Scotland by short stages, but died on the 17th of November, 1823, at Ammondell House. Mr. Erskine's peculiar sphere

seems to have been oratorical advocacy; his appearance as a senator never equalled that which he made at the bar. Nor is he entitled, as a political writer, to much distinction. His pamphlet, entitled *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the War with France*, which he published in support of Mr. Fox's principles, indeed, ran through forty-eight editions; but owed its unprecedented sale more to the spirit of the times and the celebrity of its author's name, than to its own intrinsic merit. The preface to Mr. Fox's collected speeches was also written by him, as well as a singular political romance, entitled *Armaba*, and some spirited pamphlets in support of the Greek cause.

By his first wife Lord Erskine had three sons and five daughters. The eldest of his sons, David Montague, who succeeded to his father's title, was for some time member plenipotentiary to the United States, and afterwards resident at the court of Wirtemberg.

END OF VOL. I.

